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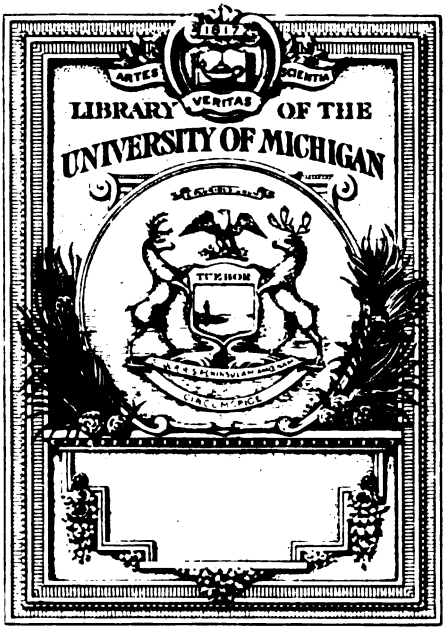
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QUARTERLY REVIEW.

1863.

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THE

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1863.

ART. I.—EDWARD IRVING.

The Life of Edward Irving, Minister of the National Scotch Church, London. Illustrated by his Journals and Correspondence. By Mrs. OLIPHANT. 8vo., pp. 627. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1862.

IN the volume whose title is given above the public have the first satisfactory biography of the great London preacher, and promoter of a strange fanaticism, whose name was thirty years ago in everybody's mouth, and whose career, so strange, grotesque, solemn, and finally so sad, was the theme of the sneers of the thoughtless and of the wonder of the thoughtful. This book therefore meets and fills a confessed want. The author, Mrs. Oliphant, is favorably known in the lighter departments of literature, and here she brings the facility of writing before acquired to her more serious task, together with great faith in her subject, and the biographer's requisite amount of hero worship. Unluckily she has made the not unfrequent mistake of supposing that the biographer's office is that of the advocate rather than the judge, and so a kind of partisan aspect is given to her statements which detracts from their authority. But these are venial faults, and they would be quite satisfactorily atoned for by the cleverness of the work, if the worthiness of the subject were not a sufficient justification of all her vindications.

EDWARD IRVING was the son of a substantial tradesman of Annan, in Dumfriesshire, Scotland; born August 4, (another account says 15,) 1792. With an ambitious forethought, not unusual among his countrymen, his father determined to prepare his sons for more advanced social positions than that in which they were born. Edward was therefore educated for the ministry, and his two brothers, one older and one younger than himself, were prepared for the medical profession. Of the home life of the Irvings of Annan, where three brothers and five sisters gathered about the "cantie ingleside" of the thrifty tradesman and staunch Presbyterian, we have only the usual pictures of Scottish domestic life. The years of their childhood were those of Europe's convulsions, of which France was at once the source and center; but it may be doubted whether these things were felt in any considerable degree within the quiet household of the Annandale tanner. Traditional tales of border raids, and of Covenanters' sufferings and constancy, with the lessons of the Shorter Catechism, and the stately though simple exercises of the Kirk, seem to have been the agencies, additional to direct parental instructions, that fashioned the forming character of one who became at length a chief celebrity of his age.

During the years of his age from thirteen to seventeen, ending in 1805, young Irving passed through the prescribed undergraduate studies at Edinburgh University. Less than a year after his graduation he was appointed Master of the Mathematical Academy at Haddington, which position he exchanged two years later for a similar but more eligible one at Kirkcaldy. He was then about twenty years old, and had attained to an altitude of full six feet, (his full-grown height was six feet four,) with a fine, open Scotch countenance, marred only by an ugly squinting of one eye, and generally a dignified though somewhat ungainly bearing. He was even then, and much more in after life, a figure to be looked after by strangers without contempt. About the same time that he assumed the duties of a teacher he was also entered as a student of theology at Edinburgh, agreeable to the arrangements of that institution by which divinity students are permitted to pursue their studies in private, subject to the requisite examinations and public exercises. After four years had been passed in this relation he

was turned over by the university to the presbytery, to undergo a briefer but more searching "probation" before he could be admitted to the anteroom of the ministry by a license to preach. Six months later he received the required license; but he was not then ordained, as the Presbyterian Church ordains no shepherd except for a flock. This occurred in 1815, when Irving was about twenty-three years old.

He had now attained the ambiguous position of a licensed preacher and candidate—a layman in fact, though often recognized as a clergyman by courtesy—and he only waited the opportunity to escape from his present occupation to that for which he had been formally designated. In this awkward interim he occasionally "exercised his gift" in the pulpits of his vicinity, now at his native Annan, when the "haill town" turned out to hear him, and the congregation was taken captive because when by his excessive gesticulations he knocked the unlucky "paper" from the Bible he proceeded with no apparent embarrassment without it; and again at Kirkcaldy, where his neighbors heard him respectfully, and found no other occasion for censure than that in his manner there was "ower much gran'ner." Three uneventful years were thus passed, during which each Sabbath found him a silently attentive listener to, but also uncomfortably critical hearer of, the ministrations of Dr. Martin, the parish minister. He saw that while his own occasional "exercises" were tolerated rather than relished by the people, the sermons of their own minister were received with evident and unflagging interest, and he very naturally asked himself whether the decision was a just one, and also felt a consciousness of a power within himself to go beyond the unambitious efforts of the approved preacher. But no one may appeal from the public verdict who is not himself independent of the public favor, and Irving was both too good to envy his brother's good fortune, and too wise to seem to be dissatisfied at the lack of appreciation of himself. Of the spiritual qualifications of our candidate for his expected ministry no account is given us. He had been designated for that calling by his parents, apparently without much regard to his religious fitness or reference to a divine call, and their determination had been acquiesced in by himself in much the same spirit. Though always of unblamable manners, except a slight tendency to

pugnacity, he had hitherto given no marked indications of any special religious experience; and though the Church of Scotland carefully insists upon a consciously recognized "conversion" as the first step in a religious life, no such crisis is recognized in his history. Of his later religious life happily there can be no doubt, but its inception and early growth are not recorded.

Nine years of successful teaching at length produced weariness of the undesired occupation, and though no "call" allured him to his longed-for position, yet he resigned his chair, and was for the first time in all his life a free man. For lack of other occupation he next removed to Edinburgh, and recommenced student life at the university, reading theology, science, and general literature, with Bacon, Hooker, and Jeremy Taylor for his teachers and models of style and thought. But his heart was not in his studies. He longed to be engaged as a Christian teacher, and in his enforced inaction he now meditated a mission to interior Asia, as grand and romantic as certainly it was impracticable. The dreams of this season were destined however to produce their results, as will appear in the sequel.

It was while thus waiting upon disappointments that he was induced to preach in the hearing of Dr. Chalmers, who was then desiring to procure an assistant in the great parish of St. John's, Glasgow. The sermon, notwithstanding the unfavorable circumstances of the preacher, was pronounced by a competent critic a "production of no ordinary mind;" but Chalmers said nothing, and returned home. Irving's patience now quite failed him. He therefore forwarded his easily moveable effects to Annan, and himself took ship to follow them; but by taking the wrong boat he was taken to Belfast, and so treated to an involuntary excursion, which was marked with a due mixture of Scotch and Irish adventures. Upon his return to Annan he found a letter from Chalmers inviting him to Glasgow, whither he accordingly went, and was there offered and accepted the place of assistant minister of St. John's. "I will preach to them if you think fit," he is reported to have said, "but if they bear with my preaching they will be the first people who have borne with it." And so began in earnest the great life-work for which he had been so long preparing, and which he had anticipated with most painful longings. A parish of ten thousand

souls, mostly the families of poor artisans and laborers, composed the pastorate of St. John's, Glasgow, and into its varied duties Irving at once entered with all his energies. The people "bore with his preaching," either for its own sake or out of deference to him who had called him to his office-work, though there were some complaints as to the florid character of his preaching. His gigantic form was an object of wonder, perhaps sometimes of terror; but he soon found a way to the hearts and the confidence of the people. The impressions of wonder and reverence produced by his first appearance were heightened by his stately manner and solemn address. Whenever he entered a house he saluted its inmates with the apostolic formula, "Peace be in this house." He would give to all the children a hearty but rather awful benediction with a solemn and earnest imposition of hands. It was enough to condemn his preaching that it was quite unlike that of his chief; yet since that great man always spoke kindly of his assistant and commended his performances, none might pronounce against them, though his appearance in the pulpit was sometimes the signal for the hasty exit of a portion of the congregation. Three years of service with the greatest of modern teachers and practitioners of the art ministerial doubtless did much to prepare this modern Boanerges for his subsequent work. While associated with Chalmers, Irving must necessarily have occupied a subordinate place, not specially because he was inferior, but because of the essential character of the two individuals. A change of position therefore had become desirable, and the opportunity to realize it was at length given.

There was then in London, in Cross-street, Hatton Garden, a Church and congregation, connected with the Kirk of Scotland, called the "Caledonian Church," of about fifty members, and without a minister. To that unpromising affair, after due inquiries made and satisfactory assurances received by its officiary, Irving was invited, and the invitation was accepted almost without conditions. The bond for his "livelihood" demanded by the Presbytery from the Church, which Irving would have waived, was at length and not without difficulty procured, and then the late assistant minister of St. John's, Glasgow, bearing with him the blessings of those he left, departed for the field of his later triumphs and sufferings.

On the second of July, 1822, Irving began his labors with his little Church at Hatton Garden, with its fifty hearers, to which was occasionally added some vagrant Scotchman sojourning in the metropolis. A letter of introduction brought by Irving secured the presence of Sir David Wilkie, who came again, bringing with him a fellow-artist *to see and admire the head of the preacher.* In the course of the year Chalmers visited London, and preached in the almost unknown and out-of-the-way Caledonian Church, and wrote home half-patronizingly and half-prophetically concerning his former "helper," "He has impressed most favorably such men as Zachary Macaulay [father of Lord Macaulay] and Mr. [Allan] Cunningham with the conception of his talents." But he then adds significantly, the expression of a hope which implies rather a fear, that "he will not hurt his usefulness by *any kind of eccentricity or imprudence.*"

Whether Irving's great popularity into which he at length rose all at once was accidental, or the outworking of causes which compelled their own results, it would be difficult to positively answer. Eight years of preacher-life, half of them before a congregation not unused to able preaching, had failed to impress his hearers with any exalted notion of his abilities. Some persons will think that he was only one of a large class of possible celebrities whom a concurrence of favoring accidents rescued from the oblivion in which he had so long continued, and from which most of his class never emerge. The notion that there are flowers "born to blush unseen" may be as true as it is certainly poetical; but how shall we know it? When success is achieved it is not often ascribed by either the subject or his admirers to happy accidents, though another class of persons may do so. A year of diligent labors, but of only moderate prosperity till the last quarter, followed Irving's settlement at the Caledonian Church, and then the sun of his prosperity rose upon him. The occasion of the new order of things is said to have been a speech made by Canning in Parliament. Sir James Mackintosh had been led, by some unexplained accident, to hear Irving preach, and was especially impressed with an idea expressed by him in prayer, in which he prayed for an orphaned family as now "thrown upon the fatherhood of God." Mackintosh told it to Canning, who sought out and

heard the preacher himself; and soon afterward, in a debate in the Commons respecting Church revenues, in which the relations of high talent and good pay were insisted on, Canning informed the house that "he himself had lately heard a Scotch minister, trained in one of the most poorly endowed of Churches, and established in one of her outlying dependencies, possessed of no endowment at all, preach the most eloquent sermon he had ever listened to." That was sufficient; the Caledonian Church at once became a fashionable center, and the notoriety of the hitherto unknown preacher was secured. Though neither Irving nor his people had schemed for such a result, yet he was not at all dissatisfied with the new direction of affairs. He was at once too honest and too proud to solicit public favor except by deserving it; he was nevertheless highly susceptible to its influence, and he almost morbidly craved a just appreciation.

The new position of affairs brought with it a full share of labors and perils, of neither of which was Irving much afraid. While crowds of distinguished listeners flooded the little chapel each Sabbath, and the newspapers were actively discussing this latest wonder, the preacher rose higher and higher in both thought and utterance, and with a zeal that spared no efforts applied his Herculean energies to his ever-growing duties. In the midst of those labors and successes he ventured a step further, and appeared before the public in the character of an author—always a perilous enterprise for a popular preacher, since the new character requires other qualifications, and failure is doubly disastrous. A volume made up in part of his pulpit exercises, which he called, not sermons, but "Orations," and in part of a longer and more elaborate essay, called an "Argument for the Judgment to Come," constituted his first venture in authorship. No doubt a large share of Irving's notoriety arose from his peculiarities of both thought and manner, and he was not careful to propitiate those who differed with him in those particulars. Pointing to the evident lack of success of the ordinary instructions of the pulpit in the Introduction to his book, he charged it all to the defective manner of preaching in general use. This seemed to be saying indirectly to those preaching to sparsely-seated houses, "Do as I do and your houses will be thronged as mine is." Dignified mediocrity of course smiled coldly at such self-com-

placency, and learned authority laughed pityingly at the overweening assurance. But the book shared the favor of the author and his little Hatton Garden Chapel. Everybody must read it, till it became the talk of the town, and was criticised by each according to his position and temper. Its vulnerable points were neither few nor difficult to find; but there was in this, as in all its author's productions, many and great excellencies. It was also during this his second year in London that Irving was married to the daughter of Dr. Martin, the minister of Kirkcaldy, after a courtship more protracted than that of Jacob and Rachel. The marriage was an eminently happy one for the husband, who gained a wife that seemed to merge her own interests, opinions, and preferences in her husband's.

Among the taxes paid by modern pulpit celebrities is the preaching of anniversary sermons. Accordingly, with the spring of 1824 came an invitation to preach before the London Missionary Society. The thought of the missionary enterprise revived in his mind his dreams of apostolic missions, and these sublime fancies were wrought into his discourse. For three mortal hours the vast assembly was held entranced by his gorgeous oratory while he depicted, not the work of that or any other body, but a grand ideal of a mission scheme after the model of apostolic times. During all this time the managers sat in painful solicitude, first for their usual collections, and ultimately for the damage that such a discourse must entail upon the cause in which they were engaged. But nobody could suspect the preacher of a design to harm the cause he was called to advocate. To his mind the missionary work was not the same thing with that contemplated by the society, and as he spoke from his own inflamed fancy and full heart his utterances were foreign to the subject as they viewed it. But the discourse was more than a blunder; it was a burning protest, though undesigned, against the spirit of cowardly prudence in which the work of missions was, and, alas! that it must be said, still is prosecuted. It unluckily struck precisely upon those points which annual reports and platform orators are usually careful to leave untouched, and by holding up the bright ideal it condemned the actual. If in the controversy that followed the preacher had the doubtful advantage of the sympathy of the outside world, (those who have no real sympathy with the object

of missions, and therefore care nothing about their methods,) that gain was purchased at the expense of the confidence and sympathy of the best and most active Christians of the country. From this point began his estrangement from the great body of cotemporary evangelical Christians, which continued to the end of his life. This led him to find out other associates, and at the house of his friend Basil Montague he met with a circle of persons distinguished for learning and independent, perhaps erratic thinking, with Coleridge as oracle and intellectual dictator. Irving was dazzled by a light so new and unwonted, and was led away by the fascination of the discussions to which he was for the most part only a listener. Lordly and aristocratic as he often seemed in the pulpit, and in his writings, he was readily led away by almost any positive will with which he might come into friendly contact, and with characteristic ingenuousness he would confess his indebtedness to those by whom he had been enthralled. But between himself and Coleridge there was too great a dissimilarity of mental constitution to allow either a close contact, or the exercise of a determinate influence by the one over the other.

The birth of a son, and his death a little more than a year afterward—born July 22, 1824, and died October 11, 1825—seemed to open up new and strange depths in the spiritual being of the father. Soon after his birth, while the mother and child were at Kirkcaldy and Irving in London, an almost daily epistolary correspondence was kept up. Irving's portion of these letters, which were carefully preserved by the appreciating recipient and are now first published, seem to disclose the writer's whole soul in all its tenderness, purity, and lofty elevation. His boy seems to have awakened him to a new life, with enlarged and more precious affinities; and as he saw everything in the *glamour* of an excited imagination, his deep heart yearnings became to him convictions and grounds of theological dogma. But all these were vastly intensified when that child was removed by death. The sorrows of bereavement, which at first came in upon him like a flood, were presently changed by the power of faith into rapturous exultation. "He took my son to his own fatherly bosom," he subsequently wrote respecting these things, "and revealed in my bosom the sure expectation and faith of his own eternal Son. Dear season of my life

ever to be remembered, when I knew the sweetness and fruitfulness of such joy and sorrow!"

The baptism of the child became the occasion of a new direction of the father's ideas respecting the significance of that ordinance and of the relations of baptized children to the Gospel Church. The Church of Scotland had not at the Reformation followed the lead of the Reformed Churches of the Continent in reducing the sacraments to mere signs of Christian profession and memorials of certain facts and doctrines, but in her earlier standards she declared, "We assuredly believe that by baptism we are ingrafted into Christ." The Westminster Confession, for two hundred years the common standard of all Presbyterian Churches, is scarcely more than baldly Zwinglian. Thousands in both the relations of parents and of ministers have been painfully conscious of the nakedness and poverty of its doctrine of the nature of the sacraments, and to Irving's impulsive spirit it became intolerable when as a Christian father he brought his first-born to receive the seal of the Christian covenant. His loving heart clung fast to the idea that the outward sign was really responded to by the inward grace, and though he did not formally consent to the Romish and Anglican notion of baptismal regeneration, his dissent was evidently scarcely more than verbal.

As early as 1825 Irving's attention had been directed to the study of the prophecies, a subject well calculated to awaken and command his liveliest feelings. Into that study the best balanced minds have need to enter with only cautious steps and to proceed with the most careful circumspection; to a mind at all predisposed to eccentricities of thought it is almost sure to prove a maddening maze. That, left to himself, he would have gone no further than to accept a few harmless vagaries of thought is probable; but with his facility for being led away by infinitely inferior minds, and the fact that such leaders are seldom wanting, rendered it antecedently probable that he would be made the victim of the wildest fancies. The French Revolution had only a few years before very deeply affected the public mind, and many highly intelligent persons had come to believe that its astounding events had formed the themes of the prophetic utterances. Nearly every great social and civil commotion for the last thousand years has received the same distinction

from those of the age of each, as probably others will continue to do; and with a remarkable uniformity nearly every generation of interpreters have placed the second coming of Christ in the midst of, or soon after "the tribulation of those days." An event wholly incidental to the study of prophecy brought Irving more fully into its excitements. Early in that year, notwithstanding his unfortunate experience with the London Missionary Society, he received and accepted an invitation to preach the anniversary sermon for the Continental Society, whose interests his friend, Mr. Henry Drummond, of Albury Park, was promoting with characteristic zeal. That society had for its object the evangelization of the countries of Continental Europe, and in contemplating that subject the preacher quite naturally came to consider it in the light, or rather shadows, of the Apocalypse. A Mr. Hatley Frere, an earnest and one-sided student of the prophecies, had some years before propounded a new theory of interpretation—as nearly every student of prophecy does—to which and its author the public had paid very little attention. Most opportunely, or inopportunely as the case may be, this man now fell in with Irving, who accepted his notions with eagerness, and at once became an Aaron to that stammering Moses. "Henceforth," says the admiring biographer, "the gorgeous and cloudy vista of the Apocalypse became a legible chart of the future to his fervent eyes." [Spare the figure.] Under such influences he prepared his sermon for the Continental Society, which, like its predecessor, failed of its intended purpose, and became the occasion of fresh contentions and criminations. During the ensuing year that discourse was enlarged and rearranged as a book, with the title, "Babylon and Infidelity Foredoomed," which the author dedicated "To my beloved friend and brother in Christ, Hatley Frere, Esq," in which dedication he confessed himself the humble disciple of his dear friend, from whom he declared that he had first learned the true sense of the prophetic symbols. Irving now threw himself unreservedly into the current that swept him away from all his moorings.

By that strange fascination which often attends the study of prophecy and the expectation of a terrestrial millennium, he now came to expect the *speedy* coming of Christ to set up his kingdom on earth, and this wrought in him the usual results of

excitement and specialty of religious thought and conversation. He had reached that stage of mental excitement in which almost every event becomes a proof of the cherished expectation, and the mind's own action steadily intensifies the dominant fascination. In this, too, he craved the sympathy of other minds inspired with the same sentiments, and these he readily obtained; a kind of mystic circle, among whom were Hatley Frere, now relieved of his isolation, and the celebrated Rabbin, Dr. Wolff, with Irving and Henry Drummond, and others less distinguished; and these, after numerous informal conversations, at length came together in a conference at Albury, the hospitable residence of Mr. Drummond, brought together, as Irving declared, by "a desire to compare their views with respect to the prospects of the Church at this present crisis." Of these conferences, which usually extended over a full week, several were held, being closely occupied with examinations of the prophecies, mingled with prayers and conversations on personal religious life. There seems to have been among them a good degree of spiritual zeal, as there certainly was a most dangerous admixture of enthusiasm and unreasoning faith. Irving set down with his motley associates, a giant among pigmies, the most docile of the company, and quite ready to yield his own views to the superficial fancies of the least distinguished of the body, and to surrender his clearest intellectual convictions to what was styled the answer to prayer. From such sessions the only probable results followed; the fanaticism in which they began was heightened and confirmed, especially in the single mind capable of being damaged by it.

Meantime the splendid eloquence of the preacher, deepened and intensified by the new direction given to his meditations and yearnings, held and entranced the eager crowds that thronged the humble Caledonian Church. All this year (1826–7) a new and commodious church for the use of the now permanently enlarged society had been in progress of building in Regent Square, and early in 1827 it was ready for occupation. The dedication of the new edifice was at length ordered, and Chalmers was the chosen preacher for the occasion. Irving himself conducted the introductory services, praying full forty minutes with wonderful fervor and pathos, and with great enlargement of thought and grandiloquence of expression; altogether occu-

pying an hour and a half before he gave place to the mightier one who was to come after him. In the matter of time he was at once inexorable in asserting his prerogatives, and *unconscionable* in his use of it. To Chalmers, Irving was evidently an enigma; and as he now contemplated him at his dizzy altitude of popularity, though little suspecting the sad *finale* then so close at hand, he trembled with solicitude for his future, while still he both loved and admired him.

The transition from the little Caledonian Chapel, so long thronged by a promiscuous crowd of London fashionable life, to the commodious National Scotch Church in Regent Square, with its well-ordered and well-defined congregation, marks the culmination and the beginning of the descent of Irving's popularity. Ceasing to be a preacher for the whole kingdom, he thenceforth became the minister of his own Church and congregation, which, though enough to satisfy any ordinary ambition, was damaged by its contrast with the former concourse. Whether this changed state of things contributed to the melancholy changes which occurred in the personal history of the great preacher is at most very doubtful. It is certain that he made but little complaint respecting the loss of the fashionable throng from his ministry, and the causes which at length resulted in his ruin were actively at work, while he was yet at the height of his popularity. The excitement of which he was the center had had its run and was already subsiding, when the change of scene and circumstances precipitated its close, and left the congregation in quiet possession of their new quarters, and allowed the preacher the better opportunity to prosecute his prophetical investigations. Of these investigations and their results in kindness nothing further need be said than that he was deeply, even painfully sincere in the whole matter, and his movements in the morasses of fanciful interpretations display in equal proportions his greatness and his infatuation.

With the earlier days of the year 1828 a cloud of another complexion began to be seen lowering over the Scotch National Church, and especially over its minister. Hitherto, though many conservative and careful people had come to regard him as an eccentric, and in some sense an unsafe man, yet his orthodoxy had not been called in question. About that time he gave to the public three volumes of sermons selected from among

those delivered during the whole period since his first coming to London. Of these sermons those of the first volume related chiefly to the Trinity, and contained his teaching respecting the divine persons, and especially as to the person and work of Christ. In all cases Irving spoke more from the heart than from the intellect; and upon the great and glorious mystery of the incarnations, as to which the reason must be subordinate to faith, his intuitions alone seemed to guide his utterances. In all the habits of his mind he was eminently realistic, and by the strength of his conceptions he set every idea in a materialistic attitude, often subjecting purely ideal conceptions to material condition and accidents. Accepting and affirming with characteristic ardor all the great doctrines of the Church respecting the person and work of Christ, he came to view, and so to present, those great truths in a form somewhat different from that usually given to them by the cotemporary orthodoxy. Confessing Christ as the Saviour of the redeemed, and regarding his death as truly and really a ransom price and propitiation, his mind grasped the whole work of the incarnation as a redemptive process, which indeed culminated at the cross, but the efficiency of which resided essentially in the conjunction of the Godhead with manhood in the person of the Son of Mary. It became therefore a point of interest to present in a strong light the humanity of Christ, not as an ideal something unlike our humanity, but as of the seed of Abraham according to the flesh, and *in all things* made like unto his brethren. This idea, at once so consistent with both Scripture and reason, and so full of comfort to the believer, he seized with all the avidity of an earnest soul, and set forth in language perhaps not sufficiently guarded and qualified. Viewing our nature as fallen when it was assumed by the eternal Word, and failing to distinguish sufficiently between the effects of sin upon that nature and proper sinfulness, he ascribed sin to our Lord's humanity, and so made Jesus his own redeemer. His notions on this subject were rather a growth in his mind than a suddenly formed conviction; and while something of the kind can be traced in his earlier teachings, they had escaped particular notice till about the time here referred to. The views of the character and work of Christ thus given might have excited notice had they been guarded with all needful circumspection of language, for the orthodoxy

of the age had fixed its gaze upon two points of the doctrine of Christ, his divinity and his sacrifice, and had mostly left out of view the significance and the verity of the incarnation. But when these unusual views of that doctrine were presented in strong and glowing language that approached to hyperbole, and which thrust forth what seemed to be another Gospel, the recoil of the Christian sentiment was no more than a natural result. Neither the preacher nor his friends, whether of his own times or of ours, could have any right to complain that exceptions were taken, and that men took pains to inform themselves respecting the opinions he held and taught upon a subject at once so important and so delicate. Heresy hunting is always an ungrateful business; but since the Church has solemnly enjoined all its ministers to "be ready with all faithful diligence to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrines," the detection and exposition of such things cannot be the odious thing that some would stigmatize it as being. Probably most that denounce the practice have private reasons for their special dislike toward it. Mrs. Oliphant makes a great outcry about the arraignment of her client at the bar of the religious public, as if some great wrong had been done him. But we do not see it. Every public teacher is responsible to the public for his doctrines, and it is no hardship when any such are called upon to vindicate themselves if anything of a doubtful character is promulgated by them.

As this matter led to important results at the time, and was some years later, by a very doubtful stretch of power, made the grounds of his degradation from the ministry, a further notice of it may not be improper. It is due to Irving to repeat the assurance that he was himself quite unaware that there was anything novel or unusual in the views which he set forth. It is also only just to add, that as to the great doctrines of Christ, his divinity and his humanity, his sacrifice and eternal priesthood, his views were in entire accordance with those of evangelical Christendom. But while the Church had, for the most part, directed its attention to his sacrifice, as that to which all else in the life of the Redeemer was subordinated, he took in a larger view which contemplated the whole work of the *incarnation* of the Word as redemptive, in that by it the Godhead came into vital union with humanity, fallen and under

the law. This last thought carried to his realistic mode of thinking the notion of Christ's participation in the fallen character of humanity, which he designated by terms that implied a real sinfulness in Christ. His attempt to get rid of the odiousness of that idea by saying that this was overborne and at length wholly expelled by the indwelling Godhead, helped the matter but little, and still left him open to grave censures for at least an unhappy method of statement. But under all this there is unquestionably a most precious Gospel truth, and if Irving was justly condemned for an unwarrantable misstatemant of certain doctrines of Christianity, the orthodoxy of the age may be justly called to account for its partial exhibition of those doctrines. For centuries the Church has been actively occupied in setting forth and defending the doctrine of Christ's divinity, until that of his humanity has largely fallen out of its thinkings. It is quite time to cease from this one-sidedness and to take in a whole Gospel. Fallen humanity demands a sympathizing no less than an almighty Saviour; and if indeed Jesus is to be that Saviour he must be apprehended by our faith, as "man with man," and as really and fully "touched with a *sense* of our infirmities." The Church of Rome answers to the heart's yearning for human sympathy in the Mediator by giving that office to Mary; while our misformed practical creeds remove Jesus beyond our sympathies, and give us no other Mediator. The Church awaits the coming of a John, uprising from the Saviour's bosom, to set forth in all fullness the blessedness of the grace of Jesus, the *incarnate* God, who hath "borne our griefs and carried our sorrows."

From the gathering storm of contention, Irving, in the spring of 1828, set off for Scotland to proclaim among his kindred the speedy coming of the Lord. At his native Annan he preached in the open air to the whole assembled country-side, all the churches being shut up on that Sabbath-day. For once a prophet was not without honor in his own country. Next he went to Edinburgh, now full of the clergy of all Scotland, who were attending the annual session of the assembly, to whom he came like another Elias. The exercises were held in St. Andrew's Church, where he had engaged to deliver twelve lectures on the Apocalypse. In order to avoid interfering with the usual daily duties of those who wished to hear him, the

meetings were held at six in the morning; and even at that apparently unfavorable hour the house was usually crammed before the appointed time for two successive weeks. "He is drawing prodigious crowds," wrote Chalmers; "we attempted this morning to force our way into St. Andrew's Church, but it was all in vain. He changes to the West Church for the accommodation of the public." To the West Church, with its "three hideous galleries," the crowd therefore rushed; and if more were accommodated within its ample area than at St. Andrew's, the crowd that struggled for admittance was scarcely less. One may readily agree with Chalmers, who confessed, "Certainly there must have been a marvelous power of attraction that could turn a whole population out of their beds as early as five in the morning." That great preacher and divine at length succeeded in hearing him, and though he recognized the effectiveness of the lecturer's oratory, he declared of the performance as a whole, "It is quite woeful." The current that bore away the multitude failed to move Chalmers from his self-possession; probably from a defect of magnetic affinity between the two they repelled rather than attracted each other. From Edinburgh Irving proceeded next to Glasgow, then to Paisley, Greenock, and Rosneath, and was everywhere attended by excited crowds of wondering and bewildered listeners. There is a stage of excitement that assumes the form of calmness, and is compatible with a degree of repose, and to this he had evidently attained. Apparently unmoved by the tempest he had raised, he wrote to his wife, "I have fairly launched my bark; God speed us;" and then proceeded to fill up the letter with expressions of private endearments and friendly congratulations.

Probably at this time, though he was not aware of it, Irving had come to feel that his position was outside of the recognized orthodoxy of the Scotch Church. He was therefore in a condition to sympathize with, and to be attracted to any whom he might presume to be in like circumstances. At that time Mr. Campbell, the minister of Row, had become an object of distrust for holding and teaching certain notions concerning the atonement not in agreement with those of the national creed. Breaking away from the Procrustean high Calvinism of the Westminster Confession, he contemplated the whole world.

as provisionally and really redeemed by Christ; and without inferring the necessary salvation of every man, he asserted the gracious freeness of the offers of the Gospel to all men. Escapes from the iron shackles of that creed too often result in going over to an opposite extreme, and quite possibly that was Mr. Campbell's case; but his piety and evangelical zeal were beyond all question. He and Irving were at length brought together, and of course were strongly drawn toward each other by common religious sympathies; and as usual, Irving, though confessedly the greater, was drawn into the orbit of the other. Already he had adopted the primary article in the disfavored creed of his newly-found friend, that the redemption of Christ was not only prospective, but actual too; and not only for segregated individuals, but also for aggregate humanity; and though his natural liking for dark mysteries might incline him to favor the scheme of predestination, the warm impulses of his heart were instinctively on the side of a universal atonement. Out of this apparently casual conjunction in the sequel grew up other deeply interesting results, then quite unseen by either of the parties.

During his triumphal progress in Scotland he met with a Mr. Alexander Scott, who was then a "probationer," whom he engaged to become the assistant minister of the National Scotch Church. Scott was even more erratic in his theological notions, as tried by the standards of Scotch orthodoxy, than either Irving or Campbell, and possessed superior power of logical perception and discrimination, but without a particle of enthusiasm in his nature. Among other tenets he held that the "spiritual gifts" of the apostolic age ought still to be exercised in the Church, and that only the prevailing unbelief prevented their manifestation. Irving at first paid but little attention to the suggestion; but by a sure though unrecognized process his mind drifted into a state of half conviction, which only required what should seem to be direct evidence to make the conviction perfect. A variety of recorded facts show this to have been a season of unusual religious quickening, especially among the border Scotch parishes—one of those occasional awakenings of the religious consciousness of a people which, account for them as one may, cannot be denied as matters of fact. Irving's preaching had seconded, and perhaps somewhat diverted from

its purely spiritual manifestation this special religious feeling. A young woman of Fernicarry, of great beauty and cleverness, and of saintly piety, which attracted to her an unusual degree of attention, about this time became first the subject and then the occasion of a new and remarkable religious excitement. At the expense of space that we can ill afford, we insert Irving's own characteristic and highly illustrative account of the affair:

> The handmaiden of the Lord, of whom he made choice on that night (a Sunday evening in the end of March) to manifest forth in her his glory, had been long afflicted with a disease which the medical men pronounced to be a decline, and that it would soon bring her to her grave, whither her sister had been hurried by the same malady some months before. Yet while all around her were anticipating her dissolution, she was in the strength of faith meditating missionary labors among the heathen; and this night she was to receive the preparation of the Spirit; the preparation of the body she received not till some days after. It was on the Lord's day, and one of her sisters, along with a female friend, who had come to the house for that end, had been spending the whole day in humiliation, fasting, and prayer before God, with a special respect to the restoration of the gifts. They had come up in the evening to the sick chamber of their sister, who was laid on a sofa, and, along with one or two others of the household, were engaged in prayer together. When in the midst of their devotion the Holy Ghost came with mighty power upon the sick woman as she lay in her weakness, and constrained her to speak at great length and with superhuman strength in an unknown tongue, to the astonishment of all who heard, and to her own great edification and enjoyment in God; "for he that speaketh in a tongue edifieth himself." She has told me that this first seizure of the Spirit was the strongest she ever had, and that it was in some degree necessary it should have been so, otherwise she would not have dared to give way to it.—P. 279.

A similar phenomenon was witnessed a few days later at some miles distance, on the other side of the Clyde, with two brothers and an invalid sister, (Macdonalds,) persons of the most sober and unimaginative characters, all of whom "spake with tongues;" and the sister experienced a wonderful miracle of healing, effected at the solemn command of one of the brothers. Of the reality of these phenomena, and many more of the same kind which occurred in those parts soon afterward, there was no lack of evidence. Of course the attention of the clergy was attracted to these things; and while Story of Rosneath, (in whose parish the first case had occurred,) and Campbell of Row,

and Erskine of Linlathen accepted the "sign" as verified spiritual manifestations, Chalmers, and others like him, "inquired, but would not condemn." Irving, too, heard of and inquired respecting these strange things, and with but little hesitation accepted them as sufficiently attested cases of the long-lost and recently earnestly sought "spiritual gifts;" and many of his Church, prepared by his previous teachings, were also quite ready to give the subject no unfriendly consideration.

It was at this time becoming more and more apparent that the mental action of the great preacher had become so erratic as to be no longer a safe guide of action. His more discreet friends were becoming alarmed, and apprehensive of the most painful results. Chalmers again visited London early in 1830, and with Coleridge called upon him, the common friend of these two great but very dissimilar men. The visit was an unsatisfactory and a sad one. Chalmers buried his sorrow at a result that he had not improbably feared, in silence; but Coleridge, half sorrowful and half indignant, eloquently eulogized the greatness of his now shipwrecked friend, "mourning pathetically that such a man should be throwing himself away." Chalmers both loved and honored his earnest, honest, and erratic brother, and these sentiments were doubtless reciprocated; but he was utterly powerless to withhold him from the course into which he was rushing, and from the catastrophe to which it must inevitably lead. He therefore stood aloof in silence.

The year 1831 found Irving in the midst of his contests with his outside ecclesiastical relations, and also eagerly occupied with the new religious wonders which had appeared in his own Church. As to the former, they uniformly went against him, for they were prosecuted by men of but narrow minds, more set on defending a formal and barren orthodoxy than on exercising a broad and enlightened charity, while his attempted defenses rather damaged than helped his cause. Having a year before acceded to the opinion that the "spiritual gifts" were attainable in answer to prayer, he and a large number of the members of his Church had agreed to pray continuously for their bestowment. Conscious that they had "asked in faith," (such was his self-deluding reasoning,) it seemed but little less than blasphemous to doubt that they would be given. Their devotions —they met each morning for prayer—became more and more

ecstatic, and at length assumed the form of excited and wholly unintelligible utterances. Here, then, was manifested the "gift of tongues" of the Apostolic Church. At first Irving held the "gifted ones" in some degree of restraint, claiming that his office in the Church devolved on him the right and duty to control the exercises of the Church; but that was only temporary, as the growing tide of fanaticism soon swept away all opposition. He had indeed attempted to "try the spirits;" but as he believed before he examined, so his investigations could only confirm his foregone conclusions. Writing to Dr. Martin, (his father-in-law,) October 26, 1831, he announced the further fact that the Lord had "raised up the order of prophets" in his (Irving's) Church, "who both speak with tongues and prophesy;" and then, predicting opposition to the new order of things, he adds, sadly: "But the Lord's will be done. I must forsake all for him. I live by faith daily, for *I daily look for his appearing*."

The strange and frightful drama of fanaticism was thus at length fully opened in the National Scotch Church in London. The chief actors were confessedly among the most consistently devout persons of that and of other Churches, the latter attracted thither by its congenial atmosphere, which fact had great influence over many minds who were not much affected by the prevailing excitement. "Speaking with tongues" was the first "sign" that appeared, and it continued to be the principal, though by no means the only one. That phenomenon, as described by those in whom it appeared, and by others, usually occurred during or soon after a season of earnest prayer or other religious exercises, and came upon the subject unsought and often undesired. The utterances were usually at first slow and emphatic, but became by degrees rapid and indistinct, without pauses, cadences, or other modulations, except a kind of wild rhythm, the subject seeming to be all the while in a kind of mesmeric ecstasy. As to the purport of the utterances "in the unknown tongue," the speakers commonly knew as little as the hearers; a fact which Irving, with the usual logical perverseness of fanaticism, refused to notice when he said of these, "He that speaketh in an unknown tongue edifieth himself." Sometimes the utterances would be in English words, but then between the indistinctness of enunciation and their

incoherency and lack of any meaning whatever, they were scarcely more intelligible than the others. Of the unknown tongues some had the sound of the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; and single words of these languages might be heard occasionally, and sometimes the whole seemed to be made up of mingled and mangled snatches of various modern languages, while others were evidently original jargon. In tone and manner they were often admonitory, and became by degrees fiercely denunciatory; first against outside opposers, and at length against those in the Church who were suspected of opposing the "gifts." Irving for a while endeavored to control and direct the tempest, but it proved too powerful for him, and all things were given up to go "by revelation;" and that mighty mover of the tornado sat down in submission like a blind Samson, to employ his powers only as others might dictate — a dictation that was exercised most remorselessly by his new keepers.

The peculiar affection of the "gifted ones" appeared first in the morning prayer-meetings, and its demonstrations were for a while confined to the less public exercises of the worshipers. But it presently became epidemical, and spread through the whole congregation, and refused to be restrained. For some time a kind of compromise was maintained by the partisans of the new order and those of the old — these permitting the exercise of the gifts on all occasions except in the Sabbath-day services, and the others agreeing to abstain from their demonstrations in the public congregation. But soon this was declared to be an unwarranted interference with the liberty of the Spirit; so while the trustees of the Church resolutely withstood the introduction of the gifts into the public congregation, Irving, after some hesitation, declared that he "could not restrain the Spirit of the Lord." A collision accordingly took place, the whole body of the trustees, including William Hamilton, Irving's tenderly attached brother-in-law, going in favor of excluding the new prophets; the result of which was the ejectment of the minister and his associates in the new order from their house of worship, thereafter to assemble in entire freedom, first in Robert Owen's Hall, at Grey's Inn, and afterward in West's Picture Gallery, in Newman-street, and to develop and run to seed, or rather into the ground, their rampant fanaticism. Irving's condition was just then one to excite only the most

kindly pity, since no doubt in all that he did he acted in good faith, and in a spirit of sacrifice as unselfish as it was sincere. The desolation of his altered condition is thus sketched by Mrs. Oliphant:

> On all sides the friends of years parted from Irving's side. His wife's relations, with whom he had exchanged so many good offices and tender counsels, were, to a man, against him; so were his elders, with one exception. His friends outside the ecclesiastical boundaries were still less tolerant. Thomas Carlyle and his wife, both much beloved, not only disagreed, but remonstrated; the former making a vehement protestation against the "Bedlam" and "Chaos" to which his friend's steps were tending, which Irving listened to in silence, covering his face with his hands. When the philosopher had said, doubtless in no measured or lukewarm terms, what he had to say, the mournful apostle lifted his head and addressed him with all the tenderness of their youth—"Dear friend!"—that turning of the other cheek seems to have touched the heart of the sage almost too deeply to make him aware what was the defense which the other returned to his fiery words. None of his old supporters, hitherto so devoted and loyal, stood by Irving in this extremity; nobody except the wife, who shared all his thoughts, and followed him faithfully in faith, as well as in love, to the margin of the grave.—P. 447.

The denouement of the play had now fairly begun, and it rapidly hastened to its close. The "gifted ones" at Newman-street had things in their own hands, and everything proceeded by "vision," and "prophecy," and in the "Spirit;" to all of which Irving gave the most reverent and obedient attention. Pity and indignation are the prevailing sentiments that arise upon the contemplation of these things, of which we give to Irving much of the former and but little of the latter; but reverse this order as to his miserable and mischievous associates. His fall would certainly seem to have been sufficiently low to disarm all resentment, and to induce any who were capable of a noble sentiment to choose rather to cover up his shame than to punish him for his departure from the bounds of a just discretion. But not so thought some of his ministerial brethren, who now, in much the same spirit in which some have dug up the bones of dead traitors and heretics, in order to visit upon them the vengeance which they escaped in their lifetime, proceeded to bring to punishment their recusant brother. The Presbytery of Annan, by which body Irving had been first licensed to preach, but not ordained, by a remarkable stretch of power claimed

still the right to depose him; and accordingly he was called to answer to that body respecting certain alleged heretical opinions concerning our Lord's human nature, and of course he was found guilty of heresy and deposed from the ministry. Respecting the questions at issue in that case, we have before intimated that the truth was rather with Irving than his accusers; but all that, as is usual in such cases, availed nothing. It was passion and not reason that dictated the whole proceeding. But Irving was practically out of their reach, and, as might have been anticipated, he treated their sentence as a nullity, and proceeded from the place of his trial to preach to assembled thousands in the church-yards of the surrounding parishes. Returning to London, he found the authority which had been formally, and as by courtesy, conceded to him, while the real authority was exercised by the "gifted ones," now openly denied him. Hitherto he had assumed to be, and was recognized as the "angel" of the Church, and therefore invested with the chief administrative powers. It was now declared, however, "by revelation" that his former "fleshly ordination" was invalid, though after some delay he was reordained by the prophets of this new dispensation. But as the less is blessed of the greater, so the superiority of the ordaining prophets was most effectively asserted over their *ungifted* but mighty neophyte. That powerful eloquence, so effective to command all hearts, was tolerated only by favor, and often was silenced to give place to the wild confusion of the "tongues," and the equally senseless and more driveling prattle of some of the "gifted," who, when "in the power," did not hesitate to rebuke their great preacher, who meekly bowed to the authority he had recognized, and with sad thankfulness accepted the asinine vaporing of "the prophets."

But happily the season of this deep degradation was not permitted to be a protracted one. At the beginning of 1834 he was allowed "by revelation" to visit again the northern metropolis, to proclaim once more in his own country the near-at-hand coming of the Lord. And it is said that even then, though his former fervor had somewhat abated, there was in his utterances a plaintive pathos scarcely less effective than his mightiest intellectual efforts. But the magic power that had before moved all Scotland had strangely departed, and Samson had become

like another man. Returning after some time to London, only to be rebuked and chided by prating prophets speaking "in the power," he submitted with the docility of childhood and the faith of a martyr to these new indignities. But both his work and his humiliations were approaching their termination in a common event. The over-tasked energies of his body and mind presently showed signs of a collapse, and by rapid stages he sunk into deliriums, which were removed only by the bright transition of the emancipated spirit to its own elysian rest. A great and a good man, a mighty but an erratic genius, was Edward Irving. The lessons of his life, though sad, are full of instruction for both the heart and the understanding. They show that the intellect of an angel and the heart of a seraph are wholly insufficient to preserve their possessor if the madness of fanaticism gets possession of the soul, and that genuine piety may survive its most violent attacks.

Art. II.—CONCERNING ORGANIC UNITY IN ANIMALS AND VEGETABLES.

[FIRST ARTICLE.—TRANSLATED FROM THE "REVUE DES DEUX MONDES."]

Études Diverses d'Anatomie Comparée, (1849–62.) 1. The Homologies of the Human Skeleton, by Holmes Coote.—2. Principes d'Ostéologie, de Richard Owen.—3. Le Squelette des Vertébrés, par M. Charles Rouget.—4. Traité d'Anatomie Descriptive, tome 1, par MM. Cruvielhier et Fee.—5. De la Conformation Osseuse de la Tête, etc.: Thèse soutenue à Montpelier, en 1862, par M. C. Bertrand, etc.

In 1774 an anatomist who died young, but whose name will not perish, Vicq-d'Azyr, presented to the Paris Academy of Sciences a memoir "Upon the Relations existing between the Structure and Functions of the Four Extremities in Man and the lower Animals." Condorcet, named by the Academy to prepare a report on this work, appreciated it in the following terms: "By comparative anatomy is commonly understood the observation of the relations and differences that exist between analogous parts in men and animals, or more generally, in dif-

ferent species of animals. M. Vicq-d'Azyr here presents an essay in another species of Comparative Anatomy which has hitherto been but little cultivated, and upon which only a few isolated observations are found in anatomists; this is the investigation of the relations subsisting between the different parts of the same individual. . . . Thus in this new kind of Comparative Anatomy, says M. Vicq-d'Azyr, we observe, as in ordinary Comparative Anatomy, these two characteristics which nature seems to have impressed upon all beings, that of *Constancy in Type and Variety in Modification.* She seems to have formed these different species and their corresponding parts upon one same plan which she knows how infinitely to modify."

Eighty-eight years have fled since Condorcet pronounced these memorable words, and not only has the constancy of type announced by Vicq-d'Azyr been verified, but all natural philosophers are agreed in regarding the entire animal kingdom as the infinitely varied realization of this ideal type. The laws to which these variations are submissive have been discovered in their turn, and Embryology, that is, the study of the development of beings, has confirmed them. But before coming to the construction of the *type* and expounding the laws of its modification some definitions appear indispensable.

Several kinds of anatomy exist: first, *Descriptive*, or *Topographic Anatomy*, which is restricted to making known the form, size, and relations of organs in man and the animals. Most of these organs being concealed from our view by the common envelope of the body, the scalpel is requisite to open our way to them. When vegetables are the subject of Descriptive Anatomy it takes the name of *Organography*, for in them all the apparatus is exterior; these are buds, leaves, flowers, and fruits. Aristotle, whose grand form appears at the origin of all human learning, understood that it does not suffice to describe the organs of an isolated being, but that it is necessary to compare them with those of other animals, to seize their analogies, to appreciate their differences, since these analogies or these differences are literally exemplified by the aptitudes, functions, and customs of the animals studied from this point of view. Comparative Anatomy begot *Philosophic Anatomy*, of which Vicq-d'Azyr and Condorcet were the pioneers; and soon after Bichat, at once anatomist

and physician, laid the foundations of *General Anatomy.* In this science the identity of a tissue is recognized in the various parts of the organization; thus it is proved that the envelopes of the brain, lungs, digestive organs, and the membraneous sacs which facilitate the play of the articulations, are all of the same nature, and Bichat gave them the name serous membranes, which they still retain.

The perfection of the microscope and the employment of chemical reactives having furnished the means of penetrating deeper into the structure of vegetable and animal tissues, the name of *Histology* has been lately given to that branch of General Anatomy which renders us more and more acquainted with the inner structure of living tissues. In plants, the organs of respiration and reproduction being all external, Vegetable Anatomy is properly speaking nothing but Histology; that is, the knowledge of the tissues composing the roots, stalks, leaves, fruits, flowers, and seeds.

All these branches of Anatomy lend each other mutual support; united with Zoology and Botany, which classify organized beings according to their natural affinities, they lead us to the conception of a general science of organization and to the discovery of the laws which rule the whole, of which we form a part. All these laws may be summed up in one, promulgated by Vicq-d'Azyr and Condorcet, Constancy in Type and Variety in Modification; but this unity results from a certain number of secondary laws which we are going to study in their successive manifestations in vegetables and animals. These laws are, the law of Symmetry, Metamorphosis or Transformation of Organs, their Balance and Constancy of Connections. Penetrated with their spirit and informed of their consequences, we can proceed to the establishment of the vegetable and animal type. The reader will then clearly see what is the present state and what the future of our knowledge of the highest and most philosophic part of the general science of organized beings.

I. *Law of Symmetry in Animals and Vegetables.*

All organized beings are symmetrical, that is, composed of similar halves; but this symmetry is not the same in the entire series of animals and vegetables. Consider a vegetable and suppose it cut into halves by a vertical plane. To whatever

point of the compass the plane may be turned, whether directed from north to south, from east to west, from north-east to south-west, no matter, the vegetable will always be divided into two symmetrical parts. The same law applies to the flower, which is the most complicated apparatus, the most conspicuous part of the vegetable. Examine a regular flower, a lily, ranunculus, rose, or primrose; any plane whatever will always divide these flowers into two equal parts, provided this plane pass through the center of the flower and be perpendicular to the plane of insertion for the petals and stamens. This law applies equally to the animals which compose the last division of the animal kingdom, the zoophites or radiata. A star-fish, echinus, medusa, sea anemone, are symmetrical, like regular flowers; like them, they are formed of parts that seem arranged as the radii of a circle whose center would correspond to that of the animal. But in vegetables even we have the index of another kind of symmetry. The plane which separates the two similar parts no longer takes any point of the compass at random, but a determinate direction. Take a sage, snapdragon, foxglove, pea, or kidney bean flower, etc., an irregular flower in a word, it can be divided into two equal parts only by a single vertical plane passing through the axis of the flower; this is bilateral symmetry. In the animal kingdom it rules the three higher divisions: the Vertebrata, Articulata, and Mollusca. Thus man presents the bilateral symmetry. The plane which divides him into two similar parts passes through the sternum, a bone set in the middle of the breast, and the spinal column. This plane is designated as the vertebro-sternal.

In vegetables which are deprived of internal organs, the law of symmetry is absolute and true in respect to internal as well as external parts. Not so with animals; evident and true as to external and visible parts, it is not so with those which are interior; thus the lungs, heart, stomach, liver, and intestines are not symmetrical organs, and are not even symmetrically posited, relative to the vertebro-sternal plane, in the cavities by which they are inclosed. The law of symmetry applies solely to organs of sense, to members which are organs of movement, and to the nervous system, namely, the brain, spinal marrow, and all nerves of sensation and motion; in other terms, to all parts which put us into relations with the external world. The

organs of relative life, to express myself like physiologists, are therefore perfectly symmetrical; but not so those which fulfill purely vegetative functions, such as the lungs, liver, spleen, stomach, and digestive canal. In the animal kingdom the law is absolute, and a few exceptions, like the fish called pleuronecta, whose eyes are both on the same side, cannot invalidate it. Beside the Law of Symmetry appears another, a modification of the former, which I shall call the *Law of Repetition*. Examine a leech, a wood-louse, a caterpillar; is it not evident that these animals are composed of a great number of segments, or rings, which are all the repetition one of another? The first ring, that of the head, and the last, alone differ; the others are identical in form and structure. In a lobster, or a crawfish, the resemblance is least, but it exists. We recognize it further in the body of insects, always composed of three like portions, the head, the corslet, and the abdomen. Finally, even in the mammifers, in man himself, the law of repetition is manifest. In fact, if we suppose a plane perpendicular to the vertebral column and placed horizontally at the height of the loins, this plane divides the human skeleton into halves, an upper and a lower. These parts are neither similar nor symmetrical, but either is a repetition of the other. The lower limbs are the repetition of the superior, the bones of the base recall those of the shoulder, the coccyx is the image of the neck. The head alone, an adjunct of the superior part, is wanting in the inferior. The parallel may be carried into detail, but it requires special knowledge, which I cannot expect in most persons who will take the trouble of reading this study.

The world is ruled by mathematical laws. Newton, who unvailed to us those which govern the course of the stars, called God the great Geometer. He foresaw that the structure of organized beings would one day be reduced to laws equally simple, equally general. The planets revolve around the sun, describing ellipses; the parabola, the route followed by non-periodical comets, being only a special form of the ellipse, the latter becomes the fundamental geometric figure in the celestial mechanism. In the bosom of the earth minerals crystallize in polyhedrons, following immutable laws. Despite their greatly varied appearance, all those whose chemical composition is the same have a like primitive form whence all secondary forms

are derived; thus eight hundred crystalline forms of carbonate of lime are enumerated; they are all derived from the parallelopiped, the primitive form of this substance.

The geometrical figure according to which the parts composing organized beings are disposed is the spiral, or rather the helix, which is only a spiral wound round a cylinder. This spiral has been traced out in the vegetable kingdom by Alexander Braun, Schimpfer, and Bravais. Take a pear branch, quite straight, a cutting called gormand, then select any leaf whatever for a point of departure, and call it zero; next count the leaves successively upward, and numbering them one, two, three, four, stop at leaf five, you will see that you have gone twice round the branch, and that the fifth leaf is directly above the zero leaf. This is the figure called the quincunx, and the angle that separates any leaf from the following one is equal to two fifths of the circumference. The different parts which compose the flower, namely, the sepols, petals, stamens, and carpels, are likewise disposed in spirals; only the spiral is so flattened that they seem arranged on so many concentric circles. When the organs are numerous and drawn together, as, for example, in houseleek rosettes, the large aggregate flowers like the sunflower, the fruit of the pine-apple, the cones of pines and firs, the eye perceives at first several systems of spires, gendered by one fundamental or generative spire. In pine cones this spire is such, that after eight revolutions about the axis, the scale numbered twenty-one comes above that numbered zero. The angle which separates two successive scales is $\frac{8}{21}$ of the circumference. Thus we find again that constancy of angles which we demonstrate in regular crystals, and these leaves, flowers, scales, which seem sown hap-hazard on the stalk, are arranged according to invariable geometrical laws.

The helix rules equally in the animal kingdom; the quills of hedgehogs, the scales of fish and serpents, form continuous or discontinuous spires around the body of these animals. In a multitude of shells the helix is so well sketched that geometry has borrowed the name of this figure from the shell of the snail (helix), where it is displayed with a distinctness and regularity that attracts every eye. In mollusks with helicoid shells, even the body of the animal is twisted into a spiral; but it obeys the geometrical law which controls the arrangement of the

appendices of the trunk. M. Charles Rouget has shown that the disposition in interwoven spirals prevails in the muscular system of animals; it is found in the abdominal muscles in man, in the structure of the heart, the arteries, the esophagus, the bladder, etc., and in the cylindrical body of cartilaginous fish, such as the cyclastomous ones, (lamprey, lump-fish, and myxon.) In every skeleton of the vertebrates a single bone is twisted, that of the arm; now it is twisted in a helix of 180 degrees, or a half circumference in terrestrial or aquatic mammifers, as man, the lion, seal, and dolphin; of 90 degrees, or a right angle, in birds, and reptiles like turtles, lizards, and frogs. The sea unicorn, great cetacean monster of the Arctic seas, carries a tusk often six and a half feet long; it is twisted into a helix, and has served as a model for the frontal horn of the fabulous unicorn which figures in the coat of arms of Great Britain.

II. *Metamorphosis or Transformation of Organs.*

The symmetry of organized beings and the regular arrangement of the external organs are two points which I regard as established. At first glance we are frightened at the number and variety of these organs; in plants, leaves, bracts, sepals, petals, stamens, fruit, and seed; in animals, feet, hands, wings, fins, etc. All these various organs can be reduced to unity; all have as a basis one and the same organ, infinitely transformed and adapted to the most diverse functions. In order to be better understood, I commence with the animal kingdom, and in the animal kingdom with the class to which we belong, the mammifers. I examine in this class what are the modifications of the limb, upper or lower. In man this is a hand, especially an organ of precision, lending itself to all the exigencies of the will, a docile instrument of human thought in the accomplishment of all wonders of art and industry. But already in the ape this very perfect hand is degraded. Provided with four hands, and not, like man, with two hands and two feet, the ape walks or climbs by the aid of his hands; while with man the hand is never an organ of locomotion, but remains ever in the service of the intellect. In some apes the thumb disappears; this is a further degree of degradation; but the organ is always recognizable. It is no longer so in the bat.

The hand has become a wing, and yet its structure is unchanged; the thumb is reduced to a simple hook; the digits, disproportionately long, are united by a membrane which envelopes the whole body; the organ of prehension is metamorphosed into a wing, and without creating anything *de novo*, nature succeeds in producing from essentially climbing animals beings whose life is wholly aerial, for the bat can neither walk nor climb, it can only fly. Yet all its characteristics approximate those of the ape and man. Its place is marked at the end of the series of mammifers, all whose characteristics it presents. We come to the carnivora: here is a more sensible difference between the anterior and posterior members. The extremity takes the name of paw. The digits are neither long nor separate, the organ is no longer an organ of prehension: a cat, a dog seize an object only by pressing it between their fore paws; their limbs and digits are locomotive organs, and they walk on the point of their claws. In the bear an imperfect heel permits an oblique, vertical position, whose awkwardness awakens the mirth of the child, who already has the idea of a perfectly vertical attitude. The paw of the cat and bear enjoys great mobility, and, consequently, a certain address; their fore limbs are not merely organs of locomotion, but still serve for seizing and holding their prey. It is not the same with the ruminants and the solipeds: with the ox, sheep, stag, or horse the limbs are simple supporting columns; with the first they terminate in two digits, these are cloven-footed ruminants; with the others by a single digit, these are the horse and his congeners, the ass, zebra, etc.

All the animals of which we have just spoken are terrestrial or aerial. A final transformation devotes them to an aquatic existence. In seals and sea-cows, the digits, united by a membrane, have become oars, and in cetaceans (porpoise, dolphin, whale) true fins; but the skeleton is always composed of the same bones, moved by the same muscles. The functions have changed; the type of the member has remained immutable. It is the same instrument, whose forms and uses alone have varied. We find them again in birds. With these the digits are undeveloped, but are replaced by feathers. A bird flies, like a bat, by the help of his hands; but the end is attained by a different artifice. In reptiles the limbs are transformed anew into organs

for locomotion on land or swimming in water, but they rather impel than carry the body; thence the creeping gait, which consists in drawing the belly of the animal over the ground, like turtles, crocodiles, lizards, and frogs. Finally, in the serpent the limbs disappear, and the animal walks by the help of his false ribs, which become organs of motion, while in the superior animals they protect the viscera of the lower belly. In fish the members reappear, but apparently under a different form; they are fins composed of rays; these rays are our digits, and the arm of man himself is composed of five rays confounded in the single bone of the arm, reduced to two in the forearm, and perfectly distinct only in the hand. Thus in all the vertebrates the members are constructed on the same type. The numerous exigencies of the most various kinds of life, at the surface of or under the earth, in the air or water, are satisfied by the same organ fundamentally identical, but unrecognizable by our corporeal eyes, through the diversity of its forms and the variety of its uses; the mind's eye can alone discern them. Man, a vulgar mechanic, fabricates an instrument according to the end he desires to attain; nature makes but one, and limits herself to modifying it as need requires; she is sober in creation, lavish in metamorphosis.

Are other examples desired? In the higher animals the nose is the organ of the sense of smell; in the hog, the tapir, it becomes a snout, with which the animal roots the earth; in the elephant it is prolonged into a flexible trumpet, furnished with a movable digit, and its extremity fulfills the function of a hand. Nothing is more different at first view than the envelopes which cover the body of the mammifers; at bottom their nature is identical, they are always skins; variously agglutinated, they form the bristles of the boar, the quills of the hedgehog and porcupine, the scales of the pangolin, the nasal horns of the rhinoceros, or frontal ones of the ox, sheep, goat, the claws of carnivorous animals, the hoofs of horses, and, finally, the nails of apes and men. The tail, wanting in man and the anthropomorphic baboons, becomes prehensile, and fulfills the office of a fifth hand in American apes, the kinkajou, the didelphys, the chameleon; while it serves for a base, support, or true foot in the kangaroo and jerboa. An organ is not therefore characterized by its use, for the same organ fills the most diverse roles, and

reciprocally, the same function may be accomplished by very different organs; thus the nose and the tail may perform the office of the hand, which, in its turn, becomes a wing, an oar, a fin. Thus De Candolle said in his lectures: "Birds fly *because* they have wings; but a true naturalist would never say, 'Birds have wings in order to fly.'" The distinction seems puerile; it is really profound. In fact, the ostrich has wings which can never sustain him in the air, but which quicken his speed; those of the casoer and the apterix of New Zealand are so little developed that they serve absolutely no purpose. These facts are the condemnation of final causes. We see, indeed, that functions are a result, not an end. The animal undergoes the kind of life that his organs impose, and submits to the imperfections of his organization. The naturalist studies the play of his apparatus, and if he has the right of admiring most of its parts, he has likewise that of showing the imperfection of other parts and the practical uselessness of those which fulfill no function. Goethe has so well expressed these thoughts that the reader will thank me for translating this fragment of a conversation which he had with Enkerman on the evening of February 20, 1831:

Man is naturally disposed to regard himself as the center and end of creation, and consider all beings surrounding him as intended to subserve his personal advantage. He seizes upon the animal and vegetable kingdom, devours them, and glorifies the God whose paternal goodness prepared the festal board. He takes the cow's milk, the bee's honey, the sheep's wool, and because he renders these animals useful to himself, fancies they were created for his use. He cannot imagine the least blade of grass but for his benefit, and when he cannot discover any utility, thinks it will be unvailed in time. Man transfers this logic of ordinary life to science, and applies it to the different parts which compose each particular being. He inquires for the work and utility of each. These little reasonings may be drawn out for a time, but soon their insufficiency appears from the contradictions they create. Finalists say, "Oxen have horns to defend themselves;" but then, why have sheep none? and if they do have them, why are they turned backward about their ears so as to be of no use? We must say, "The ox defends himself with horns because he has them." Inquiring for the end, the why is not scientific; but one may put the question how the ox comes to have horns on his forehead. This inquiry leads us to study his organization, and informs us why the lion has no horns and can have none. The finalists would think themselves deprived of their God if they did not worship him who gave the ox horns for his defense. Permit me to adore him who, in the profusion of plants that cover the earth, has created one which

contains them all, and in the profusion of animals, one who comprehends all in himself, man. Let them venerate, if they will, him who has abundantly provided for the nourishment of the beasts and for ours; as for me, I adore him who has given the world a productive force whose millionth part alone, entering into life, peoples the globe with innumerable creatures that neither pestilence, war, water, nor fire can destroy. Behold my God!*

The interior organs suffer metamorphoses analogous to those of the limbs. In the mammifers, birds, and reptiles, the respiratory organs fill the chest, the air falls into the lungs, and its oxygen combines with the blood. Fish plunged in water respire the air decomposed in this liquid. In them the lungs no longer exist as respiratory organs, but they constitute the swimming bladder, which enables the fish to rise easily to the surface of the water. Fish breathe by gills situated near the head. This exterior respiratory apparatus, this system of gills appearing for the first time in vertebrata, is it really new? No; it is the hyoid apparatus which in mammifers, birds, and reptiles is attached to the organs of taste and voice. In the fish it supports the gills, on whose surface the decomposed air in the water combines with the blood. Thus every organ adapts itself to the most varied functions, without its nature and connections being changed.

III. *Constancy of Connections and Balance of Organs.*

All animals being constructed on the same type, all should present a full assemblage of the essential and fundamental parts of this type. Two other conditions, logical corollaries of the law of symmetry, compel all beings to enter this geometrical mould. These two conditions, or secondary laws, are constancy of connections and balance of organs. Whatever may be the metamorphoses of any organic apparatus, its connections, its relations to neighboring parts, do not change. Thus, whether an anterior member be a hand, foot, wing, or fin, it will be always attached to the shoulder, and the posterior members, likewise, will ever be attached to the base. The exceptions are only apparent, and disappear before serious criticism. The other law is that of the balance of organs, promulgated by Goethe in 1795 in the following manner: The total in Nature's budget is invariably fixed; yet she is free to apply partial sums

* See a discussion of this subject page 175

to whatever expense she pleases. In order to expend on one side she is forced to economize on the other. This is why she can neither become indebted nor bankrupt. Also when one organ develops disproportionately, the others must diminish in like measure or wholly disappear. We shall see numerous examples. I shall borrow them first from the animal kingdom, for these are most intelligible and convincing for two reasons: first, the functions are more various and better distinguished than in vegetables; secondly, we being ourselves a part of the animal kingdom, understand more fully functions analogous to, or identical with, those of our own organism. We know from ourselves, without being able to doubt thereof, that there are organs in us which fulfill no function, while they are of capital importance in other species of animals.

These are my proofs: Woman bears on her bosom two breasts intended to nourish the new-born child. In man the breasts do not develop, but the two nipples exist, because, man and woman being constructed on the same plan, the breasts developed in woman should exist in man, at least in the rudimentary state. We admit that these organs are useless to man, that they perform no function; but unity of type demanded that they should be represented, and they are. Many mammifers, horses in particular, can agitate their skin, and so drive off troublesome insects; it is by a membraneous muscle attached to the skin that it is thus shaken. This muscle is not wanting in man; it is extended over the sides of the neck, but is without use. We have not the like ability to contract it voluntarily. It is therefore useless as a muscle, but it is there, like a corner-stone, in proof of unity of composition. The mammalia called marsupials, such as the kangaroo, didelphys, in a word, all the quadrupeds of Australia, are furnished with a pouch situated before the abdominal muscles, where the young remain during the period of lactation. This pouch is formed of muscles and supported by two bones. Though ranking at the other end of the scale of mammifers, man has and ought to have traces of this arrangement which, in him, is of no utility. The spines of the pubis represent the marsupial bones and the *pyramidalis* muscle, those which inclose the pouch of kangaroos and the didelphys. With us they are evidently useless. Another example: The calf of the leg is formed by two powerful mus-

cles, which are inserted at the heel by means of the tendon of Achilles; beside these is found another long, slender muscle, called the plantaries by anatomists. This muscle, having the same attachments as the other two, produces the same effect that a light cotton thread would if wound round a huge ship's cable. In man, therefore, the muscle is useless; but in the cat and other animals of the same class, the tiger, panther, and leopard, this muscle is as strong as the others, and it assists these animals in executing those prodigious bounds that they perform in reaching their prey. Useless to man, then, this muscle is very useful to the animals of which we speak; but it exists in us because all mammifers have been constructed on the same type of which each of them reproduces the essential elements.

Birds are furnished with a third eyelid; it moves horizontally before the eye and defends it from the too lively impression of the luminous rays without totally preventing sight. The lachrymal sac, which occupies the internal angle of the human eye, is a trace of this third eyelid. I finish by an example still more significant. In herbivorous animals, the horse, ox, and in certain others, the large intestine presents a great fold in the form of a cul-de-sac, called the cœcum. In man this fold does not exist, but it is represented by a little appendix to which its form and length have given the name appendix vermiformis. Digested aliments cannot penetrate this narrow appendix, which is therefore useless; but if, through some mischance, some fruit-stone, or fragment of bone, insinuates itself into this appendix, there results first an inflammation, then a perforation of the intestinal canal, accidents followed by almost certain death. Thus we carry an organ not only useless, but which may lead to serious danger. Indifferent to individuals, Nature abandons them to all chances of destruction; her solicitude does not extend beyond the species whose perpetuity she has otherwise secured. The organs that we have now enumerated in man, and which observation, experience, and good sense declare useless, are not so in the eyes of the naturalist, for they proclaim the great law of unity of composition; their utility is wholly intellectual; they are not organs fulfilling functions, but their existence is rich in instruction which should not be lost on philosophy.

Certain parts do not suffer atrophy nor disappear, but they unite and are confounded with others; this results from union or organic coalescence. Often the coalescence is evident; the digits of a duck's foot or a bat's wing are united by a membrane, but they are still visible; they are not so in the oar of a seal, dolphin, or whale, because a common envelope hides them from our view, but they none the less exist. Under the skin we find all the bones which compose the hand of man and the other mammifers. In turtles the skin hardens and unites at the sides, which end by disappearing in age. In the cetaceans and the cartilaginous fish the internal organ of hearing, or labyrinth, is separated from the cranium; in all the other vertebrata it is connected with it and seems to form a part of the temple bones; reciprocally the eye that moves freely in the orbit of most superior animals is united to it in certain fish. This fixed and motionless eye shares only in the movements of the entire body. Coalescences, like abortions, are snares set for the sagacity of the zoologist. Like the mechanic who directs changes in the decorations of a theater, Nature seems desirous of concealing from us the secret of her continual metamorphoses and of covering the law of unity by the variety that governs all her transformations. It is needful to be well penetrated with this truth in order not to be abused by deceitful appearances; they cannot mislead him, however, who knows that these plastic forces are in no respect arbitrary, but obey laws immutable as those which preside over the eternally regular movements of the celestial bodies. Among these laws we shall place in the front rank the Balance of Organs, to employ the word consecrated by Etienne Geoffroy Saint Hilaire.

The Balance of Organs, as we have said, is that law by virtue of which one part cannot assume a great development except another part, or parts, diminish in volume or disappear totally. In serpents the limbs suffer abortion; also the body is, so to say, infinitely prolonged. In the saurians, (crocodiles, lizards,) where paws exist, the body is shorter, more compact, and terminates in a longer tail. Everybody can trace this gradual shortening of the limbs corresponding to a relative lengthening of the body in animals some of which are very well known. In ordinary lizards the paws are well developed,

the body little lengthened, and the tail not much extended. In the *seps* of the south of France the limbs are very short, the body longer, the tail larger. With the bimana the anterior paws are the only remaining ones; in bipeds it is the posterior ones. In the *pseudo-pus*, which inhabits Dalmatia, only traces of the posterior limbs are discernible; the body and tail are very long. Finally, in the common *orvet* or glass snake of our woods, we see no limbs; they are concealed under the skin; the animal has a sternum like lizards, but the body is cylindrical and lengthened like a serpent's. This problematic being forms the transition between saurians, reptiles provided with limbs, and true serpents, which are wholly devoid of them. With frogs and toads, the development of the limbs, and especially the posterior limbs, takes place at the expense of the tail, which disappears, and of the body, which is more compact than that of the saurians. We catch Nature at work; when tadpoles turn into frogs, the tail diminishes and suffers atrophy in proportion as the paws lengthen.

If the posterior members develop unduly, as in kangaroos and jerboas, the anterior limbs become so short that they no longer reach the ground. The animal leaps on his hind paws, and, at rest, supports himself by his tail. In certain birds, as the ostrich, the casoer, the apterix of New Zealand, the enormous increase of the legs is balanced by the imperfect development of the wings, which are so short in the ostrich, and wanting in the casoer and apterix.

Are examples desired drawn from special parts and not from the entire animal? Man is the only mammifer whose hand and foot are entirely distinct from each other. It is a case of balancing the organs. In the hand the digits are long, flexible, and the thumb separate. But the part called the corpus, which joins the hand to the forearm, is composed of seven small bones united one with another. In the foot, the organ homologous with the hand, these seven bones likewise exist, but are much larger. One of them in particular, the calcaneus, which forms the heel, is represented by the pisiform, whose size does not exceed that of a pea. The bones of the metatarsus, forming the sole of the foot, are in like manner longer and larger than those of the metacarpus, which constitute the palm of the hand. The balance of organs appears in the relative brevity

of the toes compared with the fingers. In the monkey, which has four hands, the heel does not exist, and the digits have visibly the same length in the four extremities; but the bear, that walks on the sole of the foot, has the digits of the fore paws relatively longer than those of the posterior ones. He can seize a stick with his fore paws but not with the hinder ones. The horse is a soliped; he walks on a single digit answering to our middle one, clad with a nail called the hoof. This single digit, very large, as every one knows, articulates with a bone equally unique called the canon. This *canon* is one of the five metacarpal bones in man, monkeys, and bats. Its volume is enormous, its length considerable; the other metacarpal bones are reduced to two thin stilettoes worn to a point and without use. These stilettoes represent our metacarpals of the index and ring-finger; those of the thumb and little finger have completely disappeared. Thus this single finger, by developing disproportionately, has, so to say, absorbed all the substance that Nature intends for the formation of the five digits in the superior animals. In ruminants (the stag, ox, sheep) there are two digits and two coalesced metacarpals. In the hog there are four; and every one knows how much less is the relative size of these digits than that of the one digit which forms the horse's hoof.

Take an example of another kind. The leg of a quadruped is formed of two bones, the fibula in front, the tibia behind. In the marsupials, which occupy the lower scale of the order of mammifers, the two bones are of like volume. In proportion as we rise in the series the tibia becomes larger, but the fibula more slender. In man the fibula is only an easily fractured rod. In the rhinoceros the tibia is enormous and the fibula very thin; in most ruminants this terminates in a point and does not reach the ankle. With the horse it is reduced to a kind of bodkin two or three inches long; in the elk to a tubercle; in the cameleopard, lama, dromedary, ox, dog, and hind it totally disappears. But in these animals the tibia is enormous, and we perceive that its development takes place at the expense of the fibula. The budget of Nature is therefore constant, and she could not increase one chapter without diminishing another, or reducing them all proportionally to their relative value.

It is time to show that these great laws apply equally to the vegetable kingdom. Linnæus had a presentiment of them in his dissertation entitled *Metamorphosis Plantarum;* but it was reserved to a poet boldly to promulgate the law of metamorphosis in botany. This man, this poet, is Goethe. "Next to Shakspeare and Spinoza," says he, "Linnæus is the man who wrought most powerfully upon me." Goethe was accustomed to carry the botanical philosophy of the great naturalist in all his rambles. Rosseau's letters on botany had also interested him. A sojourn at Carlsbad, during which a young botanist brought him, every morning, flowers collected in the surrounding mountains, hunting expeditions in the great forests of Thuringia, all contributed to maintain this growing taste for vegetable science. In the spring of 1786, while crossing the Alps on his way to Italy, he was filled with astonishment at the sight of those Alpine flowers blooming in a few days, on declivities whence the snow had hardly departed. The contrast became more striking still from the aspect of southern vegetation, which he admired in all its pomp, at the botanical garden of Padua, the oldest in Europe. The idea of bringing all the organs of plants back to a single type seized his mind. Neither the distractions of the journey, the tragedy of Tasso which he was then elaborating, the wonders of Italian art, the memorials of antiquity, nor the facile pleasures of Rome, could restrain him from his scientific preoccupation. On his arrival in Sicily, the original identity of all vegetable members was a demonstrated truth with him. From a small number of facts he had deduced a theory, since confirmed by all botanists and universally admitted. All now know that the leaf is the fundamental organ of the plant, the others being only transformed leaves. The flower is only a bud in which leaves are changed into carpels, stamens, petals, and sepals; these are the elements of the fruit, composed itself of leaves folded back on their middle nervure, and free or coalesced: free in the peony and hellebore, coalesced in the orange and apple. How does the naturalist know that all floral organs are only transformed leaves? By two methods: observation of the normal state of plants, and the study of anomalies or monstrosities. Let me explain. The colored leaves found in the vicinity of certain flowers are called bracts. To prove their analogy with true

leaves, it is enough to know that they first present a green color, and then are gradually tinged with a different color, as is verified by the *bougain villea.* The sepals of the calix are only smaller, more closely set, or even coalesced leaves. In gentians and corn cockle, (githago segetum,) so common in our wheat, this identity is striking. The same reasoning applies to the petals. In some flowers, those of the cactus, water lilies, we know not where the sepals finish and the petals commence; hence the petals are transformed leaves. In stars of Bethlehem we perceive that the filaments of the stamens are only reduced petals, and the fruits of swallow wort, hellebore, aconite, and peony are evidently leaves folded back on themselves, and bearing seed along their middle nervure. Proofs of another order exist. Sometimes, for reasons we do not understand, the transformation does not occur; a sepal, petal, carpel remains in the leaf state. Nature betrays her secret, the observer catches her in the very act, and proves the essential identity of the organ. It is not rare to see in peonies and roses, sepals of the calix in the leaf state. A double rose, a peony, a poppy, a double ranunculus, are flowers in which nearly all the stamens appear in the state of petals. The metamorphosis is not accomplished, and examining them with a little care suffices to show in them all imaginable intermediates between a perfect petal and a normal stamen composed of a filament and an anther. Carpels have appeared as leaves, and thus the transformation of vegetable organs is demonstrated by the numerous examples where it is not wrought.

Goethe published his *Metamorphosis of Plants* in 1790; it was not understood by his cotemporaries; they saw therein a play of the imagination. To the literati it was a prose poem, to artists a hint to those who compose arabesques. No one recognized it as a scientific work less arid than works of that kind commonly are, but in which a few facts boldly generalized flooded science with a new light.

Linnæus and Goethe had proved the metamorphosis of vegetable organs. De Candolle, in his Elementary Treatise, composed at Montpelier in 1812, established the law of symmetry and those which flow from it, the balance of organs and constancy of connections. Every flower is originally symmetrical, that is, separable into two like parts, whatever may be the direc-

tion of the plane that cuts it. Yet there exist irregular flowers whose symmetry is only bilateral. De Candolle proves that they are originally symmetrical but habitually irregular. Such is the linaria of the fields; its corolla presents a face and is furnished with four stamens. However, we find stalks whose flowers return accidentally to the regular or symmetrical state; the corolla becomes funnel shaped, and the fifth stamen develops. The genus tencrium, or wild germander, is composed of irregular flowers like all that are lipped; but there is a species, the tencrium campanulatum, whose flower is regular, symmetrical, and furnished with five stamens in lieu of four. The normal state is, therefore, no more the habitual state in botany than in zoology. Every rudimentary organ proclaims the exaggerated development of another organ, and this exaggerated development brings about irregularity; but the law of the balance of organs is never violated. The extreme development of the corolla in linaria and germanders is balanced by the absorption of the fifth stamen, represented by a slender filament. We can follow the course of these absorptions and hypertrophies. All know, from their boyish recollections, that the fruit of the horse chestnut contains only one great seed, rarely two, still more rarely three, and even four; but cut transversely the ovary of a horse chestnut flower during or a little after the period of blossoming, you will find three cells, each inclosing two seeds, in all six. Of these six seeds five suffer abortion, and the fifth, developing, becomes enormous. The abortion is constant but none the less abnormal; the normal state would be the equal development of six seeds. Here again the habitual state differs from the normal, which the naturalist demonstrates during the youth of the fruit. These atrophied organs, that is, organs suffering incomplete abortion, have the same significance in botany as in zoology; they are useless organs, without functions, but they reveal Nature's symmetrical plan. Thus in the family of scrophulariaceæ the verbascum bears a regular flower with five stamens; in the genera with an irregular flower, chelonece, scrophularia, there are only four, but the fifth is represented by a thin filament without an anther. The diorcian species, that is, those which have separate sexes, in genera where all other species are hermaphrodite, likewise present constant abortions; thus on one stalk all the pistils

suffer abortion, on another all the stamens. The lychnis diorcia, so common in the fields, is a very striking example. The dwarf palms, which have the sexes separate, sometimes bear hermaphrodite flowers, indices of the normal state in these vegetables, though in the habitual state one stalk produces only male and another female flowers.

Union or coalescence of organs is even more common in vegetables than in animals. All the organs of a flower having an original identity, all being only transformed leaves, we can conceive that they easily unite mutually; but it is not hard to prove their individuality. In a ranunculus, a magnolia flower, a lily, all parts of the flower are distinct and separate; but in a bellflower, datura, tobacco, or petunia flower, we see the calix formed of five sepals united at their edges; the corolla also is composed of five petals united in one, and the stamens are united also with the corolla. They are mutually coalesced in marsh mallows, papilionaceous flowers, like the pea, kidney bean, common acacia, etc. The fruits of aconite and hellebore are composed of distinct carpels; they are united under a common envelope in the orange, where each division is a carpel. In ribbed melons traces of the original separation appear on the surface; they have completely disappeared in the pumpkin, apple, pear, etc. Sometimes the coalescence is not effectuated. We find corollas of bellflowers and petunias composed of five petals. Nature surrenders her secret and proves what inspection alone had previously demonstrated.

Situs partium constantissimus est. The relations of parts never change, Linnæus had said in his Botanical Philosophy. Whatever may be its metamorphoses, an organ always occupies the same place, and its situation indicates its nature. If a filament without an anther is found in place of a stamen, we know that this filament is the trace of a stamen that has suffered abortion. This fixedness of relations is connected with symmetry which otherwise could not exist. Thus, as we said at the beginning of this study, the same laws traverse, so to say, both kingdoms, and merit the name of *general laws of the organized world.*

Shall we admit in botany the final causes which we prescribe in zoology? Shall we imitate the impertinence of the king of Arragon, who averred that he would have given the Supreme

good advice if he had been consulted concerning the creation? Shall we say the leaf was made to respire, the calix and corolla to protect the stamens and pistils? or, modest philosophers, shall we limit ourselves to proving the rôle these organs play in nature without prejudging the object of the Creator? This part is wisest and most logical. It is true, in fact, that the leaf nearly always performs the office of the lungs; it respires, but often its functions change without its ceasing therefore to be a leaf. Thus, in peas and chickling vetch, it terminates in a tendril and becomes a hand, which suspends the plant to surrounding bodies. In broom-rape it exists but does not respire; it is none the less a leaf for that. What shall we say of the stipules, little organs placed at the base of leaves in a great number of plants, opening into a foliaceous limb in peas and chickling vetch, transformed into tendrils in melons, gourds, bryony, and hardening into thorns in certain acacias of Australia. Their fundamental nature does not change, but their functions vary. It is affirmed that the calix and corolla are the protective organs of the stamens and pistils, that they secure fecundation, because the rain bursts the pollen seeds in proportion as they escape from the anther, and thus accomplishes the abortion of the fruit and seed; but first, a large number of plants are deprived of the corolla and even the calix. These envelopes when they exist do not always protect the pistils and stamens effectually against the rain. I will cite roses, lilies, tulips, ranunculus, rock rose, etc. This protection is really efficacious only in bellflowers, where fecundation is accomplished before the corolla is blown. This genus includes only useless plants, and, by an antithesis hard to understand, the vegetables most necessary to man, those upon which, so to say, the existence of the human race depends, the vine, cereals, rice, maize, and fruit trees, have flowers whose stamens are in no way defended against the severity of the weather. What famines had the world been spared had cereals only been guarded like useless bellflowers! How often would the vine, pear, cherry, and peach-tree have yielded fruit instead of remaining sterile!

Direct experience confirms the data furnished by observation. We can cut off the calix and corolla before the flower blows and yet fecundation is wrought. Is this saying that the calix

and corolla are useless organs? Yes, if all that does not attain a practical end relating to the wants of man is useless. No, if in nature we recognize the beautiful as well as the useful. The corollas are the adornment of plants; they embellish all with their presence, as they fill the air with their perfumes; they are the esthetic manifestation of the vegetable world, for man did not invent the beautiful; he found it in nature, where it existed before him and would have existed without him. When the ancients, the Moors, and Raphael after them, would decorate houses, palaces, or temples, they selected plants furnished with leaves and flowers, and developed them into arabesques, continuing thus by imagination the metamorphoses already realized in nature. The brilliant corollas are therefore useless flowers in the utilitarian sense of the word, but not in the artistic. They are useless, like the radiant colors and brilliant crests of birds; like the gorgeous hues of the tiger, panther, and zebra; like the lion's mane, the rainbow colors of serpents and fish, or those, more beautiful still, which adorn the butterflies' wings. Vainly is it pretended that these increase sexual attraction; not at all so. That attraction is just as powerful in the sparrow as in the peacock; and I know not that dull-colored species multiply less than others.

Let theologians cease, then, to invoke final causes, and let them no longer give the word *useful* that narrow and material sense they have hitherto ascribed to it, under penalty of being condemned to say that the oak was created to make plank, or the cork-tree to fabricate stopples. Let their thoughts rise to serener regions. The organized world is an immense varied chant whose fundamental strain is found again at the bottom of all its variations; thence results the harmony which charms and fills us with wonder. Man is neither the center nor end of creation, but he alone can comprehend it and bend it to his purposes. Among the beings that surround him, some are useful, some useless, some harmful in a practical point of view, none from an intellectual stand-point; for all animals, all vegetables, are a manifestation of creative power, a realization of the ideal type that Nature has reproduced under a thousand diverse forms. It is under this aspect that the world should be viewed. There is no useless being, for there is none which does not teach us something.

IV. *Construction of the Animal and Vegetable Type.*

All the organs of the vegetable being only transformed leaves, a plant may be reduced to an axis formed by the stalk and root, and supporting one or two leaves; the *type* is found realized, therefore, at the moment when the seed opens to give issue to the embryo. All subsequent organs will be only the transformation of primordial leaves, which the botanist designates by the name cotyledons. A simple plant has only one axis. A tree is an assemblage of individuals living on a common trunk; it is a vegetable polypus. Each bud represents an individual. The gardener who sets a slip separates one of these individuals from the common trunk and puts it in conditions such that it may exist independently and form in its turn a new aggregation, that is, a new tree.

The construction of the Animal Type is far from being so easy. If the inferior animals approximate plants, how far are the superior ones, the Mollusca, Articulata, and Vertebrata, removed from them? I must make a new appeal to the reader's curiosity, but likewise to his patience. I would like to give him an idea of the endeavors put forth by anatomical and zoological philosophers, to construct this ideal type upon which all animals have been constructed. Their efforts have hitherto been directed to the vertebrata, as being the best known, though most complicated. The problem was propounded by Condorcet: "To examine the relations existing between the different parts of the same individual, in order to deduce therefrom those two characteristics which nature seems to have impressed on all beings, constancy in type and variety in modification." Vicq-d'Azyr had indicated the path to be followed in his memoir upon the comparison of the limbs. Their analogy, vaguely recognized by the ancients, was demonstrated by that illustrious anatomist, and then pursued into its details by Gerdy, Bourgery, Cruvielhier, Flourens, Owen, Holmes Coote, and the author of this study. It is universally admitted to-day that the base is the repetition of the shoulder, the thigh of the arm, the leg of the forearm, the torsus of the corpus, and the foot of the hand. Toward the close of the last century a new analogy was observed, that of the head with the bones composing the vertebral column. Here again we meet the great name of Goethe inscribed over the entrance of this new

path opened up in the field of science. During his sojourn at Strasburg, in 1770, he had attended anatomical lectures, and from this period, amid his literary pursuits, the study of comparative osteology presented to him the most lively and sustained attraction. Camper having announced the opinion that the only osteologic difference between men and apes consisted in the latter having an intermaxillary bone, while man has none, Goethe, already deeply penetrated with the principle of unity of composition in vertebrata, set himself at work, convinced that this difference does not exist. Loder, a professor at Jena, aided him in his researches, and in 1786 he proved that man has an intermaxillary bone unknown before, because confounded with the two maxillary bones between which it is wedged in. Subsequently his studies and meditations on the metamorphosis of vegetable organs had prepared him for one of the greatest discoveries that philosophic anatomy can boast. At the beginning of May, 1790, he was at Venice. Walking one day at Lido, in the Jewish cemetery, his domestic picks up a sheep's cranium, and, laughing the while, presents it to him as a Jew's skull. Goethe looks at the base of this cranium, bleached by time, and, all of a sudden, its analogy with the vertebral column arrests him; he has the intuition that the skull is only a continuation of the vertebral column, as the brain is only an enlargement of the spinal marrow. Goethe did not immediately publish his ideas, but he imparted them to his friends, particularly to Herder's wife, in a letter dated May 4, 1790. The honor of this great discovery, then, recurs to him; but Oken has the distinction of having scientifically established and generalized it, in his inaugural discourse on taking the chair of anatomy at Jena, in October, 1807. The following year a Frenchman, Constant Duméril, recognized the analogy of the muscles arising from the trunk to the posterior part of the head with those that connect the vertebra. He was proceeding in his turn to demonstrate the analogy of the head to the vertebra, when he was arrested by a jest. Cuvier, whom daring did not please, receiving Duméril at one of his soirees, laughingly asked about his *thinking vertebra.* Duméril had not the courage to persist in his opinion, continue his researches, and accumulate proofs. His name is connected with philosophic anatomy only by a souvenir. The analogy of the

head and the vertebra is now established, but despite the efforts of the greatest anatomists, Spix, De Blainville, Bojanus, Etienne Geoffroy Saint Hilaire, Carrus, Duges, Owen, and Virchow, the problem is not resolved in its details; there is a difference respecting the number of the cranial vertebra and the assimilation of the different parts of the head with the protuberances that bristle on an ordinary vertebra.

The analogy of the vertebra and the cranial bones being established, the other parts of the system were studied in the same spirit; first were brought back to the spinal column the series of bones arranged in the front part of the breast, called the sternum; this is formed of incompletely developed vertebra united with the vertebral column by the ribs. We see in the crocodile the sternum prolonged quite to the lower belly and sustained by the abdominal ribs, traces of which remain in man. The hyoid bone, which supports the tongue in superior animals, and the gills in fish, is only a detached piece of the sternum placed at the anterior part of the neck. A vertebrate, therefore, would be composed in reality of two vertebral columns, the posterior one complete, the anterior equally complete in crocodiles, limited to the breast in mammifers, wanting in serpents and fish, where the hyoid bone alone remains. The lower jaw, a movable organ, is composed of two ribs united in front, and the arteries that nourish and the muscles that move it recall the arteries and muscles of the pectoral sides. In the articulata, the organs of mastication are equally those of motion. In a lobster, a crawfish, every body can see a series of organs, gradually modified, that form the transition from paws to jaws. Hence the name *pattes machoires* (paw jaws) which has been given them.

What is the morphological nature of the limbs? Such is the most obscure point of philosophical anatomy. Some think they find a series of vertebra in the different articulations of the arm and leg, others have assimilated them to the ribs; some see in them a new organ; and, as in vegetables we distinguish an axis, to wit, the root and stalk with the appendices all formed of true or metamorphic leaves, so the animal may be reduced to a vertebral column furnished with appendices. The fin of the fish seems to me the *type* of this; it is composed of rays like the hand of man, but in him and other mammifers

the hand is carried by a mobile-jointed handle that constitutes the limb. In the inferior fish, as the lamprey, and in serpents, the limbs disappear, and the animal is really reduced to a vertebral column furnished with ribs.

The philosophic naturalist can rise to a conception still more general. These bones, these hard parts, the sole objects of study hitherto, have they all the importance that has been ascribed to them? Their hardness, their unalterability, the distinctness of their forms, facile to describe and reproduce by drawing, have they not induced naturalists to attribute to them an exaggerated importance? Are they so constant as is asserted, and is not the deposition of the calcareous salts that hardens them often an accidental fact, a secondary circumstance? The cyclostamous fish, (lampreys, lampfish, myxons,) are they not entirely destitute of a skeleton, while in turtles the skin itself becomes hard? Do we not see the clavicle wholly wanting in some animals, (porcupines, hares, rabbits, and Guinea pigs?) We find a bone in the diaphragm of the camel, the llama, and the hedgehog. These examples, given, with many others, by Professor Charles Rouget, would lead to the conception of an animal type composed only of the elementary wool of which the cellular, muscular, and osseous tissues are merely transformations. An animal would then be reduced to a digestive cavity surrounded by a muscular sac provided with appendices, as the plant is reduced to an axis bearing leaves. This is the highest abstraction to which the naturalist can rise, and the animal, like the vegetable, would be represented by a single type, that of the organized being.

The ulterior progress of botany, of zoology, of paleontology, comparative anatomy, and embryology will scatter all clouds, for each of these sciences contributes its part to the solution of these great questions. A new horizon appears to the view of naturalists, the doctrine of the fixedness of species is shaken; no one still believes that they have all descended, each, from a primordial pair. Darwin shows that they constantly tend to modification, and he is not afraid to utter the bold idea that the ideal type of Goethe may well be the real type of which the entire animal kingdom is the infinitely varied realization. Imagination recoils before such a conception; it refuses to believe that even myriads of ages have power to modify to this

degree the posterity of a single organized being; yet the bare enunciation of this hypothesis shows how profoundly the idea of unity in variety is impressed upon the thoughts of all naturalists really worthy of the name.

Art. III.—THE EMOTIONAL ELEMENT IN HEBREW TRANSLATION.

[SECOND ARTICLE.]

THE DIVINE MEMORY.

THE emotional element in Hebrew translation is often lost through a fear, sometimes an unconscious fear, of what is called anthropopathism, or the ascribing to Deity the affections and mental exercises of humanity. The later Jewish commentators and translators were much influenced in this way. The men of the old Rabbinical school, such as Abenezra, Maimonides, and others, excelled in learning most men of those times, whether Jewish or Christian, but they had lost the spirit of their old Scriptures. The truth is, their new-found philosophy had made them a little ashamed of the Hebrew style, so bold and so uncompromising in its outward or phenomenal adaptation to the mind of all men, of every nation, every class, and every age. Philo had first taught them to seek a vail for some of its bald literalisms. The Talmudists, although they had little or no fellowship with the philosophy of Philo, shared the same feeling in respect to the Scriptures. The later commentators, of whom we have spoken, had still more of it. Wonderfully exact were they as guardians of the sacred text, trustworthy in the highest degree as lexicographers and lexical translators, careful to the extreme in their targumistic or traditionary interpretations, and, therefore, are we the more surprised when we find in them occasional deviations from the bold and sublime literalism of their own venerated *leshon qodesh*, or "*holy tongue*." It is this fear of anthropopathism to which their new philosophical studies seem to have made them peculiarly sensitive. Hence, God cannot "speak to Moses," as he does, or seems to

do, in the old text of the law; he cannot "dwell," literally, "in the tents of Shem;" he does not "come down to see what the children of men are doing" in the plain of Babel, as though he were ignorant of the design of these bold tower builders. This might be offensive to the Platonizing followers of Philo among themselves, or it might expose their Scriptures to the cavil of the learned infidel, and, therefore, these philosophic Rabbis, who "feared the Lord while they served other gods," who revered Moses while they swore by Aristotle and the Arabian schoolmen, interposed the shekinah in such passages, though with little conception of its profound import, or an angel, or some voice, or attribute, or physical power of Deity, thereby marring not only the emotional power, but that deep theology which is only found by adhering most closely to the divinely designed literalism of the text.

All translators* have been more or less affected in this way. Sometimes it may have hardly risen to consciousness, or it may have been more of a feeling than a thought distinctly formed, and yet the effect is very manifest. Idiomatic expressions especially suffer in such a translation. The offensive style seems to be avoided, by smoothing over the peculiarity of language, if we may so describe it, leaving no trace of anything but the general and more philosophical form of the thought, as it would be called.

And yet nothing is gained by this, even on the theory of such translators; for their own amendments are but the substi-

* There is no version of the Pentateuch in the main more faithful and accurate than the one made by the Arabian Jew, commonly called *Arabs Erpenianus*, from the manuscript having been first brought to light by the learned Orientalist Erpenius. Its exact date is not known, but it is doubtless very old. It is literal even to a fault, and yet we are now and then surprised by just such cases of accommodation as are above mentioned. The translator manifests none of this squeamishness in regard to any of the most minute details of the ceremonial law; but in the *manner* of its communication, and in the setting forth of the divine appearances, he seems afraid, at times, to let it speak for itself. This is the more strange, because elsewhere the literal version is all the more clear and beautiful from its being made into a cognate tongue, suffering easily an exact transfer of idiom. As passages in which this especially appears, may be mentioned *Genesis* ix, 27, *Exodus* xxix, 45, 46. In the latter passage instead, of saying, as Moses has it, "I will dwell in the midst of the children of Israel," this Arabian Jew translates, "I will cause my light to dwell in the tents of Israel." The Targums are affected in a similar way: especially the later ones.

tution of one anthropopathism for another, and the Bible still abounds in others, whose bold and direct expression no artifice of translation and no generalizing of language can avoid. Thus, to take a very prominent example involving even the whole essence of this mighty question, God is said to *remember*, and even to be *reminded.* It is a mode of speech that meets us often and in its most direct form. This faculty, so very human, is ascribed to Deity, sometimes directly, sometimes as implied in the language of prayer. There is nothing in the Scriptures more touching: "Thus saith the Lord; I remember thee, the fondness of thy youth, the love of thine espousals, when thou wentest after me in the wilderness, in a land that was not sown." Jer. ii, 2. Here is not only memory, but the pathetic particularity of memory, the tender reminding circumstance. It was when God was alone with his people "in the barren wilderness:" it was "in the day of their espousals." In the similar mnemonic appeal, Genesis ix, 15, there is an ineffable sublimity connected with its deep pathos. The Infinite comes down to the finite human sphere. God vails himself in human concep tions. He takes not only our voice, our words, but our thought, our feeling, not simulated merely, but truly thought, truly felt, even as we think and feel. With deep sincerity, as man talking to man in solemn covenant, he appoints an express memorial, a cheering mnemonic sign, made constant in the very heart of the visible nature, and assuring us that we should never be forgotten: "And the bow shall be in the cloud, and I *will look upon it*, that I may *remember* the everlasting covenant between God and every living creature of all flesh that is upon the earth."

Not less wondrous is the representation than the ineffable truth which it presents. Shall we say that this is a mere simulated condescension? Did Moses believe that Deity thus truly talked to men, thus thinking as they thought, and conceiving after their manner of conception? He who wrote this knew that God was infinite, as well as Spinoza or the seven wise men of Oxford. The *conception** that represented to him the *idea* was as vast, the emotion as living and as spiritual; for he had heard the voice from the I AM proclaiming his eternal, inde-

* We mean by this the emotional conception, which is wholly independent of any science the same for Abraham, David, and Socrates, as for La Place.

pendent, unoriginated being. He knew that God was absolute, unconditioned, infinite; for the finite, the limited, ever must have form; but God is unrepresentable, transcending all form, all limitation in space or time. There is nothing like him in the heavens above, or in the earth beneath; the world in its totality can no more image him than any of the partial forms or energies of nature. All this is expressed in that wondrous precept given so many ages ago to the chosen people: "Take ye therefore good heed unto yourselves, for ye saw no *manner of similitude* on the day when the Lord spake unto you in Horeb; take heed unto yourselves lest ye make the similitude of any figure, the likeness of anything on the earth, of anything that flieth in the air, of anything that is in the waters, and lest thou lift up thine eyes unto the heaven, and worship them, or the hosts thereof." Deut. iv, 15–19. He, too, who writes this of the covenant and the bow, and God's looking upon it to call to remembrance, is the same who first gave the world those sublime epithets, El Olam, El Shaddai, El Elion, Eternal, Almighty, Most High,—older than all time, stronger than all might, higher than all conceivable altitude, whether of knowledge, space, or rank. And did he feel no contradiction when he describes the eternal as thus speaking to the human conception, and through the human conception? Is the language real? That is, does it represent a real transaction, as real on the part of God as on the part of man? Or is it a pictorial condescension, a simulated accommodation to human weakness, even as a father talks to his young children in words and figures that are but the faintest reflex, or rather but the representative symbol, of his matured and manly thought. Even as thus received, revelation is still most precious. It assures us of a father's heart, though it be far away, and its eternal pulsations so faintly reach us though far-off telegraphic signals. Is it mere accommodation? Even then should we thankfully receive it as such, and be accommodated by it, taking it in that literal way which God has designed as best adapted to comfort us, not seeking to get above it, or saying it was made for a simpler and less philosophical age, or affecting in any way to be wise above what is written.

But may there not be, after all, a reality in it, a reality *per se*, a reality in its relation to the divine as well as the

human mind? May not God come actually into the human sphere and the human finity? May he not thus, if it pleases him, tabernacle in the human memory, knowing things as we know them, feeling them as we feel them? For unless he thus know them as we know them, and feel them as we feel them, there would be a knowledge unknown to him as it really is, that is, as it exists in our mind; and so the exclusion from all true communion with the finite, *as finite*, becomes a limitation to infinity itself. May God become human, truly human? The answer is given not only in the historical incarnation of Christ, but throughout the ancient Scriptures. He does come into the human sphere; he does thus finite his infinity, and, therefore, may we believe that in truth and reality, and not merely in seeming condescension, does he speak the language of the finite as coming truly out of the conception, the imaging, the *memory* of the finite. The idea so far transcends our thinking that we cannot say that it involves a contradiction in reason. On the other hand, there seems to be, at least to our minds, a necessity for it as the only mode in which we can conceive of any finite knowledge in God at all. But if it do not involve a contradiction, then who shall dare to say that the Almighty and Infinite One, he "who can do all things," cannot do this? Who shall say that God may not thus become finite, and even human, while still remaining infinite? Who shall say that he cannot, if he wills it, think as we think, conceive as we conceive, feel as we feel, and remember even as we remember? What right has any finite mind thus to limit the infinite under the plea of maintaining it? He who has received into his faith the doctrine of the incarnation has embraced the whole mystery, and need not be afraid to apply it fearlessly in the interpretation of all Scripture. This anthropopathic language is something more than the feigned talk of the father to his child; but even in that case there is a reality beyond the feigning. The father truly, for the time, takes the mind of the child; he speaks not merely the child's language, but his own language, expressing exactly the childlike conception to which he has limited himself, but which, in its germ, had truly existed in his manly thought before he had thus voluntarily assumed the thought and the emotion of the lower childlike sphere.

Man was "created in the image of God." How full of

boundless meaning are these remarkable words? Through that image it is that he sees eternity lying all around his finite being. He has a glimpse of the everlasting light "that lighteth every man coming into the world." He has a vision of the immutable ideas. He beholds them as in a glass darkly, yet still as the most real of all entities. Though marred by sense and sin, the dimmed reflection mirrors still for us the Absolute, the Eternal, the Almighty, the Infinite. A falsely humble modern philosophy denies to man any such ideas, or *conceptions* as it most unphilosophically styles them; but it is enough for us that Scripture boldly appeals to them as the ground of limitless trust as well as loftiest reverence.* Man was made in the image of God; but in the converse of the proposition there is a truth for us of no less importance. God, too, may take the image of the human, and thus see the finite, we may boldly say it, through the finite spiritual organs. He may think as man thinks, conceive as man conceives, remember as man remembers; and it will be a true thought, a true imaging, a true memory. Thus God *sees* the rainbow, and *remembers* the rainbow. He sees it with the eye of sense. He sees it indeed in another way transcending this—in a way ineffable, of his own—even as it lies in the totality of nature and causation. He saw it, as he still sees it, in the primal powers of the light and the water; he saw it in the first matter of the universe; yea, in the antemundane potencies, as it lay away back among the "unseen things from which were made the things that *do appear*." And thus it ever lies in the everlasting thought. He sees it ever as *νοούμενον*,† in its law and its idea; he sees it also as *φαινόμενον*, the beautiful *appearance* that first shone‡ for our earth in the sky of the deluge, and as it has ever since spanned the heavens of each dispersing storm. These words of the covenant are "faithful and true." He does see it just as we see it. "And the bow shall be in the cloud; and I *will look upon it*, that I may remember the everlasting covenant."

* Job xliii, 2: "I know that thou canst do all things." Jer. xxiii, 24: "Do not I fill heaven and earth?" Isaiah lvii, 15: "He inhabits eternity." Psalm cxlvii, 5: "His understanding is infinite," (without number.)

† Hebrews xi, 3.

‡ It is not difficult to believe that this was the first earthly *occasion* of the rainbow's visibility, and yet hold that its causation lay among the primal things of nature and creation.

Let us not, through any transcendental evasion, deprive ourselves of the confidence that is surely intended in language so expressed, and in a promise so given. There is no feigning in it. We can separate the language of fact from that of symbol or metaphor. Every sober mind does it intuitively. But there is no appearance of metaphor here; and we see that this is either the style of sincere assurance, or it is a designed and worthless fable. A mere figure of speech, as when *hand* is used for power, whether as applied to God or man, is detected at once by the merest child in the Sunday-school. But here is no figure that we are made aware of by any law or *usus loquendi* of language. All is real. Let us so take it, and every time we see the rainbow; let us cherish the precious thought that God sees it too just as we see it, not merely in its hidden causation, but in its glorious, outward visibility. Let us not fear to think that he too is looking upon it and *remembering*, even as we remember what we have seen and felt. Let us not lose all emotion, as we lose all thought, by rejecting this carefully chosen language of revelation: "*That I may remember the everlasting covenant that is between God and every living creature of all flesh that is upon the earth.*" The bow is placed in the cloud for that very purpose. Is it the language of accommodation? we would not quarrel about the word; but then we say again, let us not be too wise here, or refuse to be accommodated by it.

This ascription of memory to God seems to be a favorite mode of expression in the Scriptures, and to be especially selected for its peculiar pathos. It occurs frequently in the language of prayer. It is a peculiar feature of those divine liturgies which have been expressly framed and placed in Scripture for our use and our benefit: "O Lord remember me;" "O remember that my life is breath." Job vii, 7. "Remember how transient I am." Psalm lxxxix, 48.* Compare with this Psalm lxxviii, 39: "He remembered that they were flesh, a breath that goes and comes not back again."

Sometimes it is with a particularity which seems almost like the language of expostulation. It might be regarded as

* חלד מה, "My passing, flowing, *gliding* life." Such is the primary sense or image of the word. *Valet motum lubricum et celerem.—Gesenius. Unde et vitae tempus fluxum et caducum.* It is used of the world, or the present life, Psalm xvii, 14: "Men of Heled," "men of this life." So the Arabians call the present world, "the rolling," "the hastening." So κοσμος, "Its fashion passeth away."

impatience, or even irreverence, were we not taught in the Scriptures themselves that God loves thus to be reminded of his promise, or of those events which have created a peculiar nearness between himself and his chosen people: "Remember, O Lord, thy former mercies;" "Remember the days of old;" "Remember the reproach of thy servant." Again he is reminded too of his righteousness and his righteous vengeance. It is a prayer to be seldom used, but for which there may be occasions in the treatment of one nation by another: "Remember, O Lord, the children of Edom in the day of Jerusalem." Psalm cxxxvii, 7. Esau was Jacob's brother, and Edom was near of kin to Israel, yet did they rejoice in the dismemberment of the Jewish nation and the destruction of Jerusalem: "Raze, raze it," they said, "even to the foundations thereof." Does not this come naturally to mind, and may it not rightly enter into our prayers, when we think of the treatment we are now receiving from a kindred people unnaturally exulting in our calamities, hoping for the destruction of our confederacy, and whose voice, as it comes to us over the waters, seems ever saying, like Edom of old, "Raze, raze it, even to the foundations thereof?" "Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord;" but there would seem to be times when it may be thus memorially appealed to as well as his mercy and his grace.

Still more pathetic is such language in its negative form, representing God as ceasing to remember; as though the greatness of the mercy so filled the divine thought that vengeance was lost in its infinity, or the glory of the atonement so "*covered* o'er*" the sin that it disappeared forever in the transcending brightness. "Put me in remembrance, saith the Lord; let us plead together: declare thou, that thou mayest be justified: I, even I, am he that blotteth out thy transgressions for mine own sake, and will not remember thy sins." Isaiah xliii, 26, 25. "After those days, saith the Lord, I will write my law in their hearts, and I will be their God, and they shall be my people; for I will forgive their iniquity, and their sin will I *remember*

* Libraries might be filled with the books written on the atonement, the nature, the design, the philosophy of the atonement; but we may well question whether they all together contain as much thought and emotion as is to be found in the etymological import of the Hebrew כִּסָּה, to cover. Sin is *covered, hidden*, lost sight of in the brightness of the propitiation. Compare Psalm xxxii, 1: "The man whose sins are covered o'er."

no more." Jer. xxxi, 33, 34. We have the same remarkable language in the prayer of the oppressed and penitent people of God, Psalm lxxix, 8: "O remember not against us our former sins; O quickly let thy mercies go before us, for we are very poor." In this latter passage there are, moreover, two striking Hebraisms which we cannot pass over without notice. One is in the thought or figure: "Let thy mercies *go before us*," like a triumphant host or banner of defense, *ut praeundo irruant in hostes: Venema.* Alexander renders it, "Let thy mercies *meet* us;" but this does not lexically express the Hebrew verb, nor give the spirit of the passage. It is the idea of "mercy rejoicing over judgment." It is the ever-ready, ever-wakeful attribute that starts up immediately when invoked, and goes forth as a vanguard against the invading foe. Hence there is here admirably joined with it that other Hebraism which consists mainly in the form of the expression. It is the infinitive used adverbially, and not the imperative, as some would suppose, מַהֵר יְקַדְּמוּנוּ: "Quick, let thy mercies march before us:" *cito* anticipent nos misericordiæ tuæ, quia paupores facti sumus.

The examples given might provoke the sneer of the infidel caviler, or they might be excused by the biblical apologist as accommodations to an unphilosophical age, or as a merely rhetorical mode of speaking, or God talking to men, *mere humano;* but all this is very far from sounding the depths of the question. Memory is no more human, no more anthropopathic than knowledge, or the knowing of finite things as finite, as we have already shown. Those who make the objection, then, or who apologize for this and some other partial forms of the usage, have little thought how far it goes. Carry out such objection, and it makes any revelation from the Infinite to the finite, through any language, through any signs, through any human thoughts, uttered, suggested, or inspired, not only impossible, but utterly incapable of being thought or conceived. We should face the truth squarely and boldly. As well speak, we say, of God's *remembering*, as of his thinking or knowing. The hyperplatonists would maintain that both, as acts, must be finite, partial, and therefore below that transcending hypernoetic region in which dwells for evermore the motionless, timeless, changeless thought of Deity. All thinking in succession, all knowing

of things as finite or separate, the only way in which we can conceive of thought and knowledge, are necessarily human; and if God have not the human, as human, as well as the infinite and properly divine, then these states, affections, or powers, call them what we will, are utterly excluded from the divine being in any sense conceivable by us; that is, as far as we are concerned, in any sense at all. God knows us not, even as we know him not. He can no more penetrate our finity than we can rise to his infinity; for the knowledge is inseparable from the *manner of knowing;* or, in other words, the state or manner of knowing is a part of the very thing to be known. It is the knowing our knowledge, as well as the object or thing we know. If God cannot know this, even as we know it, then there are some things in the universe of being which are to him not only unknown but unknowable.

In essence, therefore, all these states and exercises are alike anthropopathic. In degree, however, memory seems further removed from the properly divine, or the transcendingly divine, as we may call it, inasmuch as it is not only finite, partial, successive, relational, but seemingly, if not really and wholly, passive. This is shown in what seems a very general law of language, though not without exceptions. Verbs of memory are mostly deponent, middle, or passive. In English we employ an active form; but the Greek and Latin are more true to the unconscious logic, the silent yet powerful law of the soul. We say, *to remember*, as though it were pure action, depending wholly on the will. So we also say, *to forget*, as though we did something in forgetting, although it is hard to conceive of any state, affection, or change in the mind more purely passive. But our language never had a true development. The Latin words are deponent, the Greek words are middle and passive. *Recordor reminiscor*, μεμνημαι, literally rendered, I am reminded, it *comes into my mind;* or, on the other hand, *it escapes me*, or in some other manner difficult of expression in English, but which represents the mind as either wholly passive, or as having but a partial, middle, or reflex action. The Hebrew verb commonly rendered to *remember*, has, indeed, the active form; but this is because its primary sense, in all the Shemitic tongues, and especially as it appears in the more active conjugations of the Arabic, is narration, or the causing others to

remember, or it is *recollection*, (a gathering up and binding together,) rather than memory simply. To express this in all its strictness the Hebrew has other forms, such as that remarkable one, עלה על לב, to "*come up in the heart*," to "ascend in and upon the mind," as though proceeding from some unconscious depth or reservoir of thought, or some involuntary rising of the soul. This strange language is several times applied to Deity, though it denotes, in such cases, that which is not thought of, rather than that which is not remembered, as in Jeremiah viii, 31: "They have built the high places of Tophet, that they might burn there their sons and their daughters in the fire, a thing which I have not commanded, which never came up in my thought"—a thing too horrid for the divine mind to receive or retain. Compare also Jeremiah xix, 5: "That which I never uttered, which never came up in my mind." *Vulgate, nec ascenderunt in cor meum.* It is also used most expressively for memory, Jonah i, 2: ועלתה רעתם לפני, "For their wickedness hath come up before me."*

The Hebrew verb for memory, or remembering, acquires a distinct passive form in the Syriac and Chaldaic, thus coming to resemble formally as well as virtually the Greek and Latin mode of expressing the idea. There are, however, cases in the old language which show the same tendency as controlled by this general philological law. Thus Hosea ii, 19: "And I will take the names of Baalim from her mouth, and they shall remember their name, ולא יזכרו עוד בשמם, or be reminded of their name no more." The subject of the passive form here is personal, while the word for *name* is made the object with the preposition ב, like the oblique or genitive case after verbs of memory in Greek and Latin.

In Psalm ciii, 14, we have a very remarkable example, whose peculiarity, in this respect, is obscured, or rather wholly lost in our translation. There is used, not the Niphal, as in the

* This striking Hebraism, עלה על לב, is found in the Greek of the New Testament. We have a very touching example, Luke xxiv, 38, where it is applied to the thoughts which "arose in the minds" of the disciples when Jesus stood suddenly in the midst, after they had been listening to the strange story of the two who had journeyed to Emmaus, and whose hearts had "burned within them" through an inexplicable sympathy with their unknown fellow-traveler: "Why are ye troubled, and why do thoughts ascend in your souls?" *ἀναβαίνουσιν ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν*, Come up out of the depths of your memory.

example above, but the passive or past participle of the Kal congregation: "*He knoweth* our frame; he *remembereth* that we are dust." זְכוֹר is the Hebrew word. Some have regarded it as an imperative, and it is so put down in Fuerst's Concordance; but there is no warrant for it. Our translation disregards the peculiarity. So does Rosenmüller. Alexander renders it *mindful*, regarding it rather as an adjective than a participle, and as denoting a permanent state of mind. This, indeed, partially takes away the anthropopathism,* as may have been thought desirable, but in so doing there is destroyed that which is most effective and touching in the passage. Venema has the same fear. He notes the strangeness of the form, and renders it still more strangely, *acri mentis vigore pollentem*, as though it was intended to denote a transcendingly divine, instead of such a human state as *being reminded*, or *put in mind of*. But this is the precise thought presented to us in this passive form, and here lies all its moving pathos. The rarity of the form in Hebrew ought, critically, to suggest something rare in the idea, some emphasis of thought or emotion that might not otherwise be attended to by the reader.† Even in the more ordinary modes of expression there is much for the thoughtful. In the examples previously quoted, how sublimely, as well as how tenderly, does God come down to us. He remembers, as we remember. He puts himself, his own eternal reason, his own eternal thought, at once containing us and all things else, side by side with our poor finite minds and memories. "He remembers us." But here is a still deeper pathos, which our English translation, beautiful as it is, has not brought out. Literally, "He is reminded that we are dust." It comes into his mind, it "ascends into his heart." A universe is under his law. If it is not the modern space notion of the kosmos, it is that higher and grander kingdom which was expressed in the ancient idea of time worlds, and of ever ascending ranks of being. He is *Melek Olamim*, (Psalm cxlv, 13,) the "king of the eternities," *βασιλέυς τῶν αἰώνων*. He is Jehovah of hosts, Lord of angels and archangels, thrones, dominions, principalities, and powers. All these, with all nature, and all physical worlds, lie ever in

* So Geier notes the peculiarity: De Deo hoc usurpatur per anthropopathiam ut Psalm lxxviii, 39.

† It is from such a demand of emphasis that all idiomatic expressions, or departures from the usual mode, arise.

his total, changeless idea; and yet, far down, and far away, there comes this thought of man, as of something which had been for a moment lost in the care of his vast imperium. He "looketh down from his holy heavens." It is a glance at the poor, toiling worms below. We seem to hear a voice from the Infinite whispering to us assurance and reminiscence. The depth it reaches reminds us of the height from which it comes. "Am I not a God afar off?" "Do I not fill all things?" And yet am I very nigh unto thee, nearer than any other soul, nearer than thine own thoughts; "Fear not thou worm Jacob;" I remember thee; "I will keep thee, saith the Lord, and thy Redeemer, the Holy One of Israel." How false and absurd the common cavil that the Old Testament is the harsh and unfeeling dispensation as compared with the New! How is it refuted by the gushing tenderness that so often breaks forth, even amid what seem to be its severest reproofs!

"He knoweth our frame, he remembereth that we are dust." It would seem as though there were silently conveyed here something like self-reproach on the part of Deity; as when God looked at the flood-drenched earth, and there came up, "there ascended into his heart," that touching remembrance of our weakness and depravity. "And the Lord smelled a sweet savour;" it was the fragrance of the offering of faith that arose in the burnt-offering, as a memorial before him; "and the Lord said in his heart, I will not again curse the ground any more for man's sake; for the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth: neither will I again smite any more every living thing as I have done." It was as though, according to another impressive Hebraism, "His heart smote him." Does such a representation degrade the idea of God? It is the only way, it may be repeated, in which we can be aided in the attempt to measure his infinity. We may use all sorts of philosophical abstractions, or logical negations; we may talk, as we will, of the infinite, the absolute, the unconditioned; they are the right words, admirable words for their philosophic or purely abstract uses, but in regard to emotional effect they are powerless. They move us no more than the limitless exhaustions or the endless analytical series of the mathematician. The Scripture takes the other method; it brings the infinite into our finite sphere; it lets down a ladder from heaven to earth,

and the tender revelation made to us at its finite base reveals, by its very lowliness, the ineffable height from which it has descended. Had the heavenly messenger assumed to talk to us philosophically, or in any select or partial dialect, we might well have suspected it of imposture. This transcending height of the divine mind is all the better thought by us, so far as we can think it at all, from the believed fact, (and what scientific argument shall prevent our believing it,) that aside from God's infinite idea, or along with his infinite idea, as it includes the all in its changeless unity, he can also, when it pleases him, think the finite, and come down to the finite, truly and perfectly, even in its lowest finity. "Our God" is greater than the impersonal deity of a pantheistic science. Because he is infinite and almighty, therefore it is that he can do this thing which seems to limit his infinity. Because he is so very high, therefore it is that he can stoop so low, even to "the humble and contrite spirit," while yet remaining evermore the "lofty One that inhabiteth eternity, whose name is holy." Because he is very God, therefore it is that he can become very man,* without losing the immutability and impassibility of the divine.

But let us dismiss the infidel cavil, and proceed with the more pleasing work of verbal criticism. "*He knoweth* our frame." *Cognovit* the Vulgate has it, and it is an admirable rendering: "He confesses, he *recognizes*." It is the plain Hebrew verb ידע, not speculative knowledge, or philosophical intuition; not the *à priori* beholding of effects in causes, nor the *à posteriori* tracing of causes in effects. God doubtless has all this in an infinitely higher degree than man, but the Hebrew verb here used does not intend it. It is the ordinary or more purely human knowing. It is simply the recognition of a fact, a noting something as of touching interest. "He knoweth our frame," our *fashioning*, our lowly material. The divine memory goes back to that account in Genesis ii, 7, the noun here and the verb there being the same radix: יצר, "And Jehovah God *framed* man dust of the earth." He well remembers our first fashioning, our lowly physical origin, that is, "according to the flesh." It is enough for us, this bare

* Εαυτὸν ἐκένωσε—"He emptied himself." In this strange expression, Phil. ii, 7, we have the very depth of the mystery, whether as presented in the incarnation, or in the general anthropopathisms of Scripture.

allusion to the earthly human, whether it be to each individual man as formed in the maternal womb, (for in reference to this too there is used the same word, יצר, Jer. i, 5, as though the one generation was as divine and as marvelous as the other,) or to the creative process of the first material humanity from mother earth, or as it is so strangely expressed, Psalm cxxxix, "in the lowest parts of the earth,"* *de profundissimis terræ.* from the most interior or profound of nature. This is enough for us, so far as the emotional effect is concerned—this recognition of the fact; and yet we need not bound the divine thought in itself, or regard it as not going beyond this earthly fact into the ineffable process and the ineffable idea. The lower sight does not exclude the transcending vision. "His eyes did see our substance, (our primal matter, our law and germ,) and in the book our members all were written in the days they were fashioning, (the same word again, ימים יצרו) when there was yet no one."

There is the same touching thought of remembrance, Job xiv, 16. It has the deeper pathos from its reference to the far future, when not only the earthly "places that now know us shall know us no more," but even nature shall seem to have forgotten us: "Thou wilt have regard to the work of thy hands."

When we lie buried deep in dust, there is an eye that never loses sight of us. From the beginning unto the consummation of the process, from the first breathing of the organized humanity until its glorious reconstruction, God has ever "regard to this work of his hands." Nothing can be more affecting than the broken, sighing, soliloquizing language in which Job utters his hope that He who formed his human body, He who permits Satan to destroy it, will yet "appoint him a set time," will yet "remember him." The words are ejaculatory; they run like a broken, murmuring stream; sentences and verses having a logical connection are parted by the utterance of anticipatory emotions; but amid it all it is not difficult for one who places himself in the subjective position of the mourner to gather up the fragmentary thought. Few are the points in the picture, yet how mournfully vivid when rightly grouped together. How long, as well as how minute, this memory of

* The other interpretation of this peculiar language, which makes "the lowest parts of the earth" equivalent to "this lower world," is far from satisfactory.

God! Time, though of immense length in the conception, seems of no account. It is a vision of ages. Nature has gone on with her mighty change, "the flood has failed from the sea," "the mountain crumbling falls, the rock is removed from its place, the waters wear the stones, they wash away the things that grow out of the soil of the earth." One might almost fancy it the language of our modern geology. But during all this time "man lieth still and riseth not." "Until the heavens grow old," (see Psalm cii, 27,) and nature is in that last decay which precedes her renovation, the slumbering body "waketh not, nor is roused from its long sleep." But it is not lost to the divine memory. "Thou wilt have regard to the work of thy hands." We know that others interpret this passage differently; but we can take no other view. The whole context shows that the language is prompted by the hope of some future reviviscence * after a long imprisonment in Sheol, whether we understand by that word the grave as the abode of the body, or some gloomy, shadowy spirit-land, in conception so near to death and utter dissolution that the soul longs to be delivered from it. "O that thou wouldst lay me up in Sheol! O that thou wouldst appoint unto me a bound, and then remember me!" The sudden upspringing hope gives birth to the prayer, and then follows the ejaculation, which is but the emotion of wonder at the conception it has called forth: "If a man die shall he live?" It is not a denial, not even a doubt, but a solemn, musing, soliloquizing query, as of a soul believing yet struck with the greatness and strangeness of the belief. "If a man *die* shall he *live?*" The emphasis is on the contrast, and this appears from the abruptness and strongly disjunctive accentuation of the Hebrew sentence.† Must a man die to live?

* It is not so much the modern idea of the resurrection, as the old Arabian belief of a renovation, a cyclical renewing of the world and man, such as seems to have been in the mind of the Psalmist, cii, 27, where by יחלפו is evidently denoted the "*change*" of renewal after decay, just as this same word is used of the regermination of the plant, Job xiv, 7, (*if it be cut down,* עוד יחליף, *it shall bud again,*) and Psalm xc, 6. This ancient Oriental doctrine of cyclical renovation is most fully and learnedly discussed by Pareau in his book *De Notitiis Immortalitatis ac Vitae futurae ab antiquissimo Jobi Scriptore adhibitis.* It is a treatise of rare occurrence and of rare merit.

† אם ימות גבר חיחיה. The particle in חיחיה is more properly the ה exclamatory than the interrogative, although it may include both. There is unquestionably an expression of surprise or wonder: "Ah! if a man die, shall he live!"

Is death, indeed, the way to life? Then "all the days of my appointed * bound will I wait until my change,† (my חלִיפָה,) my reviviscence, come. Thou wilt call and I will answer thee, thou wilt long for the work of thy hands." Blessed be God for the anthropopathies of the Bible! There is not in all Scripture a more tender word than the one here employed to express the continuance of the divine interest in the mouldering human remains: תכסף, "Thou wilt have a *longing* desire." It denotes that intensity of affection which makes the face grow pale with care and watching. The places where it occurs are few but most significant. It is used in Niphal (Gen. xxxi, 30) for the feeling of homesickness, Jacob's fainting "desire for his father's house," נכסף נכספתה לבית אביך. We have it in all its inimitable tenderness, Psalm lxxxiv, 3, where it expresses the same feeling made holy by being directed to a higher and holier home, or to its appointed symbol here on earth: נכסְפָה גם כלתה נפשי, "*Longs*, yea, faints my soul for the courts of the Lord; my flesh and my heart cry out for the God of my life." Such is the word that is here employed in this remarkable soliloquy of Job to denote the intensity of the divine remembrance of man, God's longing desire to bring back his banished,‡ and to deliver the pious dead, who, though lying

* צבאי would be literally *militia mea*, "my warfare," my term of military service. Take the figure, however, as we may, it is evidently explanatory of חֹק, or "appointed bound," in the verse before.

† Compare Paul's ἀλλαγησόμεθα, 1 Cor. xv, 51, 52.

‡ 2 Sam. xiv, 14: "For we must needs die, and we are like water spilled upon the ground which cannot be gathered up again; yet God doth not take away the soul, (see margin,) but he deviseth devices that his banished (נדח, driven forth) be not expelled from him." If we take the ordinary interpretation, it is difficult to see any force of argument in this as applied by the woman of Tekoah to the case of the banished Absalom. We have, therefore, often thought that it contains one of those intimations of a common Jewish belief in a post-mortem state which meet us here and there in that reserved book the Old Testament. They are all the more forcible from their coming upon us thus incidentally, as it were, or by surprise. In this passage the expression, "we must surely die," (Heb. מות נמות,) is regarded by Jarchi as a confession of the primeval sentence, Gen. ii, 17. In this he favors the idea of a post-mortem allusion, and thus regarded, the application is most striking. Let the banishment here be referred to the banishment of the grave with the hope of recall or deliverance, and there is a clear and cogent argument from the greater to the less. The common interpretations, of which the reader may see a long list in Poole's Synopsis, have come from the prejudged view that such a thought could not possibly have had a place in the mind of a Jew of that age, especially one of the common or lower class. But what evidence is there to support

in Hades, according to the primal sentence, are still "bound up in the bundle of life."

In the holy breathings of the devotional Scriptures there is precious evidence, not frequent, indeed, but unmistakably clear when it comes, that this thought had power for the souls of the pious, the thought that God remembers the dead. The holy dead, at least, still "live unto him." "They abide in the secret of his tabernacle;" they rest under the shadow of the Almighty; they are safe in the divine memory, although they have had to suffer the ancient penalty, and to go for a season into that banishment which it demands of all.

There is an awful reserve in the Old Testament about this whole doctrine of a future life; but this only renders more precious the gleams that now and then come to us from over the dark river of death. Most scanty indeed are they, yet still

such a prejudice? There are clear hints which enable us to affirm that the evidence is the other way. There was not, indeed, a distinct doctrine of a bodily resurrection; but there was still a "being for the dead." The superstition of the Oboth, and the story of the woman of Endor, is sufficient proof of the common notion thus far. But more than this, it was believed that the dead, the pious dead at least, still "lived unto God," that is, existed in some such relation to him as in that other remarkable expression above quoted from Abigail's words to David, 1 Samuel xxv, 29: "But the soul of my lord shall be bound up in *the bundle of life*, צרור החיים, with the Lord thy God." This passage the Jewish commentators refer without hesitation to a post-mortem state. Rabbi Tanchum explains it at length as denoting the state of the pious dead, blessed indeed, yet still not made perfect and still unabsolved; while the "*casting out of the sling*," in the same passage, describes the turbulent unrest of the wicked, "who are violently driven forth, while the righteous hath hope in his death." Prov. xiv, 32. The word here for driven forth, נדח or דחה, is the same as that employed 2 Samuel xiv, 14, being rather rare, and, therefore, the more peculiar and emphatic in both cases. The hope of the righteous, on the other hand, would be the hope of recall or deliverance from banishment, or, in other words, that "God would not leave his soul in Hades," or give it up to the dominion of Hades. He lies down in submission to the primal sentence, but hopes for absolution from it when the Redeemer descends into Hades. Rabbi Tanchum concludes his long comment by noting that the declarations are placed in the mouths of women, the best preservers of the traditional or popular belief; and hence infers the superiority of the Jews to the more learned and philosophical of other countries. The life of man "*bound up in the bundle of life with the Lord his God*;" the glorious idea of mutual relation contained in the common Hebrew oath, "*As the Lord liveth and as thy soul liveth*;" truths like these, which elsewhere only present themselves to the highest minds, if they are felt and known at all, are here the property of the common mind, *manifestum vel mulieribus*. Hence he argues, too, how well the Jews were entitled to the praise of that declaration, Deut. iv, 6, "Surely a wise and understanding people is this great nation."—*Maimonides Porta Mosis*, 92.

having more to awake the soul to thought than all the particularity to be found in the Greek accounts of Hades, Tartarus, and Elysium. There is, as we have said, little or nothing that can be called definite or positive about another world, or any such clear view as Christianity has brought to light; but there are a few ideas with which we cannot fail to be struck, as forming constituent elements of a sentiment that was ever growing into a more and more settled faith. They differ from the distinctively Christian ideas, not so much by being in opposition, as by giving that more somber aspect of the great doctrine which it was to wear until the coming of the Prince of Life. These sadder, less hopeful, but by no means hopeless, features may be thus stated: Death is a sentence, never losing its penal aspect; it has the appearance of banishment, violent for the wicked, but hopeful for the pious; hence the post-mortem state immediately succeeding is not a desirable one; it is mourned over by the good, as is done by Hezekiah and in some of the Psalms; it is imprisonment, though with the ideas of wardship and security; it is unknown and gloomy; it is a land of silence; the degree of life and consciousness is uncertain; sense, and the memory of the present life seem sometimes to be regarded as greatly in abeyance, if not wholly suspended; it is an appointed time to be patiently endured; it is ever *awaiting* for a great deliverance and a great Deliverer; and, finally, the most precious thought connected with it is, that the soul still rests in the divine remembrance; or that, whatever be the nature of the separate life, or whatever the degree of its consciousness, it is still a "living unto God."

To this idea of a return from banishment, it has been thought there is a reference, Psalm xc, 3. The primal sentence is there certainly kept in view: "Thou turnest man to dissolution, and thou sayest, return ye children of men." There is evidently intended an impressive paronomasia in the double use of the verb שוב. The second application of it may mean a turning *from* dust, as the first, doubtless, denotes a turning *to it*, as employed in the original sentence of condemnation. Hence the Episcopal Church Psalter, following the old Latin version, (*revertimini,*) renders it, "Come again ye sons of Adam," ye children of the earth. So Luther's expressive translation, Kommt wieder menschenkinder, "Come back again ye chil-

dren of men.' There would seem a tautology in regarding the verb שוב, in each case, as referring to the same turning, besides making the command follow the execution: "Thou *turnest* man to decay, and thou sayest *return*." It may, indeed, have both senses, and may have been intended to bear both, according as it appeals to our humility or our hope.

"Lord, what is man that thou dost so remember him,"—man physically allied to all that is lowest in creation,—man who "says to corruption, thou art my father, to the worm thou art my mother and my sister." True it is, that spiritually he is "made in the image of God;" he is allied to the uncreated and the eternal; but it is in his physical as well as in his spiritual relations that God remembers him. The hyperplatonic scorn of the body has no warrant in the Scriptures. "Thou wilt *long* for the work of thy hands." God *remembers* the crumbling body as well as the undissolving soul. It is the whole of man that he loves; as in the case of those who are saved it is the whole of man that he remembers unto salvation. This is the wondrous anthropopathy that we have been tracing in the Old Scriptures. It is not merely an incidental accommodation, but a designed incarnation of a divine thought. The Bible is a book of contrasts. Its writers betray no sense of inconsistency in setting forth, sometimes in closest contiguity, the melting goodness, the inexorable severity of God; they seem to fear no charge of paradox when they present, and, sometimes, in the same vivid picture, the vileness and the greatness of man.

Art. IV.—ILLYRIAN LITERATURE.

Many and various are the accounts that have been given by the different nations of the creation of the world, its relations to the other bodies in the heavens, and the formation on its surface of continents, mountains, oceans, and rivers. As to the mountains, the inhabitants of Montenegro have a summary way of disposing of the question that relieves it of all difficulty. They represent the Almighty as an old man walking over the

earth, just after he had created it, with a bag of rocks upon his shoulders. These rocks he distributed in the various lands, thus forming the mountains. When he was passing over their country the bag suddenly tore open, and all that remained in it fell out, and hence the origin of the vast mountains of rock which they inhabit. Like a giant among the neighboring ranges, Montenegro rises far above them all. A wild, untamed race dwell among its cliffs; and there, secure from invasion, they have never been subdued by the Greek, Latin, or Ottoman forces. The Montenegrins are a section of the great Sclavic race which occupies more than half of the territory, and composes full half of the population of Europe.

In speaking of this people of Asiatic origin different authors do not always use the same terms, and hence we see in their works at times obscurity and even apparent contradictions. Without deciding upon the terms so variously used, we shall aim simply to be understood. In the "great emigration," perhaps in the time of Semiramis, a vast tribe of the Shemitic race left their homes in the East and settled in what is now the southern part of Russia in Europe. They were first known under the name of Scythians. With a system of government and social order essentially democratic, and a popular energy that has not been undermined by luxury, nor broken by long despotism, they are just beginning to be recognized as an important element in European politics, in which, for a long time, they have actually taken a prominent part. The most ancient record that is made of the Slaves as an independent people reaches back to the time of the Emperor Justinian. Theophilus, the preceptor of this prince, assures us that his pupil was of Sclavic origin. Indeed, the name of Justinian, and that of his ancestors, go to confirm this assertion. It is not, as Gibbon erroneously asserts, "of Gothic, or rather of English origin." Justinian was called among his own countrymen *Upravda*. The Sclavic word *Pravda* corresponds to the Latin word *Jus*, or *Justitia*. The letter *U* is only an aspirate prefix. Afterward, at one time joined with the Bulgarians, they threatened the existence of the Eastern Empire, and for thirty years contested the power of Basilius, the Bulgaricide; and again in the fourteenth century Stephanus, the emperor of Servia, went to attack Constantinople with an army of over eighty-five thousand

well-disciplined soldiers. Stephanus died of a fever in Thrace, and the enterprise failed. In the eastern and central parts of Europe other branches of the Sclavic race have acted important parts in history since the fifth century.

This great Scythian, or Sclavic race, may be considered as separated into four grand divisions, the Russian, the Polish, the Bohemian, and the Illyrian, (or Servian.) Their four languages have the same relation to their Sclavic origin as the modern Italian, French, Spanish, and Portuguese have to the Latin. The Russians have adopted a modification of the Cerillian, or Sacred Alphabet; the Bohemians, and the neighboring tribes in Prussia and Saxony, the German letters; while the Poles, and lately the Illyrians, use the Latin letters. As the Italian is more intimately allied to the parent Latin than its sister languages, so the Illyrian may be considered the representative branch of the ancient Sclavic. It is indeed termed the Sclavic by some native and most foreign writers. It is the mother tongue of most of the inhabitants of the southern part of the Austrian empire, and of the northern part of Turkey in Europe. The various dialects spoken in Illyria, Croatia, Sclavonia, Morlacca, Dalmatia, Bosnia, and Servia, do not differ from each other more than do the dialects of the spoken language in the different provinces of Italy and Spain. So slight is the difference that the inhabitants of the various lands often designate by their own name the language of all the tribes. Compared to the others, the Illyric (Servian) is like the Tuscan to the Italian, or the Attic to the Greek. It is rich in words and phrases, full of elegance and euphony, of light and easy movement, yet nervous and dignified in expression beyond its Sclavic sisters. Hence the educated classes among them use the term Illyric generically, representing the whole. All the literature and school-books, periodicals and other printed matter, are published in this dialect. It will be the language of the Sclavic, or Illyric state that is either joined to Hungary or is to become a separate nation of itself, in the resurrection of the races that is now throwing so much confusion in the midst of European politics. The problem of the Orient can only be fully and finally settled on the basis of recognizing the Sclavic nationality.

The geographical position of these people has been a serious obstacle to their advancing in any of the elements of civiliza

tion. Their land has been the battle-field of nations and religions. After a destructive war of one hundred and sixty-five years they were conquered by the Romans. The barbarians several times invaded their dominions. The Greek and Latin Churches here met in conflict, not so much for this particular region as to obtain control of the lands beyond. Here has been the border ground where the Turks sought to gain an entrance to the nations of Europe. That any literature should be developed under such circumstances would be a matter of great surprise. Yet we find at Ragusa, one of the chief maritime cities, an extensive library, and a university that ranked as one of the best in Europe till the Avari rushed down upon the city and burned the greater part of it, including the library and the university. Ragusa has ever been, till very lately, the chief seat of Sclavic learning. Zara, the capital of Dalmatia, now claims that distinction. Several of the faculty of the Gymnasium at Zara are deeply enlisted in the work of regenerating their native country. Professor Danillo is at the head of an organization that is diffusing a large amount of information and many stirring appeals to the *liberal* party. His feelings are so deeply enlisted in the movement that he is almost restless unless when engaged in it. The prudence, caution, and bravery required of one in his position entitle him to more than the honors of the battle-field. When we parted, after some weeks spent with him, he shook the writer of this article warmly by the hand, and, speaking of American liberty, he said, "We too shall be free!"

Ragusa, however, retains much of her ancient prestige. To one of its citizens, Marino Ghelaldi, is attributed the merit of having first applied Algebra to Geometry, and the analysis of curves. Spilla Betina, a mathematical experimenter and alchemist, worked many years in a neighboring cave. Among other achievements he succeeded in setting fire to some small vessels with reflectors, like Archimedes. The cave is to this day termed the "Cave of the Magi." Several ancient writers on medicine lived here, where observations on the symptoms and treatment of diseases are still in good repute. Givichino-Stulli died in 1817, aged eighty-seven years, having devoted half a century to writing and perfecting his "Illyrico-Latino-Italiano" Dictionary, which he published in two octavo volumes. Affect-

ing indeed is the dedication by the good old man: ". . . At the age of eighty years, fifty of which I have spent amid long watchings, and expensive travels to enrich my new Dictionary, nothing do I now desire so much as to be able to publish it. There had not as yet appeared the least ray of hope that I should see accomplished this my chief desire. All the circumstances of the times and the place seemed to oppose this great enterprise. And now you give me the inexpressible consolation of seeing accomplished, before I close this mortal life, this object toward which have been raised incessantly the chief desires of my heart."—(Addressed to Marshal Marmont, of Ragusa, by whose aid the Dictionary was published.)

Another liberal-minded gentleman at Ragusa, some thirty years ago, gathered together an octavo volume of poems, written in Illyric by natives of that city, and also published an Italian translation of most of them. The subjects are various. A large number are lyrics of beautiful sentiment and fine expression. Many are love songs. In all there is nothing trivial, or scarcely anything mirthful. Occasionally the poet breaks out in the more dignified pentameter, and discourses at length of military prowess and heroic deeds of their ancestors. The movement is frequently stately, and some times quite grand. But these were never very widely circulated among the people. The circumstances were unfavorable. They were also written in Cerillian letters, and hence were illegible to the common people.

This Cerillian alphabet was invented by Cerillo, a native of Salona, who went as a missionary to the Sclavic tribes in the fourth century. Finding the people without a written language, he invented an alphabet—from the Greek, Hebrew, and Latin languages—that represented all the many and peculiar sounds of the Sclavic tongue. It is called by Eichhorn the most perfect alphabet in existence. It contains forty-two letters. Cerillo translated part of the New Testament, and some of the works of the fathers of the Church. The alphabet is difficult to master, and its use is confined mostly to sacred books. There are in the Illyrian several vowel and consonant sounds that do not occur in the other European languages. Its structure is very philosophical. Thus, for *twenty*, they say *two tens;* thirty, *three tens;* and in many cases the system of its word-building

is founded upon nature. The verb receives many inflections, or conjugations, the modification of a single vowel in the middle of a word giving a great difference in the signification. The noun has seven cases, and, like the Greek, has a dual number. Its sound, as pronounced, may be defined as midway between that of the German and the Italian.

But the circumstances at Ragusa were unfavorable to the development of a truly national poetry. It was in too great communication with Italy, and absorbed enough of the spirit of that country and of its literature to have a pure native tone. It was also too much disturbed by invasion and almost constant fear of destruction. We must seek among the mountains for that freedom of feeling which alone can foster the true spirit of poetry. The principal center, where are found the best Illyric poems, is among the mountains of Montenegro. There has sprung up a noble form of heroic poetry, which afterward is repeated by the people of the valleys in their peculiar dialects, though modified in a few unimportant particulars only. In the plain country, grand poetry, and particularly the more rare heroic songs, are in little favor. Instead of them the people prefer the poesy of fables, lyric songs, accounts of fairies, vampires, and specters. The very existence, manners, dress, and social order of the Montenegrins have an atmosphere of poetry about them. There is no aristocracy of wealth or rank. There is no true central government. War is declared by popular consent rather than otherwise, either by a single tribe, or by all in concert. The women do all the work; the men are only warriors. Their dress, as well as many of their costumes, have a marked resemblance to those of the clans of Scotland. Having never been conquered by Christian or Turk, they pride themselves in their nationality, and the heroic deeds of their ancestors are handed down from generation to generation in poems of great spirit and beauty. In a lighter form they have many sonnets and beautiful legends which have been handed down from time immemorial.

They have many elements of a mythology that needed only time, a little more physical prosperity and seclusion from other nations, and particularly from the influence of Christianity, to be perfected into a system as complete as any the world has ever seen. Even Christianity is vested at times with a mytho-

logical character, and the saints and angels are endowed with such attributes and powers as heathen nations vest in their deities. These legends and poems are rehearsed, or snng, by blind beggar bards, as in Homeric times. In Sclavic, the words signifying poet and beggar are the same. The memory possessed by these bards is very remarkable. They will repeat an entire poem, of over two thousand verses, without varying a single line, or even a word.

To hear their wild singing gives one a peculiar feeling that cannot be described, or imparted by writing. Their voices, which are frequently rich and clear, are accompanied by an instrument called the "*guzla.*" It is composed of a single string of horse's hair, stretched upon a piece of wood, and touched with a bow of the same material. It gives a singular, somewhat feeble, and monotonous sound. The bard sometimes narrates the historical, or narrative parts, in prose, or gives an abridgement of them, and then sings the impassioned passages in poetry, accompanying them with the music of the *guzla.* Occasionally he breaks out in impromptu invective against some false lover, or traitor to his country. Nothing of the farcical satire, or comedy, is seen in any of their songs; but there is much of the plaintive, and, at times, even of the sad. Calmness, gravity, and the heroic element greatly abound. The blind rhapsodists think it derogatory to their dignity to let any too light pleasantry, or coarse jokes, escape from their lips. Of the few popular Illyric songs that have been translated to the German, Grimm says that "they will awake the wonder of all Europe." "Their songs of love have a poetic feeling so clear and profound that those of no modern people can compare with them."

The women, in their miserable huts, or on the edge of a rock watching their flocks, or returning home to the villages in the evening, lighten the fatigue of their weary task by singing of the joys and sorrows of their lives. Many of these are improvised; others, called "Songs of the Women," are heard only within the domestic walls, or in the little clusters of children, or the older girls. Occasionally poor and blind old women gain a livelihood by rehearsing them from house to house. To gather these songs of the women is a work of extreme difficulty, for these blind mendicants will rarely sing before a man who has the appearance of a foreigner.

It is, indeed, difficult to collect the pieces sung by the men. When they are persuaded to sing before a stranger they frequently prefer to show the powers of the voice, running lightly over the words and repeating the parts in which the music appears to the best advantage. The longer pieces are frequently sung in a recitative manner, accompanied by the guzla, giving the narrative parts in prose. Of course, these must be *reported* by short-hand, and the reporter must be somewhat acquainted with the language, otherwise several writers must be ready to catch the words as their turn comes around. The difficulties of this method are very apparent. The distinguished Illyrian writer, Vuk Stefanovich Karadjich, has made by far the largest collection of any yet gathered of all varieties of this literature. Vuk is now seventy-four years old, and has spent the greater part of his life in philological labors in his native language. Besides several minor works, he has published an excellent Illyrian Grammar; he has modified the Cerillian alphabet so as to make it more available and less complicated; he is also the author of an Illyrian Dictionary, of a translation of the New Testament and the Proverbs of Solomon, of a history of Montenegro, and the materials for a history of Servia; and finally, has published several volumes of Illyrian poetry. He relates some of the difficulties he met with in gathering these songs. The old men frequently spoil them (sometimes apparently by design) by their incorrect manner of singing them. The young men will rarely sing them at all, saying in a rage that they are not blind! These difficulties especially attend collecting the "Songs of the Women." He finally persuaded a child to sing some of them before a young lady who would correct his mistakes, and thus, after indefatigable labor, he gathered four volumes of these. Vuk was indebted for the largest share of his collections to an old rhapsodist whom he found in the greatest misery. He gave the old man clothing and food, placed him in a convent, treated him as well as possible, and finally gathered from him over a hundred poems and a large collection of romances.

Afterward, being sent to the court of Milishio in Servia, he sought through the aid of that prince, who had a great love for poetry, though he could not write his own name, to gather together all the rhapsodists of the country. The prince ordered

the most distinguished of them, Milim by name, who could repeat to perfection the whole of the "Marriage of Cernojevich," to be brought dead or alive. Milim was too old and too much weakened by the wounds he had received in his brigand mode of life, and could only sing after great draughts of brandy. When once commenced he would let no one interrupt him, for once interrupted he would neither commence again nor continue. The gentlemen of the court of Milishio looked with surprise upon so much labor in gathering songs so plebeian, and laughed both at Vuk and his singer. Finally they persuaded the poor bard to believe that Vuk was making him the sport and buffoon of the court, and one fine day the poet escaped and it was impossible to make him return. Another of the best rhapsodists whom Vuk consulted was a brigand by profession, whom he found in a prison, where he lay for having killed a woman, a sorceress, who had bewitched his son. Vuk succeeded, however, in gathering characteristic specimens of all styles of Illyric poetry. His fine collections, added to what others have gathered, leave but little lacking for a complete summary of all that is worth preserving.

A strong feeling for nature pervades all their poetry. The nightingale is sacred to lovers. The trees sympathize with man, feeling his griefs, and giving him consolation in his misfortunes. The waves of the ocean dash against the rocks, and leap with joy at good news. The dove is the messenger of love, and bears to mortals the tidings of saints, prophets, and patriarchs. They speak of many beings like vampires, fairies, and ghosts. The *Vile* is a species of nymph, inhabiting mountains, forests, and rivers, predicting the future and aiding warriors in battle. They are beautiful in countenance, and with disheveled hair and light, airy clothing; and travel with a volatile motion, now on a stag and now on a cloud. Some are good and propitious to men, and others are evil.

Fraternal love is held very sacred and inviolable, more so than filial affection or the marriage vow. They have a legend that a girl, grieving bitterly for her brother who had died, was changed into a cuckoo, and therefore this bird is a symbol of grief. Two girls who had no brother—one of the greatest misfortunes in this life—made a doll, and putting two black stones for eyes and two strings of pearl for teeth, went about it saying, "Now you

have a mouth, eat and grow." Again, an unhappy woman, having lost in a single day her husband, friend, and brother, for love of her husband tore out her hair, for love of her friend tore open her cheek, and for love of her brother plucked out her eyes. The first two were restored, but not the last, "for the heart which bleeds for a brother will never cease to bleed." Persons of different families often consecrate themselves to "brotherhood," or friendship. Each cuts one of his fingers, and letting the blood drop into a cup of water, both drink from it. They then, in the presence of their relatives, go before the altar in the church, bearing wax candles, and there receive the blessing of the priest. The two thus bound together, called "pobratimi" or "posestrimi," that is, "brothers" or "sisters," are to help each other in every case, even in that of life and death.

At the death of a person all the relatives cry aloud, "Ah! ah! why did you die? Did you not have plenty to eat and drink? Did you not have a kind husband? Did you not have a brave brother? Ah! why did you die!" At night they watch, with alternate groanings, kneelings, and howlings, and drinking brandy to each other's health. At the burial the women sing his virtues, and then the howling begins again. The relatives celebrate the funeral services till evening, when they have a banquet. The male relatives let the beard grow a month, and wear for a year a close hat or bonnet; the women wear for the same time on their head a black handkerchief. In some tribes they scatter perfumed flowers upon the grave, and place upon it a cup of "holy water" to assuage the fires of purgatory. In their lighter pieces of poetry sonnets play an important part. Of course much of their sentiment is lost in the translation. The following may serve as specimens:

The Evening.—"Come! the evening is beautiful. The hour of kisses has come. Let us seek for our love some quiet retreat. Which is more dear to thee, thy guardian or mine? Shall thy rose bushes, or mine, make us a shade? Whoever passes by shall take thee to be a fair white rose, and I shall be thought to be a brown-winged insect that flies to the rose and inhales its perfumes."

Unfaithfulness.—"Nightingale! beautiful nightingale! O,

singer of sweet lays! whither flíest thou? Where the sun has gone to rest in the sea? Goest thou, perchance, to other maidens to soften the grief in their bosoms? Are other eyes, like mine, without sleep, without rest, born only to weep? Ah! perchance, thou goest to see other fair lands! When thou returnest, tell me if in those hills, or in those valleys, among the people thou visitest, thou findest one as unhappy as I. A string of richest gems hung upon my neck. A shining ring my hand one day adorned. They were the gifts of him whom I ever carry in my heart. They were the most sacred pledge of his faith and his love. Ah! the autumn came in apace! The necklace has broken from my neck! The sacred ring has fallen from my finger! As in an hour the air of evening scatters the balm of the flower, so short and fleeting was the joy of my heart."

The following is a good example of the movement of the Illyrian "romances." The letters give as approximately as possible the sounds as in English, except that the vowels receive the continental pronunciation:

RIBA I DYEVOYKA.

Dyevoyka syedi kray mora
Pak sama sebi govori:
"Ah mili Bozhe i dragi!
Ima l'sto shire od mora?
Ima l'sto duzhe od polya?
Ima l'sto brzhe od konya?
Ima l'sto sladye od meda?
Ima l'sto drazhe od brata?"

Govori riba izrode:
"Dyevoyka, luda budalo!
Sire ye nebo od mora;
Duz he ye more od polya;
Brzhe su ochi od konya;
Sladyi ye shecher od meda;
Drazhe ye dra gi od brata."

TRANSLATION.

The little Girl and the Fish.—"A little girl was sitting on the bank and thus spoke to herself: 'O, my God! is there nothing larger than the sea? nothing more swift than a horse? nothing more sweet than honey? nothing more dear than a brother?'

"A fish from the stream answered her:

"'Little girl, you surely are very thoughtless! The heavens are much larger than the sea; the glance of the eye is much swifter than a horse; sugar is sweeter than honey; and a lover is much dearer than a brother.'"

Of somewhat the same spirit is another:

The Bird in the Snow.—"The snow was falling, driven so fiercely by the storm that a little bird could not fly through it, but fell to the ground. A girl ran out in haste with bare feet to receive it. A brother ran after her with her shoes, and said, 'Sister! sister! are not your feet cold?' She replied, 'No! The cold is not in my feet, it is in my heart. It is not the snow that troubles me, but my mother, for she wishes me to espouse a man that I cannot love!'"

The Rose in the Ice.—"A girl said to her lover, who was starting for a distant land, 'Leave me, my friend, and go on your journey. You will find on your way a garden without a hedge, and in the garden a crimson rose. Pluck a bud and place it on your heart. As you will see that rose fail and wither, so will my heart fail me in your absence.' 'And you, my friend,' said he, 'go back and you shall find an evergreen forest, in the forest a crystal fountain, on the fountain a stone of marble, on the stone a cup of gold, and in the cup a piece of ice. Take the ice and place it on your heart. As you shall see the ice melt, so will melt my heart for you.'"

For unaffected simplicity and beauty of expression these sonnets excel even those of the troubadours, and for pathos and chaste sentiment they rival even those of northern Europe, which have awakened so much attention for a few years past. Many of them have touches of nature as delicate as those of the most remote antiquity of the Greek anthology preceding the age of the "Idylls." The following has altogether the sentiment of the ancient Greek:

The Child sleeping in the Garden.—"A little girl in her garden was digging out with a stone a small furrow to conduct a streamlet so as to water her flowers. When she had finished it she lay down and fell asleep, with her head enclustered in a group of narcissus, with her hand half covered by the violets, and her white feet bathed by the streamlet."

Of very different character is the following, which has

a "provincial" spirit in it most rare among the Illyrian sonnets:

The falling Rose.—"A rose fell upon the eyes of a beautiful girl while she was sleeping and woke her. Taking up the flower and looking at it she said, 'Leave me in peace, beautiful rose, for I have none of thy charming spirit. A fine young man calls me to marriage, but my friends give me to a man full of years. The old man is like a dry tree; if the wind sigh in its branches, it trembles; if the rain fall, it decays; if the sun shine, it withers. But the young man is like a rose-bud. If the breath of the wind touch it, it opens; if the rain fall, its leaves unfold; and if the rays of the sun fall upon it, it shines in its splendor.'"

The same simplicity of style and deep feeling for Nature pervades all the larger poems of the Illyrians. But they also have a wider scope and, at times, quite an intricate plot. The heroic poems are all written in pentameter, with the cesural pause always between the second and third feet. The simplicity of the rhythm and movement favors the production of this kind of poetry among the Illyrian (or Servian) branch of the Sclavic family much more than among the others. At the same time it impedes the perfection of this kind of poetry, because the movement is too much controlled by the music. For this reason the verse is somewhat monotonous, and the poem can neither have those elements of variety nor of liberty which are so essential to a grand composition. The Greek hexameter formerly consisted of two verses separated by a cesura, which were later united into one, probably at that period when the Greek poetry ceased to be sung and accompanied by music, but was rehearsed in a recitative or declamatory manner. But among the Slaves their poetry remains yet entirely under the control of the music, so that even heroic pieces of fifteen hundred or two thousand verses are pervaded by certain lyric forms, repetitions of the same words, and a uniformity of the principle of the strophe that prevents full liberty to their rhythm.

The following passage from the semimythological poem the "*Council of the Saints*," will serve to convey an approximate idea of the movement of the Illyrian pentameter:

Mili Bozhe chuda velikoga!
Ili gurmi il'se zemlya trese?
Il'ndara more u bregove?
Niti gurmi, nit se zemlya trese
Nit udara more u bregove,
Veeh diyele blago svetitelyi:
Sveti Petar i sveti Nikola,
Sveti Jovan i sveti Iliya
I sa nyima sveti Panteliya;
Nyim dolatsi blazhena Mariya,
Roni sutse nits biyelo lika.
Etc., etc., etc.

The legend which this poem, the "Council of the Saints," narrates, is a dialogue between the saints upon their prerogatives in protecting men, and on the blessings which they have the power of dispensing. The Virgin Mary, being called upon to speak, relates the unfortunate events which have happened in a foreign land, which the poet calls "the land of the Indies," that is, some very distant land. "O, my God, what a strange prodigy!" says the poet. "Does it thunder perchance?—or is there an earthquake?—or does the raging sea brake its banks? No! the heavens do not thunder—the earth does not tremble—nor does the sea roar. It is the saints, which in the heavens are dividing *the* blessings: St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Nicholas, St. John, St. Elijah, and with them St. Pantaleon. All in tears, there approaches them the Virgin Mary. Then Elijah, the lord of the lightning, (in the Illyrian poetry Elijah resembles much the Jove of the ancients,) says to her, 'O, our beloved sister Mary, what sad event has happened to thee, to bring such sorrow to thy countenance?' Then Mary the blessed answered him: 'O, my brother Elijah, lord of the lightning, why should I not be overwhelmed with grief? I came from the cursed land of the Indies, where there reigns a great corruption. The young men do not respect the old, sons do not obey their fathers, fathers forget their children, friends contend together in the courts of law, brothers fight in duels, relative is ashamed of relative, and sisters do not call their brothers brother.' Then Elijah, the thunderer, answered her, 'Wipe away your tears, O our sister, blessed Mary; when we have finished dividing among ourselves the blessings for men we will go to the council of the Lord, and will pray him, if he

will deign to give us the keys of the firmament. Then we will close the seven heavens, and we will seal the clouds, so that there shall fall neither rain nor dew, neither shall the moon illumine the night for three successive years.'

"The saints then proceeded to 'divide the blessings.' St. Peter took the wine, the fruit, and the keys of heaven; Elijah took the thunder and the lightning; St. Pantaleon took the heat of summer; St. John took the duties of brotherly love and of hospitality, and St. Nicholas took the sea and the protection of sailors. Then they all went together to the council of the Lord, and there they continued for three days and three nights in succession, praying that their request might be granted. Finally, the Lord yielded to them the keys of the heavens. They closed the seven heavens one after another, and then sealed the clouds. Now behold, sorrow falls upon the earth—dryness, sickness, and death. Soon the Indians were converted anew to the laws of the Lord, and obtained from him pardon and blessings." The poet closes by praying God that such disgraces may not be renewed, neither in the Indies or elsewhere.

The style of this and other legends resembles that adopted by the Homeric writers, and is in form essentially epic. If modern lyric poetry seems to be most prominent among the Scandinavians, and that branch of it which inclines to the region of the unknown and the fantastic prevails among the Germanic race, on the other hand, modern epic poetry is above all Illyrian or Sclavic. The coincidences between the growth of this poetry and the ancient are very extraordinary. Its preservation also has been by the same means, by blind rhapsodists. These mendicant bands are not regarded with any feeling of contempt, but rather are held in a species of veneration by the people.

Of the questions that are occupying the minds of European politicians that of the Orient is of prime importance. Turkey in Europe is occupied by two races, the Greeks in the valleys and plain land of the south, and the Sclavic races in the mountainous parts of the interior. An antipathy between these two people has existed since the middle ages, when the Greeks, being the more powerful, sought to expel them and take their lands. As the Austrians took Hungary under their

protection from the Turks, so the Turks took the Greeks under their *protection* from the Slaves. The question of the East can evidently be settled only by restoring these nationalities upon their original basis. This state of affairs and this position of the Slaves, "who, subjected by the Turks, hate the Greeks and fear the Latins," are sketched in the fabulous life of Marco, son of the king Vukashino. According to history Marco was forced to be a Mussulman, and died fighting against the Christians, but hating the Turks. Such are the Slaves of Albania and Bosnia, who, however much they may profess to esteem the Koran, let no occasion pass to rebel against the Sultan. This Marco was hunting one day with the Turks, and seeing one of the viziers beat his falcon cruelly, he was overwhelmed with grief, and alone in the midst of his enemies, bewailing with a loud voice the fate of the Servians, he killed the vizier. Instead of punishing him the Sultan presented him with a gift, saying, "I can easily make another vizier, but with difficulty a warrior like Marco." This is the policy followed by the Sultans to this day toward the Janissaries, who often slay their captains with impunity. Marco, in the poem, also goes through the Orient and fights in Egypt, thus personifying the Mamelukes, among whom were many Slaves, besides entire battalions of Slaves sent into Asia Minor. The death of Marco is not less symbolical than his life, representing the present condition and the future of his country. According to the poets Marco should have lived about three hundred years, and should have died about the beginning of the eighteenth century, about the time when Danubian Slaves lost the last vestige of their independence, and when even the title of "Servian despot" was abolished. According to the poets, also, he was not slain by the Turks but by the hand of God, "the ancient slayer of heroes," as the Servians say. While traveling through the mountains one of the *vila* cried to him that it was now time for him to be separated from his horse. Marco replied to the spirit that he was too content with his horse to leave it. The vila then told him to look into a fountain near by and he should there see his fate. Marco alights, and reads in the fountain that it is time for him to die. He then kills his horse, that it may not fall into the hands of the Turks, breaks his sword, that his enemies

may not touch it, and writes his will, leaving the three purses of gold which he had with him, one to whoever should bury him, another to the priest, and a third to the bards who pass from village to village singing the deeds of the ancestors, and asking of them not to forget him. After this he hides himself and dies upon the mountain. But other traditions hold that Marco is not dead, but that he lives upon the mountains and will some day reappear, thus personifying the Sclavic nationality, which in a certain manner is extinguished, or rather sleeps upon the mountains, as the Servian empire is quite destroyed in the plains at present, and the independent population of Montenegro and of some maritime districts have alone preserved the historic and poetical traditions of the Sclavic people.

The "Marriage of Kernoyevich" approaches most nearly to an epic of all the Illyrian poems. Giovanni Kernoyevich, an independent prince, whose court was in the fort of Zhalbyak, on the Lake of Scutari, undertakes a journey to Venice to seek a spouse for his son. In their poetry Venice represented all the power and riches of western Europe. Forgetting all the nations that crossed their land during the Crusades, from the power of the Venetian republic, that land was, in their eyes, the seat of all European glory. That was the land of heroism, its *sovereign* was the Doge, and his sons, brothers, and nephews were possessed of marvelous power and riches. Kernoyevich then goes to Venice to obtain a wife for his son. "He rises up and passes over the azure sea, bearing immense treasures with him. He goes to call for a spouse to Maximus, his dearly beloved son, the most beautiful daughter of the Doge of Venice. The Doge refuses, but Giovanni remains three years scattering gifts among the people. Finally the Doge yields and they exchange rings." The poet then proceeds to describe all the ceremonies of departure, the splendid train his son Maximus takes to Venice, the council of the warriors, the deception practiced upon the Doge for a short while, and the conflict among the forces of Maximus on its discovery, and all the steps till final consummation of the marriage. It contains many touches of nature in the descriptions, and shows not merely many points of the Sclavic character, but also many of their national and social customs. It is marked particularly

with a calmness, reticence, and prudence very peculiar to the people. Cannon are held as instruments of special regard by all the Sclavic races. The Russians give great esteem to the mammoth cannon exposed in the arsenals at Moscow, and they recount the ruin done by them against the French, although they never have been used. In this poem Giovanni describes his cannon, "of so great size and caliber that when they were fired from the castle of Zhalbyak (in Albania) the sound was heard even in Venice. There are not such cannon in any other country, neither in the seven Christian kingdoms, nor in the Turkish empire. . We call away our friends and take our horses from the banks of the river when they are fired, and our friends would be struck with fear by the fearful sound."

This poem is the nearest approach of any of the Illyrian productions to an epic, yet it is hardly an epic. It is the opinion of Grimm and some others that such a poem will yet be produced. But political events are hastening forward too fast, and that seclusion which the Slaves have enjoyed in their mountains, and which is an essential element in building up a mythological literature, or a semimythological one like that of the Slaves, cannot exist much longer. Contact with neighboring nations and neighboring civilization has indeed always given their literature an alloyed character that has materially injured its unique character. However much we may admire the chasteness and simplicity of their sonnets, the deep feeling for nature, and the nervous energy of their heroic poems, and the complicated but well-sustained plot of their epic, like pieces of greater length, and of these composed by blind bards, and handed down from generation to generation uninjured, and all till only very lately quite unknown to civilized nations, circumstances would seem to indicate that the literature of the Illyrians has reached its climax as to a unique and distinctive character. The most that can be done now is to catch what exists before the present generation passes away. When properly understood it will be considered one of the most remarkable developments of the poetical element that the history of nations presents to our view.

Art. V.—FUNERAL ORATION UPON STEPHEN CURCELLÆUS.

DELIVERED BY ARNOLD POLENBURG.*

[FIRST PART.]

Among the many noted customs established by the ancients well worthy of commendation, is that of rendering suitable eulogies to the dead. Reputations are commonly assigned to living persons from motives of favor or dislike. After death, since they can be of neither benefit nor injury to us, and nothing is to be expected or feared from their anger or resentment, there may be a more impartial discussion concerning their life, their words, and their deeds. This, like many other praiseworthy customs, had its origin with the Egyptians, among whom a very ancient tradition obtained, that their priests, because their lives were most perfect and their words most sincere, should deliver funeral orations in honor of their deceased kings. That this custom was established among the Greeks by their own preference and adoption Demosthenes is an ample authority, who in his own day attested the honor, affection, and justice, implied in adorning, with a funeral eulogy, the deeds of good and worthy men: *τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔργα ἐντοῖς λόγοις ἐπιταφίους κοσμεῖν.* And indeed he, who, in the judgment of the greatest of Roman orators, was the most eminent orator of the Greeks, desired that a performance of this duty should be sanctioned by his own example. The eulogy which Valerius, the consul, pronounced upon his colleague, Junius Brutus, indicates the existence of this custom, even in the earliest times, among the Romans; and afterward it was an accepted practice for sons to laud at their funeral obsequies their parents, brothers, and

* After their return from banishment in consequence of dissenting from the Canons of Dort, the Remonstrants, or followers of Arminius, under their celebrated leader, Simon Episcopius, established a theological school at Amsterdam. The line of their professors was remarkable for talent. They were successively, Simon Episcopius, Stephen Curcellæus, Arnold Polenburg, Philip Limborch, John Le Clerc, Adrian Van Cattenburgh, John James Wetstein. Polenburg, the author of this piece, was a Netherlander, born at Horn. He was the successor in the Professorship, as well as funeral orator at the obsequies of Curcellæus. The discourse here translated, the rhetoric of which we have somewhat retrenched in order to give it a more equable biographical character, is prefixed to the folio edition of the Works of Curcellæus.

other relations, before public assemblies. Nor did the ancient Church of Christ reject such funeral honors; performed we find they were to esteemed and sainted men by Eusebius, Gregory Nazianzen, Chrysostom, and other ecclesiasts of the early Churches. And although indiscriminate praise of the deceased seemed likely to pave the way for excessive reverence and superstitious honor, yet the Reformed Church did not repudiate this institute, provided the eulogy be restrained within the limits of a just moderation. And so, omitting very many others, the Genevese are wont to indulge the practice to such an extent that they celebrate the memory of Calvin by an annual funeral eulogy. At the academy in Leyden funeral orations were delivered by Francis Gomarus, the celebrated doctor of theology, upon Francis Junius, and by Peter Bertius, that master of eloquence, upon James Arminius. At Frederickstadt, which our exiles erected upon the banks of the river Eider for a common place of refuge, Marcus Gualtherus Palatinus pronounced the funeral eulogy of Conrad Vorstius. In this very city of Amsterdam, the eminent Casper Barlæus paid a tribute to Simon Episcopius by the delivery of a learned and truly heroic poem. The example of these men should doubtless animate me to speak of him who succeeded to the office and work of the great Episcopius, and whose body this day has received the highest honors of the sepulcher, and to recall and review the life, memory, and worth of STEPHEN CURCELLÆUS. Others, perchance, may deem it the most important ceremony to follow the *body* of the dead to the grave; superior, to me, is the office of honoring the better and nobler part, the *mind*. Others may hide their grief in silence; I should incur the ignominy of an ingrate did I, who am indebted to him for so many kindnesses, remain mute. So would I temper, nevertheless, my discourse, that, in the judgment of others, worthy appreciation may not be denied, nor false and unreasonable praise accorded.

BIRTH AND ANCESTRY.

Stephen Curcellæus (Courcelles) was born at Geneva on the 30th of April, 1586. His father was Firminius Curcellæus, an inhabitant of Amiens. His brother, a lawyer in the city court of Amiens, possessed such force of eloquence that he was

commonly called Chrysostom, that is, *Golden Mouth.* His mother was Abigail Cox. His grandfather was Michael Copus Parisinus, the pastor of the Church at Geneva, whose name Calvin has left to us inscribed upon that sacred catalogue of hereticides of Servetus. When the cruel slaughter of the reformed was raging at Paris, and was connecting itself by a deplorable contagion with the other parts of the realm of France, Firminius, being concealed in a cell at Lyons, and for three days and nights being faithfully guarded by a Catholic gentleman, escaped. Stephen successively married two ladies of rank, the first of whom was Johanna de Beaulieu le Blanc, a very noble woman, who bore him two children, both of whom have survived him, namely: Gideon Curcellæus, the pastor of the Church of the Remonstrants at Northwick, in the noble province of Dousa, and Maria Curcellæus, a most excellent daughter. Upon the death of his first wife he was wedded to Susannah Fleurigeon Vasciacensis, who departed this life many years since, leaving no offspring. I might in this place refer to John Curcellæus, one of the ancestors of the deceased, whose name for four centuries has been one of note among the Picards; and not inappropriately I might add the names of other illustrious members of the family; but I do not propose at the commencement of my discourse to weave in a long catalogue of his ancestors, or to establish that high nobility, eminent as it was among the men of highest rank in France, where their illustrious pedigree is held in great esteem. For Stephen himself undervalued, or so seemed to do, this rank upon the assigned ground that those are and should be esteemed highest and noblest characters whose fame arises and is emblazoned by their own deeds.

NATURAL TALENTS AND EXCELLENCIES.

He was ennobled by remarkable qualities of mind which God had pre-eminently bestowed upon him. His elevated intellect rendered him remarkable for erudition. His mild temperament wonderfully fitted him for the practice of every virtue. Virtue herself ennobled him, which is true and matchless nobility. In short, alert activity, severe labor, an insatiable desire for investigating truth, and a singular moderation in bearing and excusing the errors of others; all these and many

other kindred qualities, of which divine truth is the leader, rendered this man truly noble and worthy a universal admiration and esteem. Add to these journeys extending far and wide, acquaintances among the most learned men formed upon his travels and inspections of different regions and public duties, all his arduous and important tasks administered in the Church in a manner eliciting the highest praise. And now you perceive, most excellent auditors, the external form of this our edifice, or rather, you behold the furniture and the valuable household ornaments, each of which must singly, with clearness and care, be exhibited by us, that you may be able to appreciate their perfectness and beauty.

How great was his intellect, how capable of analyzing the most abstruse subjects, how fertile and rich in invention, how prompt and prepared, how stored for responding to those who propounded any inquiries to him, none doubtless can more rightly appreciate than we, his pupils, who enjoyed the fruits of that power and fertility; but if we distrust in this matter our own judgment, we have many corroborating witnesses, some living, others dead, who as long a time as they knew him esteemed him highly. The most learned men have held him in such regard as attested their belief that his genius was worthy of their love. His judgment was disciplined and acute, so that no slight reason, however supported by great authority it might be, could induce him to adopt an opinion; but when once his decision was formed he was most reluctant to revoke it till compelled by the greater force of reasoning and evidence of truth. He had a powerful memory, if any one ever did, for grasping and retaining a very great number of things; undeniably a most important and useful faculty for advancement in learning.

EDUCATION AND INTELLECTUAL PURSUITS.

Naturally endowed with this intellect and power of judgment, when he had emerged from boyhood and shaken off the scholastic dust, he applied his mind to the perfection of truth, and we can clearly see how prosperous was his course in the pursuit of knowledge. He entered the Genevese Stoa, and there paid a willing and listening ear to the most renowned historians, philosophers, and indeed all others well versed in any branch of science or learning.

At the commencement of his studies he was much devoted to mathematics, either lest, contrary to the admonition of Plato, he should approach the grappling with mightier subjects ἀγεώμετρος, untaught in geometry, or because his very subtle and penetrating mind, with a secret propensity of nature, loved to grasp subjects abstruse and recondite, and suitable to its own aptitude; for I agree with those philosophers who think that the business which is to be undertaken, or the art which is to be acquired, should be one accordant with the genius and bent of the individual, according to that celebrated line of the poet:

"Tu nihil invita dices faciesve Minerva."

And just as fire appropriates aliment from a neighboring fuel, so an eager and persevering mind attracts and reciprocally is attracted by those things which it recognizes as congenial to its own individuality.

Curcellæus, according to the vigor and ardor of his genius, was not content with a smatter of mathematical discipline, as at the present day not a few, (and yet rather *few*, since the many do not touch those studies at all,) but penetrated its inmost recesses and intricacies; but after that Descartes opened his many discoveries he approved his method of philosophizing in most respects, and surrendered himself to an intimate acquaintanceship with that philosopher, who (as equals are pleased with equals) displayed toward him equal affection, so that scarcely did he ever visit or see this city without him. But it cannot be dissembled (since he was unwilling to leave anything in this direction untried) that when a youth he was led by his inquisitiveness to the study of astrology, which is said to be the predictress of future events; but having explored it well, he came to the conclusion that that system was wholly imposture, unworthy to be examined except for the purpose of exposure; as the Jewish writers relate that the seventy men of the *Sanhedrim* were accustomed to learn judicial astrology (which no one would call *judicial* who was himself *judicious*) that they might, with authority, condemn its learners and practicers.

THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION.

Leaving these matters (for it is unnecessary for us to dwell longer upon pursuits in which our venerated subject spent not

his life) we pass to the weightier studies of theology, to which Curcellæus so aspired, that in his early manhood he desired in them forever to be engaged, and in the acquirement of them to die; for his mind, animated by the desire of immortal life, understood that other arts and studies, although of themselves not illiberal nor unworthy the study of a liberal mind, were nevertheless not so worthy that in them he could consume so much of his time and labor, especially in the brevity of human life, unless all things were subordinated to this main purpose. And, indeed, of other faculties (as they are called) some are assistances for protection, as jurisprudence; others are of benefit in preserving or obtaining strength of body, as medicine; but theology instructs the mind, that divine part of man, in the knowledge of the greatest matters. It adorns with virtues, it points out and leads the way to immortality. To others there may be pleasure, in becoming acquainted with worldly matters, to persevere in gaining wealth, or acquiring honor, or in obtaining knowledge; his mind, regardful of its higher origin, was occupied in the contemplation of higher objects, in their securement and preservation; and so, earnestly persevering in these labors, he listened night and day to the most profoundly learned theologians. He especially pondered and diligently revolved the pages of the Sacred Word; he usually consulted some of those who illustrated the Sacred Writ in commentaries; above all, he had teachers in theology choice and select, who gathered together by some method into a sort of compendium all things which, more broadly diffused, were contained in the Sacred Writings; nor yet did he so submit to either living or silent and dead masters as to be unable to preserve for himself a perfect and pure judgment, for he knew that they all, his predecessors, were men liable to error, however conspicuous they might have been for learning and piety; and that not a few, even amid the discussions of former times, received, on account of their earnest zeal, more credit for learning than the truth would accord; and he solemnly recognized that for whatsoever he did he must render an account to God, and he therefore sought and diligently inquired for himself what might be consistent with divine truth, with right reason, and with honesty.

AUTHORITY AND ERRORS OF CALVIN AND BEZA.

It was when Curcellæus had just entered upon his theological course of study that Calvin was held in highest honor, or rather his writings, for he was then deceased. The name next in power and authority was that of Beza. Two great men and most eminent writers, the latter of whom, as he was well acquainted with the Greek tongue, gave private instructions in this language to Curcellæus; a kindness which he, as a mindful estimater of benefits, was accustomed to commemorate as a specimen of Beza's eminent benevolence; and when the authority of these men had risen to such a pitch, when almost all England, France, and Belgium faithfully followed their opinions in sacred matters, it were a daring thing, and a seemingly impossible task, for a single private individual, relying upon his own judgment, to place himself against such a mass of authority; nor yet did the reverence with which he was inspired toward these and other doctors so influence him as to enable him to digest the rigorous doctrines of Calvin, and the still more austere sentiments of Beza, concerning predestination.

Many declarations in the oracles of God were an obstacle, and these so clear, that it was manifest that they could hardly be impugned by a few obscurer passages. The consenting authority of the ancient primitive Church was an obstacle which much outweighed in gravity of judgment and authority of suffrages. Finally his own temper of mildness and clemency was an obstacle, by which he was so bound and constrained that he dared not receive such austere and terrible dogmas of God's character. It makes a great difference whether a harsh and severe mind or a mild and gentle one is brought to an inquiry into truth. The severe temper easily believes severe things of God. A disposition inclined to clemency hardly admits perverse doctrines concerning the mercy of God. It is therefore no matter of astonishment that our Curcellæus, influenced as he was by so mild a disposition, was opposed to those harsh imaginations of some theologians concerning God. This also was a matter of consideration that many, even of the leading minds, while they desired to afford a remedy to popish errors fell into opposite ones; and this not from deliberate counsel, but, as often happens, being carried further by too great a heat

of argument; an error which happened to Augustine when he opposed the Pelagians with overdone zeal, and to Chrysostom when against the Anthropomorphites, as Beza and even Calvin themselves have allowed. So when Curcellæus beheld many suffering human infirmities, and imitating not unfrequently unskilled physicians who amputate healthy limbs with the diseased and corrupt, and apply poisons instead of remedies, he saw reason for not approving every dogma presented or approved by them, and that, according to the direction of the apostle, all things should be proved and good be retained.

Two things prevented Calvin (of whom I, having made mention, will speak a little) from obtaining a correct knowledge of the truth. That he was of a severe turn of mind appears from his violent oppression of those differing from him. On this account he did not hesitate to attribute to God certain harsh and terrible decrees, which he himself calls *horribilia;* and when he opposed the Papists with all his energy he fell into opposite errors not less injurious than those he had undertaken to refute. So when the Papists maintained that human propitiations for sin availed to the attainment of election and salvation, whence a depreciation is shed upon the merits of Christ, he, on the other hand, maintained that the satisfaction rendered by Christ not only benefited, but also alone sufficed, and indeed so sufficed that neither faith nor works could enter into the account. Likewise, when some urged against him that we obtained justification by the merit of our works, he, on the contrary, maintained that faith alone, works not being considered, so far as it embraced Christ crucified, was sufficient for justification. They received bad things into the class of good; he, not content with rejecting the false, took away, by his opinion, the necessity of good works even in the business of justification. We have said this for the sake of illustration; we cannot pursue the subject further.

But our Curcellæus, although he was unable to acquiesce in that more severe opinion which some following, defended the absolute decree of God in the matter of predestination, (for I remember his saying to me somewhere that he could never accept such terrible doctrines,) yet, however much he might have been interested that the doctrine should be received, he could scarcely form any firmly established opinion. He dis-

covered more easily what he should reject than what he should believe. But he often deplored it as a matter of the greatest detriment and grief that his residence was in those localities where this rigid decree could not be opposed with safety, nor could an opposite view be freely defended, nor could he confer with any one upon this subject according to his wish. What evil afterward happened to him from this thing, and into what straits he afterward was reduced, will soon be copiously explained.

THE TOUR OF EUROPE.

Now, since I have commenced to lay down his course of studies, after that he resided in the academy at Geneva for a long time, on account of the opportunities afforded for an education and his love for his natal city, he thought that he should not hold the boundaries of his existence so narrowly circumscribed, but should emerge from his country, and after the example of Pythagoras, Plato, and especially of Jerome, and of the other early Christians, to visit and pass through other regions, to survey other academies; for the same opinion is seldom held by all, and even if the same view does obtain, it is sustained by different kinds of reasoning, or objections elsewhere opposed are obviated by very varying replies.

He therefore in the ninth year of the present century departed from Geneva, accredited by a very honorable testimonial from the then rector of the school, John Deodatus, and by Antony Fay. They certified his rank, diligence, learning, modesty, and piety; and finally, they dismissed him with the declaration that *he had excited the hope in them, that as his talents were of no inferior order, by the blessing of God large fruits would follow the sowing of such excellent things, and that he was earnestly commended on these accounts to the love and watchful care of all good men.* He therefore went to the academies in Helvetia, Turin, Basil, and from these, having wandered over all parts of Germany, he came to Cologne; visited Heidelberg, where he formed an intimate acquaintance with the celebrated Jurio Dionysius Godfrey, and admired his wonderful memory in learning; for when other professors were accustomed to read from a paper or the book itself the laws which they quoted, he would accurately, copiously, and cor-

rectly quote as many as fifty or sixty lines from that most faithful guardian of treasures, his memory. Our Curcellæus then determined to undertake a journey into this our Belgium; but some misfortune befalling the French he thought it best for him to return, and not long after, in the year 1614, applied for the ecclesiastical order. I will here pass over much of his great learning, which was so widely extended that when he was amply competent to the practice of medicine he was by no means unskilled in the science of jurisprudence, and well versed and finished in other branches of learning and accomplishment. For although some consider it a fault to distract the mind by devoting it to too many pursuits, because we are then esteemed unfit for any one employment, yet in great and sublime intellects this is not so much a matter for blame as for praise, provided that they do not dissipate too widely the power and strength given to them by God, especially if they do not wander from the chosen direction, but, like travelers journeying to their native land, direct continually hither their eyes and their minds. Nor will I delay longer (as I had intended) to commemorate his indefatigable diligence, esteeming it sufficient to mention in a word that after he had completed his fiftieth year he acquired the Spanish tongue so as to enable him to understand the books of the Jews, written in great numbers in Spanish and Portuguese, and that he, when of an advanced age, passing his seventieth year, while strength allowed, remitted nothing from the highest diligence in reading and writing, and even during the last years of his life he revolved the many monuments of the ancient writers in the Church, rapidly but yet with accuracy; and in short, when he was racked by internal and grievous pains of body he would often steal away from his bed, that what very little time was left free from his pains might be devoted to his labors. But I will not now linger in a review of those other acquirements, lest they delay our approach to other and perhaps greater topics.

RETURN TO FRANCE AND ENCOUNTER WITH CARDINAL RICHELIEU.

Soon, therefore, having returned to France, he was established as pastor at Fontainbleau. The Church there was not numerous, including but four or five families; but yet the congrega-

tion was crowded, and honorable on account of the number of distinguished men who constantly frequented the palace. They were the attendants of King Louis the Thirteenth, for he, having first seen the light of day at Fontainbleau, induced by a love for his natal spot, frequently resorted thither. It happened upon this occasion that the most illustrious lady, Aloysia Coligny, widow of his highness Prince William Auriacus, a most noted patroness and protectress of the cause of the Remonstrants, (which is clear from letters given to Utenbogardus,) fell into a severe and plainly fatal disease. To this heroine then, because she was inclined to the reformed religion, Curcellæus came in her last hours and administered the last and worthy solaces which are due to so great piety. Accidentally, upon the other side of the couch there was seated a noble lady of the Reformed Church. Cardinal Richelieu, then Bishop of Lucon, (who had been sent thither out of compliment by the queen on her departure for Paris,) entered and said to the sick heroine, "Lady, have a care for thy soul, for two devils are now sitting by thy bedside." He said this out of great zeal for the papacy, for which he was inflamed, or at least wished so to seem. The illustrious Prince William Auriacus, grandson of Lady Aloysia, displayed better and more kindly feelings for the sympathizing action of Curcellæus; for when he learned that his son, Gideon Curcellæus, had been flung into a gloomy prison in Transylvania for preaching to a congregation of Remonstrants, he endeavored to rescue him, by repeatedly sending letters, from the prison in which he had lingered for three months and had almost wasted away; and although the illustrious prince had accomplished nothing by his intercession, on account of the opposition of some zealots in that place, yet it is pleasing to record that he wished to give evidence of his good will in memory of our kindness to his illustrious grandmother, our patron.

PASTORATE AT AMIENS. DORTIAN PERSECUTIONS.

Afterward Curcellæus, having left Fontainbleau, where he lived for almost nine years, was promoted to a Church in Amiens, a place in Picardy, his ancestral province.

Having mentioned the Church at Amiens, with which he was connected only two years, it will be well to state the reason

why he remained here so briefly, or rather why he was compelled to resign. At the same time it is proper to explain by what occasion he was induced to join the side of the Remonstrants; by what trickery of certain persons, or by what heat of recrimination, he was in some sense banished; and finally, under compulsion, of what fortune he adhered, with great constancy, after having once surrendered himself to our, or rather divine truth. When this reverend man was installed pastor of the Church at Amiens, about the year 1621, the dispute concerning the five controverted points on predestination was raging and had extended itself even to the neighboring nations; but although the synod at Dort decided these controversies according to the wish of our adversaries, of whom indeed it consisted, yet the flame of the quarrel was not so quenched but that it blazed more furiously even than before. In Belgium, after this decision had been given, it came so far within the limits of moderation (if indeed it could be called moderation) that unless any one would submit to the canons of Dort he could not remain in discharge of his duties and office; but in France (whence no one had been sent to the synod, the king having forbidden this) the matter proceeded so far that an oath was prescribed in support of the canons established at Dort. This decree was given in the Senate at Alesia, Peter Molinæus, the president, especially urging it, (lest indeed his *Anatomy of Arminianism* should have to undergo a new anatomatizing.) Such a decree, so very cruel and most atrocious, I think, from the first days of Christianity to the present time never was formed or known; for not only did the judgment of Dort establish a *Rule of Faith*, but it also bound, by a very sacred *oath*, the consciences of the pastors to a promise, given in their own handwriting, to recognize these canons of Dort as divine and true and abiding, even to the last moment of their lives. To this decree, which was enacted in the National Synod in the year 1620, not only Curcellæus at Amiens, and David Blondellus, then the pastor of the Church at Houda, afterward the professor of ecclesiastical history at Amsterdam, but all the ministers of that diocese, rendered earnest opposition. Here indeed this solemn ceremony of an oath was abolished; but in the following year in another provincial synod a new instrument was formed, by which all were con-

strained to receive the faith of the canons, but without the taking of an oath. Curcellæus perceiving that our opinion would be rejected, which he had not yet submitted to the test of Scripture, and that the Remonstrants would be condemned as guilty of schism, whom he believed to be the least worthy of this accusation, and that conscience would be bound by the establishment of men when it belonged to God, alone declared himself unable by hand or mind to yield assent to it; and soon after he resigned his office, appealing to the National Synod, soon to be celebrated at Carenton, which he did by the advice of his friends and relations, influenced by some trickery in the synod, who threatened that unless he should do this of his own free-will that the synod would brand him with the severer mark of ignominy; but when this synod was held, affairs were grievously disturbed in this our Belgium; neither was there a place of refuge either by sea or land, nor a gleaming hope of happier times. Some likewise instilled a doubt in his mind concerning the foreknowledge of God, upon which he was not entirely settled, and from which stronghold they were attempting to overthrow the idea of God's predestination. His relations, friends, advisers, and other importunate interferers, added their influence, and urged his wavering and doubtful mind that he should surrender his own conscience, with his own handwriting, into servitude to certain sacred canons, but with these reservations in the conditions: first, that he should not be held as condemning the Remonstrants, an act to which he expressed himself very averse; second, that he could not wholly approve those canons in which our opinion was rejected; the remaining ones, which they called affirmative, in which their opinion was expressed, he could not be held to approve in the same sense as the partisans of Dort; for the synod having omitted the former published the latter under this title: *Articles adopted at the National Synod of the Reformed Church of France, held at Charenton. Printed at Paris.* Finally, he declared that from Canon XV, cap. 1, it seemed that *God is the author of sin;* nevertheless, inasmuch as a certain explanation or rather softening, which, as it then seemed, was not absurd, was given, he acquiesced. He was then immediately promoted to the pastorship of a country Church in the town of Helmauru, and, on account of his age or some other reason, was placed

over Samuel Maresius; not long after he was called to a city Church at Vitriacum, the most celebrated and numerously attended in all Campania, in which station he persevered for ten years, till the thirty-fourth year of the present century.

TAKES REFUGE IN BELGIUM.

In the mean time no slight wound remained upon his mind, because, on account of suggested scruples not sufficiently weighty and difficulties hardly insuperable, he had suffered himself to be or to seem to be moved by any compact whatever, either from the most precious possession and most free profession of truth; but especially his mind was stung by this fact, that he had submitted his conscience, accountable to God alone and the Holy Scriptures, to a slavery to men and the statutes of men. All things, even those which he said with the best intentions, were perverted by the sinister suggestions of certain men into a suspicion of heresy. A work on predestination by Herman Herbert, pastor at Gouda, published in Belgic and translated into French, which he had happened to lend to a very near neighbor, was the most fruitful cause of strife both with private men and the synod itself. His own mind was then harassed with a wavering and anxious deliberation upon every side; for what could a man of so advanced an age do, his estate and means of support being small? Should he remain in France? But there there was no hope of liberty. Or should he betake himself hither? But what protection to a stranger or a foreigner in regions where he feared himself to be little acceptable to any body? Yet you may see, my excellent auditors, how great is the force of conscience, especially in manlier minds; for what did our Curcellæus do, what counsel did he take, being placed in this trouble, unsustained by a single friend? Listening no more to friends and relations, but delivering himself to the guidance and rule of the Holy Spirit, he left his country, kinsmen, and friends; he fled from an inferior and terrene country as Abraham, and he took that path which he knew would render his journey to that higher and celestial world safer and more unimpeded. He fled as Jacob, and he finally came to rest in this country, in which he saw the ladder by which was his entrance into heaven.

Art. VI.—THE HEARING EAR.

"The hearing ear and the seeing eye, the Lord has made even both of them." He who wrote more wisely than any other proverb writer names the ear first in his mention of two of heaven's choicest bestowments. It is one of the "five gateways to knowledge." Who shall say that any organ opens the way to knowledge more varied and important than the ear? The connection of its organism with the senses, and the senses with it, is a perpetual miracle.

THE EXTERNAL EAR.

There is far more difficulty in demonstrating the organ of hearing than that of seeing. The first is inclosed in a hard, rocklike, bony case, hid from view, and when revealed by the anatomist's saw presents much that is strange and unaccountable. The latter is presented to full view, and operates by laws which are, in part at least, understood. The first is operated upon by sound, which is less appreciable than light, and the laws of which are less understood. In order to describe the ear practically we will divide the subject into the *External Ear*, or that which we see; the *Canal*, at the bottom of which is the *drum*; and the *Internal Ear*.

Fig. 1.

The "auricle," which is seen in fig. 1, is not necessary to hearing, although very useful to collect and conduct sounds

into the canal. It is essential to accurate hearing. In a healthy condition it is insensible, being composed of cartilage, or gristle, as is proved by the impunity with which it is pierced from motives of vanity. In ancient times it was slit, cut, and speared as a penalty for civil offenses. It is not, except in a few remarkable instances, under the control of man. The horse, as is well known, turns it in any direction at will. The shape of the auricle in the lower animals indicates their habits, and the mode by which they obtain their food. For example, timid animals, as the rabbit, have the auricle turned backward, and laid flat, so as to hear from behind, and not to impede flight. Pursuing animals have small ears, which are directed forward. The auricle of small wild animals is carefully protected from brushwood by the multitude of pinnæ, or short, stiff hairs, which covers their interior surface. Domestication of animals causes the auricle to become more pendulous.

Although so insensible, the auricle, when it becomes inflamed, is by no means to be trifled with. By the application of poisons, or irritating articles, it becomes frightfully swollen. This is often the case when the organ has been frozen. Inflammation of the auricle is often very obstinate, and refuses to yield to remedies. Generally, however, the prompt removal of the offending cause, and the application of a little sweet oil or unguent, soon induces the healing process. The shape of the auricle is found most desirable for hearing trumpets, thus proving that it is mainly useful to direct sounds into the ears. On a very large scale it was imitated by the tyrant Dionysius. His tyrannical device has outlived the monster who contrived it, and proves that acoustics was to some degree understood even at that far-off period.

EAR OF DIONYSIUS.

In 1840, during several days spent at ancient Syracuse, we visited this remarkable spot. Near the gateway and towers, erected by Archimedes, is a locality called "the quarry," among the rocky chambers of which is found, in a state of perfect preservation, the celebrated prison of Dionysius. If the emperor could return again, as he stood in the artificial cave, he would not perceive that thousands of years had brought any change. It is built in the form of the letter S, and is intended to imitate

the cochlea of the human ear. We observed that it still contained a stone bathing-tub, probably the very same that was used in the execution of prisoners by his order.

The following is a leaf from our private journal, written in the evening of the day that we visited this grotto in the quarry of Syracuse:

It is shaped like the auricle of the human ear. It is so arranged that all sounds concentrate at one single spot. It is fifty-eight feet in height, seventeen feet wide, and two hundred and ten feet deep. The sounds are all conveyed to the tympanum, which communicates with a small private apartment where the curious emperor spent his leisure in hearing what the unfortunate prisoners had to say of him. This apartment we find still preserved. Indeed, all is cut out of solid rock and cannot be destroyed, else the tooth of time would have obliterated all traces of this infamous monarch. The custode fired a small pistol, which caused a tremendous report through the cavern, lasting several seconds. This is very near the spot where Cicero discovered the grave of Archimedes, which was shown us, and has been shown to tourists ever since the time of the great orator. This is one of the oldest historic places in the world that is so well authenticated. These monuments are carved by an ancient people out of granite rock, and will be found just as well preserved when many more centuries shall have rolled by, and will be visited while the name of Archimedes is respected and that of Dionysius execrated.

It will be seen, by referring to fig. 1, that the auricle is set upon the end of a cartilaginous tube, (2) which terminates in a mass of convoluted bones (3) which constitute the organ of hearing. The position of the auricle, in relation to this canal, causes blows upon the ear to be very dangerous to the integrity of the organ. A careless blow upon the ear of a child by a parent or a teacher has often proved a cause of subsequent deafness throughout a whole life.

If the reader will at this moment press with his finger upon that little prominence which stands sentinel on the lower side of the entrance to the canal opposite the auricle he will perceive that pain is produced. Let him increase that pressure, or violently thrust his finger into the entrance to the canal, and he will perceive that the pain is increased, and that it will continue some moments, perhaps a quarter or half an hour. This is an extremely sensitive spot. Nature has taught us instinctively to guard it. If danger threatens a blow, or

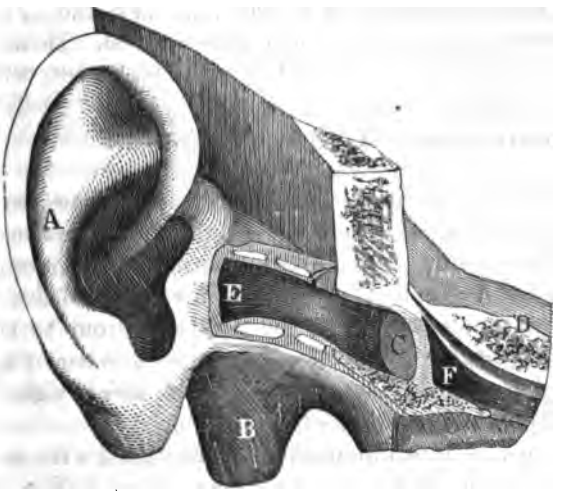
a missile is seen about to strike, the hand will be so placed as to shield this weak spot. Just in front of the ear the skull is very thin. In no other part of the head is it so unprotected.

The external ear, the canal and its appendages, are not treated by the public with the consideration and respect which they deserve. Many cases of deafness may be traced to neglect, which a little timely warning may prevent. We shall say more on this point when we next consider the canal of the ear which terminates in the drum.

THE CANAL.

This is seen tolerably well in fig. 2. In order to show it more perfectly the engraving should be greatly magnified. It is, however, shown in this diagram much larger than in nature.

Fig. 2.



In the above diagram will be observed the auricle, which we have been considering, at A; the canal E, leading to the drum C, F, indicates the place of the eustachian tube, which communicates with the mouth and nose, and through which air passes into the internal or middle ear. It is through this tube that tricky boys sometimes amuse themselves by drawing smoke into the mouth and expelling it by the ears.

A congregation will be observed with mouths open if they wish to hear very well, because the vibrations of air are improved by ready transmission through this canal. Gunners prevent rupture of the drum by opening the mouth as they fire their pieces. In this diagram the bony case of the ear is represented as sawn asunder. D and B mark the bony projection, which the reader may find if he will put his finger behind and beneath the auricle that graces the side of his head. It is with this canal, about one inch in length, that we shall have most to say of a practical nature. It is just here that diseases may oftenest be relieved, and it is to this most sensitive spot that the most pernicious local remedies are constantly applied, to the fatal injury of the organ of hearing.

The canal of the ear is crooked, more so than either diagram represents. It bends downward, and is only straightened by lifting the auricle up. This may be done by seizing it at the top and gently drawing it up. It is studded with hairs, to prevent the introduction of insects and dust, and is supplied with a very peculiar secretion called wax, for the want of a name, and because it in some degree resembles wax when in a healthy condition. When the hearing is perfect we have little regard for the organ. God, in his beneficent wisdom, has so ordered that it does not require any care to secure the due performance of its functions. Hearing is very frequently impaired, and that permanently, by sheer unmitigated carelessness. A little dust, or any slightly irritating cause, will produce an itching in the entrance to this canal which invites interference. The little finger is introduced as far as possible, and by a violent shake of the hand injury is produced. A roll of paper, the end of the spectacle frame, a pencil, a pin, an ear pick, or some other instrument of mischief, is introduced as carelessly as if this hole was a very unimportant orifice lined with insensible material, and leading to no important organ. The truth is, that this passage is connected with the most important organs. It is lined by the most delicate membrane (though not the most irritable) in the body, and when diseased none more obstinate in the endeavor to heal. This canal leads to the organ of hearing, and very near to the brain. Only a wall, no thicker than paper, separates the inner ear from that vital organ. It is when diseased that the greatest injury is produced

by interference. Even respectable physicians suggest the most improper applications. Those physicians who are familiar with the diseases of the ear are careful in the introduction of the speculum, (a tube through which the ear is examined;) and the syringe, if regarded necessary, is inserted with great care, else the delicate membrane of the canal should possibly be abraded. When applied to in cases where insects, beans, beads, or other foreign bodies have become lodged in the canal, we are very careful in the use of instruments, preferring the syringe and the stream of water, which, while it usually dislodges the foreign body, does no possible harm.

Almost everybody knows something good for "earache," and is ready to suggest his panacea. Almost every week we hear of some new ear application. The list of these which have been recommended would fill two pages of this journal. Those now often suggested by medical men even and others would fill a page, while really *nothing is safe except some bland, pure oleaginous substance*, and nothing should be introduced into the ear without competent advice. Reference to our popular work on this subject, chapter iii, on Hearing,* will surprise the reader with regard to the reckless manner in which the ear has been treated from the earliest times. It is common even to this day to apply *laudanum*, (the worst of all,) onions, fat pork, bacon, boiled figs, poultices, and cotton wool. Almost every day we hear of some new domestic application to the ear. Formerly the essential oils, liniments, even the tincture of Spanish flies, turpentine, creosote, and almost everything else, was poured into the ear, as if it was intended to give the patient no possible chance of recovery. Friends did the work of him who

> "Stole
> With juice of cursed hebenon in a vial,
> And in the porches of the ear did pour
> The leperous distillment;"

and, nowadays, friends do the deaf irreparable injury. If we must put caustic substances or spirituous applications into our own eye or ear, we should very much prefer to put them into the former, because the lining membrane has more recuperative power, and will sooner recover from violence inflicted. This

* "Sight and Hearing: How Preserved and how Lost."

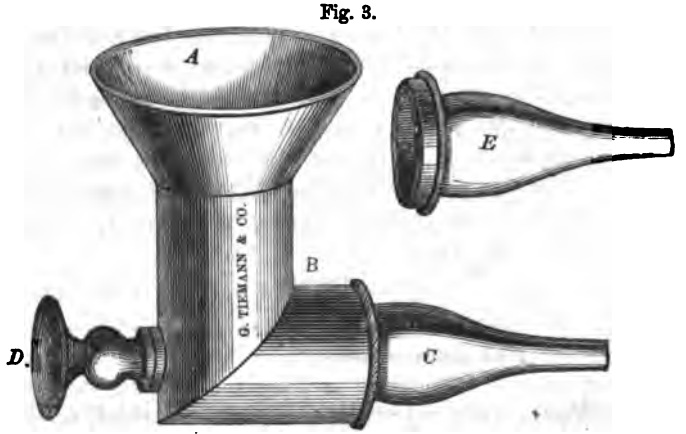
canal, for the reason suggested, cannot be accurately examined without an instrument for the purpose. Many have been devised, both for daylight and for artificial light. In order to give the popular reader an idea of the method of examining the canal, we give below a diagram of an instrument made at the suggestion of the author by an ingenious instrument-maker.*

EARACHE.

The affection commonly known as "earache" has its seat in this canal. It must have frequently excited surprise that the pain should be so intense and obstinate, and that the discharge should be so great. On referring to fig. 2, it will be seen that the dark broad line extending from E to C, which represents the canal, is lined on either side by small oval white spots. These indicate the glands, which secrete the waxy substance with which the canal is lubricated, and by which it is kept in proper condition for the performance of its functions.

* George Tiemann & Co., the manufacturers, have given it the name of "Dr. Clark's Reflecting Otoscope." It is provided with a steel mirror and a lens, by which the magnifying power of a lens is combined with a highly-polished reflector. By its aid the whole of the canal and the drum, across the bottom of which it is stretched, are brought into full view.

Fig. 3.



A represents the part exposed to the sunlight, while E and C are different sized specula which are introduced into the ear. The lens and mirror are concealed within the case opposite the point B. The eye is applied at D when it is desired to make an examination by its aid. The ordinary speculum is merely a conical tube, of which there are different sizes, adapted to different patients, according to the size of the canal of the ear of the patient.

Exposure to a draft, or while bathing, or a sudden cold contracted in some way, produces at first a slight pain in the side of the head. In very many cases the teeth seem to be involved, and about the whole of one side of the head there is a feeling of great discomfort. Somebody recommends cotton wool with laudanum dropped upon it. Immediately the canal is duly *stuffed*, and various medicaments are poured in, the stuffing serving the purpose of preventing its exit. The patient becomes worse. He lies awake all night; the ear is poulticed and steamed, and the patient is drugged until suddenly a discharge appears, and if the plug is removed it runs out, and the patient is relieved of the pain. In some cases the ear soon returns to its normal condition. In many others, especially in children, a permanent discharge is set up, which, without proper treatment, continues for years, to the ultimate destruction of the organ of hearing, and resulting sometimes in fatal disorders of the brain. The canal of which we are speaking is formed by bone, and these glands are encased in bony cavities. When they take on inflammation, and while pus is abundantly secreted, there is no chance for its exit. At length the accumulation is so great that the cavities are completely filled, and there being no soft spots to distend, and thus permit further accumulation, the pressure upon the bony walls produces pain almost intolerable. None who have suffered it will deny the assertion that no pain can be more severe.* This pain will continue until at length the accumulated fluid breaks through into the canal, and is discharged from the ear. In most cases this ends the difficulty, and the patient recovers from *this* attack; yet it is very apt, unless the cause is removed, to occur again. The most common result is the inauguration of a filthy odorous discharge, which continues for a long period, or breaks out at longer or shorter intervals. It is one of the common errors that these discharges will cease of their own accord, and another that there is danger attending their suppression. Neither proposition is true, or that, which is worse than all, that it is safe to permit its continuance.

* If a small spot on a linen cambric handkerchief is moistened with chloroform and applied in front of the ear, and the head covered thickly with flannel, the paroxysms of pain will be greatly mitigated, and frequently wholly relieved. The relief is usually, but not always, temporary.

DOMESTIC MANAGEMENT OF DISEASES OF THE EAR.

It is not strange that an impression should gain currency that it is dangerous to meddle with the ear in a condition of dis ease. It is true, that of the remedies usually resorted to scarcely any are proper. In relation to the ear there is less common sense employed by the public than concerning any thing else. The course usually pursued is thus stated in the book before referred to.* Inflammation, accompanied with catarrh, is a frequent disease in early life. One is said to have a "cold in the head;" there is a singing or buzzing in the ears, and partial deafness; upon coughing, sneezing, or blowing the nose there is a feeling as if something "cracked or gave way in the head." These attacks are frequent among children while attending school, in consequence, probably, in part, at least, of the alternations of heat and cold, produced by rapidly passing from the heated atmosphere of the school-room into the colder air of out-doors. If the habit and antecedents are scrofulous the result is often very serious, and the foundation is laid for deafness during all future years. The deafness thus originating is often attributed to inattention, and the time is allowed to pass by when it could have been treated advantageously. The friends of the patient excuse themselves by saying, "We thought it was only a cold, and it would not signify." This form of disease usually occurs between the ages of five and fifteen years. It is most common among the light-haired, fair-skinned, and blue-eyed children. There is little pain; perhaps the only prominent symptom is deafness.

DISCHARGES.

Adults are frequently attacked in the same manner, especially during the prevalence of epidemic influenza. These cases also result sometimes in permanent deafness if unrelieved. This condition of things may result in a discharge from the ear. It is very likely now to become the prominent, if not the only symptom of disease of the organ of hearing. If it continues it is because of a scrofulous habit in the patient or shameful neglect on the part of the parents or friends. It may run on till middle life, gradually, but surely, extinguishing

* "Sight and Hearing: How Preserved, and how Lost."

every hope of hearing. The discharge, if set up in the adult, is not likely to be of long standing, and if easly treated is easily cured. If we were to build a hospital for the deaf we should have inserted in a deeply engraved stone tablet, set plainly in the front wall, that all should see and read it, *Obsta Principiis.*

It may as well be said right here as well as any where else, with regard to the diseases of hearing, that in almost every case there was a time when it was curable, and this time is generally *ascertainable. No affection of the ear is unimportant, because the most serious deafness occurs sometimes with very little to observe.* It is easy to cure at first, difficult afterward, and frequently impossible at a little later period. To return from the history of a case from which we digressed. The discharge sometimes begins with no pain. In the case of the child, frequently the first indication is a soil upon the pillow-case. The adult frequently discovers, by the accidental introduction of the finger, or the end of a pocket-handkerchief, that there is a slight degree of moisture.

Perhaps an unpleasant smell is perceived, and the hearing, if the watch* is applied, would be found to be impaired. The ear is now crammed with cotton wool "to keep the cold out," and the disease progresses unnoticed and unremedied. If deafness is perceived, it is said by some one, "It is very dangerous to meddle with the ear;" by another, "it will wear off;" and by a third, "it will not do to stop the discharge." While the patient gives ear to this varied advice, confident because ignorant, precious time is passing, and at length, if proper treatment is resorted to, only partial hearing can be recovered.

We dismiss the subject of discharges from the ear with a quotation from the work before referred to:

> Notwithstanding, the disease usually does continue, sometimes for a considerable period, without much increase or diminution of the discharge; but frequently it increases, becomes thick and ropy, of a yellow color, sometimes little and sometimes much; at length it becomes thin, sometimes white and flaky, saturating the pillow at night, emitting a fetid smell, and the ear presenting a disgusting appearance. The disease in some cases extends itself to the

* The perfect hearing ear should appreciate the tick of a good lever watch at the distance of about thirty-six inches.

intricate bony structure of the ear, destroying the organ, producing incurable deafness of course, and is sometimes succeeded by paralysis of that side, with a sinking of the general health. In some cases disease of the brain supervenes, terminating the life of the patient. All these may result from what is regarded as only a slight running from the ear. It is a standing wonder how sensible people can pass along through life with such a loathsome disease about them. It would be supposed that the unpleasant smell, if there was not much ringing or deafness, and the disease did not make sensible progress, would induce resort to means of cure. Many endeavor to conceal the affection, and others permit foolish prejudices to prevent their seeking competent advice. As has been before said, a scrofulous constitution usually furnishes the exciting cause of discharges from the ear. They frequently occur after scarlet fever, measles, small-pox; or, indeed, fevers of any description, or long sicknesses may produce it. In infancy, overfeeding, or insufficient diet, or the introduction of foreign bodies into the ear, or improper use of the syringe, or ear-pick, may prove exciting causes. Cold bathing is a frequent cause of this disease. It seems frequently to date from some plunge made into the river during the boyhood of the patient. In all these cases, when left to "outgrow it," the expectation is sometimes realized, but often with total loss of hearing on the side affected. *There is no more difficulty in arresting these discharges and effecting a cure than in relieving any other curable disease.* One of the greatest difficulties, however, is the popular prejudices which it is necessary to encounter. This disease is not always curable, and the cure is always tedious, and sometimes difficult. It requires care and attention on the part of the surgeon and the parent, and these attentions must be protracted and assiduous.—*Sight and Hearing*, p. 278.

STUFFING THE EAR.

Perhaps this is the most opportune place to enter our protest against stuffing the ears. It is not true that there is any danger of "taking cold in them." If God had intended that they should be stuffed he would have furnished a cover. The tortuous canal, the wax and hairs, together with the projecting auricle, is all the protection necessary. If nothing worse than air enters, little mischief will be produced, while the introduction of stuffing produces incalculable disorders. It irritates the delicate lining membrane of the canal. It heats the parts. It deranges the delicate glandular apparatus beneath the lining of the canal. It changes the shape of the canal. It obstructs the due performance of the functions of the canal and drum. We have seen cases in which we could introduce

the thumb, the canal had become so much enlarged; and we have removed bits of cotton which had had a lodgement for many years. This is a very old notion. In the ancient days of England it was believed that the wool from the left forefoot of a six-year-old black ram, when stuffed into the ear, had wonderful virtue. We use cotton nowadays just as causelessly, and with no more reason. We never saw a patient benefited by it, and have seen many made worse. We lately cured a case of deafness of long standing by simply removing a plug of cotton which was resting on the drum; the filaments of the cotton had united with the wax to make a hard lump.

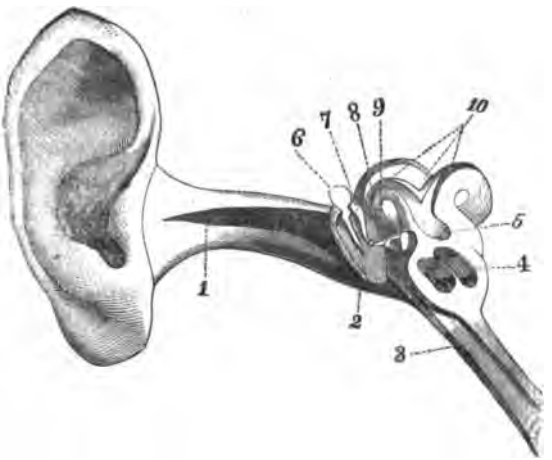
THE TYMPANUM, OR DRUM.

We now reach the tympanum, or drum, so called from its resemblance to a drum head. This wonderful drum is tightly stretched across at the bottom of the dark canal, glistening like a glow-worm when examined. It is not easy in many persons to see it without the aid of an instrument. If the subject of disease, singing, ringing, sighing, or hissing sounds are produced. An engineer tells us they are like "the exhaust steam from an engine;" and an Irish woman says, "it seems as if all the tay-kettles in Ireland were hissing in her ears;" another speaks of the buzzing of bees, and another of the ringing of bells. It seems to depend upon what sounds the patient has been familiar with in health. "Ringing in the ears" is caused by other derangements than a diseased condition of the drum, as will be seen when we reach that point. Diseases of the brain, dyspepsia, the accumulation of wax, and a variety of other causes, may produce this distressing symptom. In some cases the drum is destroyed by disease or accident. In such cases it may be artificially supplied. This was done in 1842 by Yearsley, of England, who used for this purpose a plug of cotton. Toynbee used rubber. An artificial tympanum has been prepared by the instrument maker before alluded to at our suggestion, and which he calls "Dr. Clark's Elliptical Tympanum." It differs from others in the material used, in its elliptical form and bent staff. Others have a straight staff, and are round. We have found it of great service where the drum was destroyed by scarlatina, or from any other cause.

INTERNAL EAR.

Reference to fig. 4 will enable the reader to get some idea of the internal mechanism of the ear.*

Fig. 4.



We now pass beyond unprofessional ken into regions the demonstration of which requires the anatomist's knife, and of which we know little, except by carefully observed phenomena. "We enter," in the language of another, "a round, well-stored chamber, filled with ever-renewed air, and deeply ensconced in the interior of the bones that form our temples. Safely protected without, it has a door within, and a tubular passage that leads right into the mouth, through which a current of air is ever passing into the little apartment. . . . The furniture of this little chamber consists of three mysterious bones, of oddish shape and unknown purpose. Their names resemble actual things. The hammer is closely fastened to the drum, and serves, besides other purposes, to stretch and

* EXPLANATION.—The external ear is again exhibited. No. 1 points out the canal leading to the drum; No. 2 the inner surface of the tympanum, or drum; No. 3 the eustachian tube; No. 4 the cochlea; No. 5 the vestibule; No. 6 the malleus, one of the four little bones which, together, are termed the ossicular, which hinge on to each other, and materially assist the function of hearing; No. 7 the incus, another of these little bones; No. 8 the os obiculare; No. 9 the stapes. This is named from its resemblance to a stirrup, and is the last of that little group of bones. No. 10 and the lines leading from it indicate the position of the semicircular canals.

relax it, according to the nature of the sounds it receives." This fanciful writer thus describes the innermost chamber: "The inner secret chamber is a wonderful room, deep in the very heart of our head, set in the still solitude of rocklike bone, which no ordinary knife can cut. This tiny room is filled with pure limpid water, and branches off on one side through double openings into three wonderful archways, and, on the other, into the cochlea, which closely resembles the tortuous walls of a snail's peculiar house."

It is for no practical purpose that we lead the popular reader into the internal mechanism of the ear. We little know the uses to which all this intricate mechanism is applied. The same writer has, in a most happy manner, drawn upon his imagination to supply what was needed to add to our knowledge, and makes a hypothesis pleasing and interesting, and the truthfulness of which no one can deny if they do not admit. He thus sums up the process of hearing:

A concussion without moves the atmosphere, which rises and falls, like the waters of the ocean, in waves that spread to all sides, until they meet with resistance. They enter the outward ear, pass through the outward channel, and strike against the first door, the drum. This delicate curtain moves under the pressure, and sets the three tiny bones in motion.

The hammer pushes the anvil, the anvil pushes the stirrup, and the stirrup, pressing with its lower end upon the closed door of the innermost chamber, communicates thus the commotion to the water that fills the labyrinth. The liquid, rising in miniature waves, which still correspond, it is said, with amazing accuracy to the airy waves without, touches, as it rises and falls, the delicate ends of the nerves, and this simple mechanical contact, spiritualized at the instant in which it passes from the nerves to the mind, is changed from a silent, lifeless undulation of air into a living, sounding impression.

It is only very recently that there has been made an attempt to imitate the internal mechanism of the ear. The essay of the ancient tyrant, Dionysius, did not extend beyond the external appendages of the organ. A patient German, Mr. Reiss, of Fredericksdorp, near Frankfort-on-the-Maine, has produced a machine so representing the internal structure as to reproduce sounds. Words have not yet been articulated, but Professor Bottingen believes that such a result will be attained.

CAUSES OF DEAFNESS.

The mysterious transmitted cause inherited from the parent, or perhaps farther back, or from some collateral line of antecedent ancestry, is the most common, and the most difficult to obviate.

Scrofulous antecedents intensify, and scrofulous disorder produces diseases of the ear, especially in childhood, from the time of cutting teeth up to "the teens," and beyond.

The exciting causes for the most part are THREE. CONCUSSION, as by *blows*, *falls*, sharp and loud *noises*, which *were unexpected* by the patient. THE APPLICATION OF COLD. *Cold blasts*, *currents of air*, *sleeping on the ground*. As "examining surgeon for applicants for pension," these cases often come under our observation; incautious *bathing*, especially diving. POISONS are of two kinds, one constitutional, and the other local. Of the first class the most common are the results of fevers, generally the irruptive, as scarlatina, measles, small-pox, or typhus, rheumatic or bilious fevers. Gout, or exhaustive disease of any kind, mental excitements, general bodily debility, over-exertion, want of sleep, all are among the constitutional causes. Some of this class of cases are much aggravated by the habitual use of coffee and tea. Of the local morbid influences the most prominent is the introduction of foreign bodies into the ear, such as tinctures, irritating injections, cotton, wool, or the accumulation of wax as the consequence of diseased action. This last cause is not to be obviated by the ear-shovel. The ear *never needs* "*cleaning out.*"

RINGING IN THE EARS.

This distressing symptom is present in very many affections of the ear. If the case is recent it indicates inflammation or congestion in some degree. If otherwise, it may be an aberration of function in consequence of derangement of the nervous apparatus connected with this intricate organ. It has been before alluded to as a symptom. It is the most distressing of the group of symptoms that annoy the afflicted with deafness. If recent it is never unimportant, and advice should be sought. It may be a symptom of brain derangement; if so remedies will avail nothing, unless directed by a well-educated medical adviser.

It may be only one of the protean indications of dyspepsia. If this paper falls in the hands of one who has ringing in the ears, with some pain or pressure about the ear, an application of croton oil, used *very carefully*, behind the ear, often enough to maintain a crop of pimples on a spot the size of a dime for a week, will often dispose of the trouble. External applications *only are safe* without advice. *It is not safe to put anything into the ear* unless directed by competent authority. In a word, keep away from an open window when it is colder outside than in; and when the ears are diseased *hands off*, and beware of unprofessional advisers. "Everybody" knows "something good," and by the time everybody is tried the *hearing is gone.*

QUACKERY.

The delicacy and intricacy of the ear, the obscurity of most of its disorders, and the hopeless character of many of the ailments to which it is subject, has made it a favorite subject for medical charlatanry and imposture for many years and in many cities. Persons who are deaf are credulous beyond belief. A very little tact and much rascality are only necessary to set up one of those pretended advertising ear doctors who practice wickedly upon the credulity of the deaf. They excite hopes and expectations which they know cannot be realized, and having secured a good fee by lying certificates, the duped patient is deceived. There are various ways in which a patient may be benefited for the time being, and may be made to *believe* that he is improving. Respectable men will not resort to any of these tricks, nor declare that a hopeless case is curable.

On this subject an able author well says:

If anybody should venture to offer to the public an arcanum, a few drops of which, poured into a watch, would repair the broken wheel or the rusty chain, regulate its accuracy, and restore it to first perfection, would he not be received with sneers and scoffs, and reproached with a desire to insult our common sense? And yet we have seen, but of late, grave, honored physicians who proclaimed aloud that they possessed the secret of a powder, or an oil, or a little tube to be put into the ears, or a magnet suspended behind it, that would cure, without doubt, all possible ills to which the ear is heir? Nothing but a melancholy indifference to the wonder of our own body, "made after His image," could produce such errors and make us endure such announcements. We forget

that "the hearing ear and the seeing eye, the Lord hath made even both of them."

VAPORIZATION.

The introduction of various vapors into the ear by means of showy, bright, shining metal instruments is only a method of conspicuously doing mischief. If this was the proper place, we could furnish many examples proving that irreparable injury has been done by this means. It is the resort of quacks, who, having received a fee in advance, feel obliged to do something when nothing should be done. The regular profession have long since abandoned this treatment as dangerous. In this way the quack very often robs the patient of the little hearing that he has, which to him is very far more precious than the gold filched from him. Discredit is also thrown upon all sorts of treatment for diseases of the ear. The discriminating physician will guard with great care the hearing faculty that remains, and will never risk anything in the hope of increasing it.

ADAPTATION OF THE EAR TO MUSIC.

Beethoven says that "music is the mediator between the essential and spiritual life." There is a surprising difference between us with regard to the appreciation of musical sounds. While Geotry danced when a child to the sounds of falling water, and Mozart, when three years of age, smiled to the harmony of the vibrations of the clavichord when touched by his infant fingers, many persons never gain an appreciation of musical sounds. Many belong to the class of whom Byron says,

> "In fact, he has no singing education;
> An ignorant, noteless, timeless, tuneless fellow."

This subject, if entered upon, would lead us far beyond the limits proper in such a paper as this. We apprehend that the musical ear, after all, depends most materially upon the qualities of the mind. We believe that this wonderful faculty has less to do with the material ear than many suppose. Music, like poetry, painting, sculpture, oratory, and ventriloquism, is an unexplainable direct gift of God.* An accomplished

* A recent number of the *Atlantic Monthly* contains an extraordinary account of "BLIND TOM," a black, blind, idiotic slave, who in very childhood climbed on the music stool and played the most difficult compositions that he had heard, to the astonishment of all. His master, after its discovery, exhibited him with great profit.

musical composer is able to form in his mind, without the aid of any instrument, the whole plan and detail of a complicated piece of harmony before he writes a note of it. In his mind's eye he sees the whole score. In his mind's ear he hears the full effect which the piece would produce if performed. Beethoven composed his latest work *when for years he had been perfectly deaf*. Of many of his best works he never *heard a single note*. No further proof is necessary to illustrate the proposition that the mind is mainly concerned in the performance of the ear. In conclusion, in order to the full consideration of the subject, it seems necessary to say something of the subject of

MUTEISM.

Considering the very intricate structure of the ear, it can be no cause of wonder that it should be often fatally imperfect. Muteism may result from some defect in the brain, from congenital or accidental deficiency in the ears, or want of due power in the organs of speech, or the nerve power which is necessary to enable the ears to appreciate sounds. By far the most common cause is deafness congenital, or acquired in early life. The loss of speech is a consequence, for speech is an imitative art, and is regulated by the sound of the voice. It was formerly attributed to defect in the tongue, but that the fault is in the ear is now an established fact. It is probable that the world contains one million of deaf mutes, a very small part of which enjoys the benefit of education. The distribution of deaf mutes throughout the world is very unequal. Other constitutional ailments are common where these cases are the most numerous. In Switzerland it is most common in those valleys where Cretinism most abounds.

It is difficult, often impossible, in cases of congenital muteism to determine which is in fault, the ear or the brain. A little reflection will satisfy all that we are largely dependent upon the ear for the power of definite utterance. An eloquent author remarks: "We see that speech—so simple, and beautiful, and powerful, by which the poets and historians of Greece, with the peerless language of Helen, roused their countrymen at the Olympic Games; by which Demosthenes ruled the Areopagus and Cicero the bar of ancient Rome; by which Fletcher and Massillon thrilled the cathedrals of France, and

Chatham and Fox the Senate-house of England—although apparently so easy, and as if natural to man, is, when viewed physiologically, a very complicated art, requiring, on the part of the human being, that peculiar power so significantly alluded to by Anacreon as the privilege of voice-dividing men;" while, for the display of this power, the harmonious combination of a series of curious movements, performed by equally curious mechanism, is at all times essentially necessary.

APPARATUSES TO AID THE DEAF.

If any one desires to hear an indistinct sound he instinctively places his half-closed palm edgewise behind the auricle. All contrivances which are of any value are merely a modification of the additional auricle thus improvised.

Instruments are made of tin, ivory, shell, rubber, gold, German silver, platina, Molucca wood, etc., for this purpose. Their use dates back into the misty past beyond the reach of inquiry. Very much ingenuity has been employed in the endeavor to supply aid to the deaf, and to strengthen exhausted or diseased nervous structure.

SILVER TUBES

Are found in the instrument stores which have a useful look, but are a worthless contrivance. They are intended to straighten the canal and to open it more fully, so as to permit the sounds to enter. If all is right at the other end of the canal the passage requires no such attention. It may be possible that a case of occlusion might be benefited, but such a case would not oftener occur than once in a century.

ORDINARY EAR-TRUMPET.

Fig. 5.

Fig. 5 exhibits the ordinary ear-trumpet, that which will probably never be superseded, and which forms the basis of

all others.* Its only objection is its unsightliness. It ought to be generally understood that the best instrument, the one that most aids the deaf, is and *must be large*, and of necessity conspicuous. The unsightly, so called, trumpet (only because it resembles a trumpet in appearance) is the only instrument that will enable the very deaf to hear conversation in an apartment, or gather the sounds from several voices at the same time.

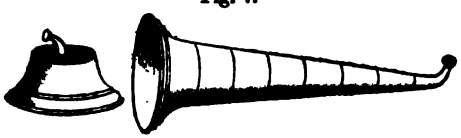
Fig. 6.

The above figure will exhibit a modification of the trumpet; a little less unsightly, and probably a little less excellent with regard to the aid afforded. The conversation tube will accomplish the same purpose in communicating with a single individual.

The deaf are very sensitive with regard to their infirmity. They shrink from exposing it to all passers-by, as do those who carry with them in the streets and the place of assembly the large open-mouth "trumpet."

Various methods have been employed to furnish the same relief without the objection just stated, and with some degree of success, especially in regard to those who are not very deaf. This very "trumpet" is so modified as to be portable, and not conspicuous when not in use. It is shown in fig. 7.†

Fig. 7.



This instrument when in use is practically the same as that shown in figure 5, although necessarily smaller in size. When not used it folds so small that it may be put into the pocket or into a lady's reticule. It is called the "telescope trumpet,"

* This engraving and the next, as well as the "auricles," (fig. 9,) was furnished by Mr. H. Hirnstein, of New York.

† Furnished by Tiemann & Co.

because it is composed of concentric rings, which are beveled in such manner as to fall together if loosened, and when extended fasten themselves readily, forming as complete a trumpet as that represented in fig. 5.

This is a very useful instrument. The principle upon which this is made was suggested to us by the editor of this Journal, before it was known to him or to the author, that it had been before presented to the public. We are indebted also to him for the first suggestion which resulted in the instrument that we next introduce to our readers. This was made under our direction by Tiemann & Co., and they call it

DR. CLARK'S TRUMPET-CANE.

Fig. 8.

It is a combination of the cane, ear-trumpet, and conversation-tube. The diagram (fig. 8) exhibits the instrument in the right-hand figure as a neat, genteel walking cane, with a somewhat clumsy hand-piece, still easily grasped by a hand of some size. The left-hand figure exhibits an ear-trumpet, the cover being readily removed from the bell-shaped extremity by merely touching a spring, while from near the bottom of the cane a spring throws out an ivory ear-piece, which the patient readily applies to the ear.

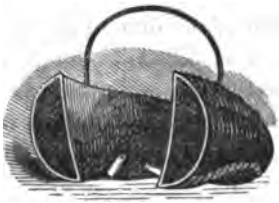
When so applied, by merely extending the instrument in the manner of holding a long pipe, the very best conversation-tube is furnished. Sound, like light, travels best in straight lines. The necessary convolutions of the ordinary conversation-tube make it less excellent for that purpose than this instrument, as well as very much less convenient.

This trumpet is changed back to a cane in a single second. It must be, we think, that it supplies an important want.

The following engraving exhibits another of the many contrivances to make the deaf hear by mechanical means. This is also furnished by Hiernstien.* It is, as are all the others, a

* Persons from a distance may confidently order ear-trumpets of H. HIERNSTIEN, and GEORGE TIEMANN & Co., of New York, also of BENJAMIN PIKE & SON, of New

Fig. 9.



modification of the instrument represented by figure 5. It consists of two small artificial auricles, which answer about the purpose of both hands placed behind the ear in the manner before suggested. They dress under the hair, so that ladies can perfectly conceal them, as well as men who wear very long hair. In cases where the deafness is not very considerable they answer a good purpose.

THE ADAPTATION OF THE TRUMPET TO DISTANT SOUNDS.

The instrument which we have described is further modified so as to gather sounds to be conveyed to a distance. Mr. D. D. Stelle, a Jerseyman, has patented a method of applying the instrument so as to enable the deaf to hear in a public audience-room. He calls it "The Phonophorus." It consists merely of a gigantic ear-trumpet, placed behind the desk or pulpit in such a manner that its open mouth looks upward, presenting the appearance of a large tin kettle. It is covered by a grateing, which answers the purpose of a desk-board. The sound of the speaker's voice falls upon the desk, and entering the huge auricle is conveyed away, and is communicated under the floor in exactly the manner that sound is transmitted in conversation-tubes to the very pews, where, amid the upholstery, is artfully hidden away the terminal end, adjusted so as to be readily applied to the ear of the deaf hearer, putting him in communication with the speaker. We have seen it applied to chairs and tables, and see no reason why it might not be as well adapted to any other piece of furniture. Of course, sounds once collected can be made to travel considerable distances. Of this we have many familiar examples. The reason that some rooms are "whispering galleries," and convey sounds

York; or M'ALLISTER BROTHERS, of Philadelphia, both of whom have long enjoyed an inherited reputation in all that relates to aids to the eye-sight. They have not forgotten that men also have ears.

readily, is because they are really immense auricles. That we cannot so construct all apartments is because the principles of acoustics are even now but little understood. Just here is an opportunity for some Sir Isaac Newton, yet to be born, to gain immortality. Indeed, there is abundant room for many Newtons still, before we have exhausted any branch of science.

METHOD OF SPEAKING TO THE DEAF.

There is no little art in properly conversing with deaf persons in order to be heard easily. Most persons speak to the deaf in a quick, sharp tone on a high key. This is the very worst method possible. Persons not totally deaf hear a large part of the sentence. It is the lower cadences, as the voice is dropped at the comma or period, with an unaccented word or syllable, which is the part unheard; that being missed the deaf person asks a repetition. If the reply is made in a louder tone, on a higher key, enforcing the emphatic words, (which he heard distinctly before,) and slurring over the same cadences, he is as badly off as ever. Just the parts he *heard* you have screamed quickly and vociferously, and the parts he *did not hear* you muttered again.

Distance and distinctness of voice make a very great difference. Many persons can hear perfectly well an utterance from a few inches, which is totally unintelligible one or two yards distant. They can also easily hear utterances made directly toward them, which they lose entirely if you avert your face. The more direct the lines of sound toward the ear the more easy is it for the deaf auditor to understand.

DUTIES OF THE DEAF.

If the friends of the deaf are bound to be kind and forbearing, so ought the deaf themselves to exercise patience and forbearance. They should cultivate an unsuspicious disposition and a kindness of manner, the more because these virtues are with difficulty cultivated by the deaf, who live in a world of silence and solitude, which is always distressing.

The deaf should not permit undue sensitiveness to induce them to postpone the use of the trumpet, in some form, after it has been found difficult to communicate.

Art. VII.—EQUATION OF PROBATIONAL ADVANTAGES.

Of the three great generic difficulties of Arminianism, enumerated by Dr. Hill in his theology, the first is drawn from the fact that a large share of mankind never having heard of Christ are, even by Arminian concession, excluded from the means, and so from the possible attainment of salvation through him. After all your efforts to maintain the freedom of the human will, (such is in effect his argument,) and your rejection of the justice of condemnation without a previous power to attain salvation, men are, by a sort of historical reprobation, damned without ever having possessed the power of being saved. Anticalvinian writers early appreciated this difficulty and furnished their answers. Perhaps the ablest and fullest discussion, on the Arminian side, is the treatise of Curcellæus, *De Necessitate Cognitionis Christi ad Salutem*, written in reply to Maresius, who took the high Calvinian ground of the universal damnation of all not possessing actual faith in Christ. Our early Arminian-Wesleyan theologians have given the subject a few clear but incidental touches; but the spirit of our times requires, perhaps, a renewed and more elaborate elucidation.

Other than Arminian theologians have advocated explanatory theories. One class has adopted the theory of restorationism, by which penalty is graduated to the guilt by the *length* as well as the *degree* of infliction. Others, as Müller in his Doctrine of Sin, conceiving that our Protestant eschatology is too stern, have preferred a theory, not of purgatory precisely, but of a means of knowledge and repentance in the intermediate state for those who are excluded therefrom during life. A third class embraces the doctrine of annihilationism, according to which, all who fail to fulfill the conditions of a real probation simply relapse into the non-existence from which they were brought by human birth. Could either one of these theories be proved it would obviate the Calvinian argument. It is our present purpose neither to refute their claims nor to adopt their method of solution.

We may in the first place remark that Dr. Hill's argument

is a most dangerous weapon for Calvinism, since it involves a complete admission of the accuracy and justice of one of the strongest objections against that system. His argument clearly avows a reprobation in which there has never been in the subject any power to attain salvation. After all the Calvinian talk of the *freedom* of the human will, *damnation is confessedly accorded without the slightest freedom in the will to escape it.* For if men are historically reprobated by absolute exclusion from all knowledge of Christ, how is salvation ever in reach of their free-will?

Arminianism is not required to affirm an absolute and precise equality of privileges and means of salvation to all the race. What she does affirm is, that justice is done in every individual case. We may perhaps express the true ground in the following brief statement:

Although there is not a perfect equation of the means and advantages among all mankind, yet it may be affirmed that *no man is ever condemned to everlasting death who has not enjoyed* FULL MEANS *and* OPPORTUNITY *for salvation, and has willfully rejected them by persevering in a course of conscious sin.* The inequalities of advantage for salvation are in a great degree obviated by the fact that *the amount of advantage is an important element in the graduation of penalty and reward.* Such may be the proportion of moral demand for higher excellence, and such the liability to deeper penalty for misimprovement, that classes of mankind favored with higher means are perhaps on a wise calculation at a level with the apparently less privileged. Or conversely, the parts of mankind possessed of inferior means may be so compensated by proportionate allowances that they may be on an actual level of advantage with their apparently more favored fellows.

Without the limits of the proper Christian dispensation but two others require consideration, namely, first, what we will call the *Infantile Irresponsible, or Undeveloped* DISPENSATION, embracing all minds not developed to the conditions of a moral accountability; and second, the *Heathen* DISPENSATION, embracing all excluded from all possible knowledge of Christianity.

I. A large mass, if not a majority of mankind, are said hitherto to have *died in* INFANCY, including under that description all who do not attain a responsible age. This dis-

pensation then is, perhaps, scarce less populous than all the others inclusive. This is a most mysterious point in the divine administration, of which it is no part of our present purpose to attempt an explanation, that in a world of probation, so large a proportion should be abortive as subjects of probation. Nevertheless up to a responsible age the manifestations of sinful nature, the sinful thoughts and actions, subject not the being to penal retribution.

But, irrespective of age, is there not a large class of mankind whose moral and intellectual nature has never attained a development to the level of responsibility? The reflections of thinkers on this subject have, it may be, rested too much on the point of *mere age*. If there are millions who die before arriving at the normal responsible *age*, there are other millions who never at any age arrive at a more responsible mental development than the infant. Under this head we should not perhaps include idiots alone. But is there not within the bounds and perhaps in the center of Christendom itself a countless class, accurately gauged by the eye of Omniscience alone, whose minds are as little expanded, and as little qualified, intellectually or morally, for the responsibilities of probation, if not as the idiot, certainly as the child? As our minds are liable to be influenced by individual chronology in the matter of responsible development, "so we are apt to limit the heathen dispensation by geographical limits alone. But within the bosom of Christendom there is an immense class adult in years but apparently entitled to the moral immunity of infancy; geographically Christian, but with as little access to a true Christianity as the most distant heathenism—Heathendom in Christendom. Excluded perhaps by invincible barriers from any possible knowledge of the truth as a very idiot, unwarned and unconscious that there is any truth to be sought, they seem incapable of being held to a just penal responsibility. In the dregs of our large cities, it is impossible to say what numbers there are whom we hardly can decide whether they are to be assigned to the infant and idiot dispensation or to Heathendom. To decide this in most living individual cases would require an Omniscient knowledge of their interior man and entire spiritual history. Each single living problem must stand unsolved. Each man is, in a degree, by himself a dispensation. But what is the ultimate destiny?

Precisely the same, we reply, with that of the infant. The creeds which teach infant damnation should make a clean sweep of the whole; while in our view they are all on the same basis of common redemption. The infant is in the kingdom of God with a character perhaps correspondent to regeneration in the adult. The irresponsible adult, however incrusted in irresponsible sins, is redeemed by an unknown Saviour. Both alike may be least in the kingdom of heaven; neither can, by the law of moral equation, be excluded from it.

II. But geographically distant from Christian lands, in a real HEATHENDOM, there are those who never heard of Christ, in regard to whom the question arises, What are their advantages for attaining eternal life? To attempt deciding this peremptorily in the individual instances as they occur in experience would be assuming the prerogative of Omniscience. But the general principles of a just responsibility may perhaps be proximately ascertained.

We assume the headship of Christ over the human race, placing on the basis of his atonement all mankind under a regimen of just and merciful probation, suited to the present nature and state of our humanity, cognizing all the shades of human life, circumstances, and character, and adjusting with absolute accuracy the retribution of reward or penalty to the case. We assume the universality of the atonement, and that millions may be saved by its means who never heard the name of the Propitiator. We assume the universality of the dispensation of the Spirit. We assume the universal possession of the faculties of reason inferring a Creator from the creation, a conscience furnishing the dictates of right and wrong. The reason may not reveal a Creator in the fullness of his attributes, nor even prevent the worship of a God through finite symbols and images, which the Scriptures, given for the very purpose of maintaining the pure idea of the Deity, prohibit as *idolatry*, under severest penalty, especially to the chosen race, whose special mission was, the preservation of the pure idea for the development of future ages. The conscience may not furnish an absolutely accurate code of ethics; but it furnishes principles which are *relatively to the individual* right, and safe in the eye of God *for him* to follow. If under the guidance of that reason he follows the dictates of that conscience, the

man, though absolutely wrong on many points, will under our gracious dispensation be right so far as responsibility and future destiny are concerned. Such a man will act under many a sad delusion and commit many things intrinsically wrong; but the saving fact is that he acts with a *purpose* which *wants but the light of truth* in order to his being truly right. In such a case, though there is not the reality of Christian faith and righteousness, yet there are TWO THINGS, namely, what we will call the SPIRIT OF FAITH and the PURPOSE OF RIGHTEOUSNESS. Where *these two* exist in the man, under any dispensation, *he is justified through the atonement and accepted of God.*

The doctrine of the grades of future retribution adjusted to the varieties of probationary character is abundantly taught in Scripture. Scripture rule is, that we are rewarded *according to our works.* Of the blessed, we are taught that in the resurrection one star differeth from another in glory, (1 Cor. xv, 41;) that there is a greatest and a least in the kingdom of heaven, (Matt. v, 19;) that some attain an abundant entrance, (2 Peter i, 11;) and some are scarce saved, (1 Peter iv, 18.) Of the condemned we are told that he that knew his Master's will and did it not shall be beaten with many stripes; while he that knew not his Master's will, and through neglecting the law of conscience showed not the works of the law, shall be beaten with many stripes, (Luke xii, 47.) And once for all the rule is laid down, "Unto whomsoever much is given shall be much required," (Luke xii, 48.) And this rule is illustrated by the fact that in the parable of the talents (Matt. xxv, 14–30) the rewards were adjusted to the amount of improvement, and the amount of improvement proportioned to the capital furnished was completely accepted, while the reward was proportioned to both.

Our Saviour (Matt. xi, 20–24) declares that it would be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of judgment than for the cities who had witnessed his preaching and mighty works; since Sodom with such advantages would, like Nineveh, have "repented in sackcloth and ashes." From this we may infer, 1. That all people have not equal advantages for salvation; 2. That those who receive the highest advantages may nevertheless reject salvation; 3. That God may discern in the minds of those who possess inferior advantages that *spirit on*

will of faith by which in the day of their visitation they would have accepted had Christ in fullness been presented; 4. That such a disposition to faith diminishes their guilt and subtracts from their penalty; 5. That the degree of advantage, when rejected, heightens the guilt and adds a proportional segment to the amount of penalty; 6. That Sodom was not the worst city conceivable, since they had at least in some part of their history *the spirit of faith;* but not possessing the concrete *object of faith*, their faith was culpably defective, not being verified by the *purpose of righteousness.* On the contrary, in the absence of a concrete and cognizable Redeemer and Judge they renounced not only all efficient faith, but all righteousness, and gave themselves over to all uncleanness.

1. Of the SPIRIT OF FAITH it may be said that though it is not a perfect faith in Christ yet it is a faith more or less distinct, recognized by the searcher of hearts and trier of the reins, in *that of which Christ* is the *concrete* and the *embodiment.* It may be safely assumed that if the true Redeemer were presented in proper correlation to that faith at the moment of its full existence he would be cordially accepted. Hence Christ is presented to the world as a *test* to the true ring of the moral purpose. He "is set for the fall and rising again of many, that the thoughts of many hearts may be revealed." Luke ii, 34, 35. *For judgment came* he *into the world, that they which see not might see; and that they which see*, corruptly and falsely, *might be made blind.* John ix, 39. The splendid catalogue of saints enumerated in the eleventh chapter of Hebrews had at best but a dim conception of the redemptive concrete object of faith; some of them, perhaps, no conception at all. Their faith was the aspiring, heroic faith of the heart and will, whose object was truly realized and embodied in Christ. To such a faith had Christ been correlatively revealed, with the earnestness of a Nathaniel its exclamation would have been, Rabbi, thou art the son of God, thou art the King of Israel. And similarly we may suppose that a Socrates, who, according to Plato, earnestly thirsted for a divine teacher, could have rejoiced at the revealed advent to himself of this Messiah. But we do not imagine that such cases are to be found solely in those strikingly historic characters. Wherever the Gospel is not preached, as well as wherever it is preached, there are those who are not necessitatedly, but by their

own free act and state, predisposed or *ordained to eternal life*, and such *believe*. Acts xiv, 48. Of such a class God might often say to the discouraged missionary, *Be not afraid, for I have much people in this city.*

2. This *spirit of faith*, however, like the actual faith of the Gospel, must be vivified by WORKS; that is, it must be substantiated by the purpose and actuality of righteousness, exemplified by an adherence to the laws of conscience. In spirit and purpose this is to fear God and work righteousness; and in every nation such as fulfill these conditions are accepted of him. Acts x, 35. About this is meant by the phrase, "*living up to the light a man has.*"

It is often said, however, that we have no reason to suppose that there are any in heathen countries who *live up to the light they have.*

And in strict interpretation, such a statement is true of all men in all countries. By that strictness of interpretation, all Christendom, as well as all Heathendom, must, without exception, perish. The application of the same liberality of interpretation which would save the visible Church in Christendom, would save the invisible Church in Heathendom. The true principle doubtless is, that the heathen will be saved who attains that approximation to the perfect standard of his dispensation, which equals the saving approximation in the Christian dispensation. He is a saved heathen who lives as nearly up to the light he has, as does the Christian who is finally saved to the light he has.

Truly, that severity of Christian judgment, with which many judge the unfavored peoples, would leave us little hope of the Christian Church. That judgment is a sharp two-edged sword. It surveys the vices and crimes of heathen nations and communities and individuals, judges them by the moral standard of the written law, and executes summary justice without redemption. It forgets the crimes and vices of Christendom, refined indeed by civilization from some barbarian grossness, but rendered ingenious and varied by the subtle genius of an inventive age. More especially, it forgets how the Christian Church ranks not only immensely below the true ideal of a Church, but how often she is the apologist, the sanctioner, and the perpetrator of stupendous sins. What persecutions, what corruptions,

what idolatries, what oppressions, has not the Christian Church not only sanctioned, but committed. And yet that Church is the hope, the light, the conscience, and the depository of truth for the world.

For instance, we see in a certain age and section a vast body of the Christian Church engaged in the practice and defense of slaveholding; we wonder to find that in other respects they exhibit the fruits of the Spirit in rich abundance, and we ask if such men are to be peremptorily unchristianized here, and utterly damned hereafter. Certainly not. It belongs indeed to the general Christian Church, as testimony against their great sin, to place them under the ban of exclusion from Christian fellowship, and leave them to God's wise judgment. So long as their light in other respects is not darkness, so long as their religion is in its place immensely better than none at all, we admit their true Christianity, burdened indeed by a sin that dwarfs its stature and trims it of half its reward in glory.

Surely he must read the ecclesiastical and religious history of Christendom with a sad heart, if not an infidel discouragement, who cannot understand how God, under the superincumbent burden and guise of error and wrong, can recognize the body of believers in spirit, and righteous ones in purpose, who form the true invisible Church in the visible world. And the same penetrative eye that can recognize the Church in Christendom, who dimly embrace the historic Messiah in the fullness of his ill-understood offices, ought also to recognize the Church in Heathendom, who sit indeed in the valley of the shadow of death, but whose spirit of faith would embrace that Saviour in the completeness of his revelation and advent. And thus it truly is, that the missionary who goes forth into heathen lands goes, in a great degree, on a tour of discovery. He goes to *find* the men who, tried by the test of a presented Saviour, shall be found freely willing to exercise the spirit of faith and righteousness. As the philosopher, applying the magnet to a heap of sand and iron filings, finds that the metallic particles will adhere to the loadstone, while the sands lie quiet in their own inertness, so the missionary, rightly presenting the cross, shall find it to operate as a test to decide whose wills and purposes may render and prove them the true metal. He may not present the test rightly. It may not be brought into true correlation with the

soul of the heathen. Hence he may not find all the genuine objects of his search. But if the true correlation be brought about, it will generally prove true that much people will be found unconsciously waiting the desire of all nations. Such a spirit of faith, like the faith of the Christian, may be for a while entertained and then renounced. Like the receptive faith of Sodom, which would have received the living personal Christ, if presented in the plenitude of his miracles and preaching, it may be overborne and renounced, and the original possessors may plunge, voluntarily and guiltily, into all the excess of lasciviousness. Like the Jews, it may rejoice in some harbinger of the Messiah for a season.

On the other hand, the presentation of the Gospel may not only discover, but *awaken* the spirit of faith and energize a spirit of righteousness. As we have before remarked, though every man who is ultimately condemned has had his day of visitation, his chance to exercise the spirit of faith and of righteousness, and is therefore justly condemned; yet there are higher as well as lower states of advantage, and the higher state may, and doubtless often will, result in increased numbers of believers ultimately saved. Indeed, we are expressly told by our Saviour, that revelations might have been made to Sodom, in view of which Sodom would have repented. It would even appear that had the apostles, or missionaries equal to them in power, have gone to Sodom, Sodom would have been penitent. The right missionary, then, in the right place, may be the means of an indefinite increase of believers who shall be saved. The Church, thus in the right temper and position, may still affectuate through the blessing of God the conversion of the world, and the universal conversion of the world, terminating all geographical inequalities, result in the salvation of the entire mass.

But terrible enough, under any view, is not only the condition, but the guilt and the responsibility of Heathendom. Heathendom is not merely a cause, but an effect; and to a large degree, in every generation, a willful and unnecessary and consequently responsible effect of men's conscious and intentional sins. If individuals sin greatly and almost necessarily because the aggregate sins, the aggregate is sinful because the individual sins freely, responsibly, and beyond the equitable and

indulgent excuse from his condition. And that *makes heathenism;* and makes heathenism largely responsible and damnable. But for this, the true light would shine and heathenism would long since have been Christendom. And to this extent the heathen are under just sentence of eternal death.

And this accords with St. Paul's view in the first and second chapters of Romans. Those who have not the written law are not judged by the written law. They have a conscience, a law written on the heart, under the dispensation of which they are judged, as the Jews are judged under the written law. And (chap. i, 17–32) it was upon men in heathendom, who *obstruct* (so the word *hold* should be rendered) *the truth by unrighteousness*, that the wrath of God is revealed. For whereas they had, from nature and conscience, a dispensation up to which they might live and so attain the truth, they turned the truth into a lie, and so were given up "*to vile affections.*" Their responsibility arose from the fact that they "did not like to retain the knowledge of God," and that though knowing that they which do such things are worthy of death, not only do the same, but have pleasure in them that do them. Nor is it true that, beyond the recognition of the facts that men out from under the written law are still under an ethical law, with a conscience to render it conscious, and a perception of a deity as its administrator, the apostle does not in these chapters furnish any cheering moral points in heathen character or destiny. For in chapter ii, verse 14, he clearly supposes that there are Gentiles that "do by nature the things contained in the law;" and in 15, that "they show the work of the law written in their hearts," and he accounts for the fact by averring that they are under the law and guidance of conscience.

It perfectly accords with our views of a responsible free-agency, to suppose that there are localities on earth in which, through periods of time, there is so total a moral depravation, that the spirit of faith is completely repudiated, and the entire reverse of works of righteousness is done. Besides the large number who, happily for themselves, are in the conditions of irresponsibility, every individual of the whole mass in such case is freely, responsibly, damnably guilty. But we must not argue too sweepingly from cases of such extremity. There may be, too, spots in Christendom even, where a degree of morality pre-

vails, where a professed Church exists, and a form of religion is enacted, where not a responsible soul is in a state of salvation.

Nor, we may add, must we confound *temporal moral aspects* with *eternal prospects*. For we may safely conjecture that a negro hamlet in Central Africa, however inferior in its temporal moral aspects, especially when contemplated in the light of our moral and intellectual biases, may, in its *prospects for an eternal destiny*, be superior to many an American village. That crowd of semi-barbarians, giddy with folly, addicted to vices, misguided by degrading superstitions, is composed of intrinsically noble human spirits, towering immeasurably above the most human-like animal species around them, endowed with educable reason, with illuminable conscience, and with spiritual susceptibilities, capable of being developed (as the modern religious history of Madagascar nobly shows) into a most heroic and martyr-like Christianity. Certainly, in a community like this, the Omniscient eye that could discern a predisposition to repentance in Sodom itself may recognize an abundance of the spirit of faith, and, tried too by the ethics of its dispensation, that community may follow its own conscience, and "live up to the light it has" more truly than many a New England village. And making the due allowance, as taught by the words of Christ, for its inferior advantages, its collective prospect for eternity may be far superior. For that New England village has placed before its mental view the pure New Testament ideal, and the solemn obligations of Christianity; and yet the large majority of numbers, wealth, and influence is impenitent, perhaps skeptical. And its Church, how poorly does it present that pure reality of Christianity which could win the world by its loveliness, purity, and power. Nay, how little heart for the work of shaping the world to the model of Christ, and winning it as a trophy to his cross.

Strictly of a piece with this want of heart is the want of a pure and flaming zeal in the prosecution of the *missionary enterprise*. And we develop this topic all the more fully because it at once establishes our argument, and shows that our favorable view of the heathen condition is a strong incentive rather than a damper to the missionary spirit. It is the want of that spirit, identical with the missionary spirit, which ruins the souls of that New England village. That same disposition by which that

village would become purely Christian, heir of eternal life, is the spirit by which it would seek with all its heart and all its strength to win a world to Christ. And the specific spirit, too, of missionary enterprise, burning with intense power in the heart of that Church, would react to kindle the love and zeal requisite to gain its own community for heaven. By seeking to save others, that village would save itself.

Bold assertions in missionary speeches and sermons, that all the world without the pale of Christendom is damned in mass, never quicken the pulse of missionary zeal. On the contrary, they ever roll a cold reaction upon every feeling heart and every rational mind. Our better natures revolt, and, alas! a gush of skepticism is but too apt in consequence to rise in the public mind, especially where precise ideas in regard to the question have not been formed and fixed. We had far better argue the missionary cause from the danger to our own salvation, from that low standard of Christianity which does not subdue the world to the righteousness of faith. We had better fix our hearts on winning every isle and continent to Christ, to secure him the crown of our entire planet.

Heathendom has her standing plea in condemnation of Christendom. She avers that Christendom, having the blessing and glory of religion, does most guiltily not only misimprove the boon, but repudiate her obligation to impart it. She charges that Christendom, with all her advantages, is still but too heathen, forgetting her mission of blessing the families of the earth with the gift of the Gospel, while she riots in refined licentiousness, expends her treasures in splendid self-gratifications, and employs her powers, trained by the civilizing discipline of Christianity, in wars of ambition and national aggrandizements. Heathendom thus maintains that, before heaven and earth, her case is fairer, if not in its present superficial moral aspects, yet in the light of reason and the judgment of eternity. Nor are we sure—and the possibility is a motive for higher zeal in diffusing the knowledge of the Gospel of Christ—that thus far in the history of the Christian ages, so have we misimproved our higher means, that the majority of the redeemed will not have been gathered by Christ from lands where the power of his cross has never yet been proclaimed.

A greater power of missionary enterprise would, in full

accordance with our views, increase, beyond all known volume, the amount of the spirit of faith in the hamlets and territories of heathendom. The "mighty works of the Gospel" may be so presented to the Sodoms and Gomorrahs, to the Tyres and Sidons of the heathen dispensation in the present age, as that they "will repent in sackcloth and ashes." And as the demoralization of one part of mankind sheds a demoralizing influence over all the rest of mankind, so the purification of one part reacts in blessing upon all others,

> "Till, like a sea of glory,
> It spreads from pole to pole."

When every part is purified a nobler spirit of rectitude is universally diffused, a loftier standard of Christian civilization arises, a more perfect model of Christian holiness is attained, and the Church, embracing the world, gradually rises to the realization of the ideal of a true, a holy, and a glorious Church. Thus, our favorable view of the condition of heathenism furnishes enhanced reasons and motives for the most earnest exertions by the Church for the world's conversion.

And yet the eternal crown of these giants of holiness, under high advantages may, by the law of equalization, be no brighter than shall be worn by their predecessors, who attained a lower stature, more hardly won, amid the struggles of a depraved age. So will the saints of all ages be graded to a proportionate level. The great advantages of that millennial age, worth centuries of martyrdom, warfare, and missionary toil, is that, generally speaking, ALL are saved, all through perhaps countless generations of the race; so that it may not be an unreasonable supposition that, ultimately, it is not the *few* but the *many* that shall be redeemed. And we are inclined to indorse the opinion that the finally lost will be, proportionally, as few as are the criminals executed upon the gallows at the present day in comparison with the rest of the community. They will be the malefactors of the world, perhaps of the universe.

Our whole view evolves the conclusion that the possession of the Gospel is not only a glorious and blessed, but a most solemn and responsible boon. The savor of life unto life may be a savor of death unto death. The Gospel *within reach*, the Gospel *heard*, the Gospel *possessed*, all involve an accountability, whose shade of guilt God alone can precisely measure. The Gospel

within reach carries a power of warning of its claim to *attendance* and *attention*. The Gospel *heard* involves a right to *faith* and obedience. The Gospel *possessed* proclaims the obligation to *practice* and *diffuse its doctrines and power through the earth*. The greatest sinner in the world, measured not by superficial aspects, but by compound responsibilities of sin committed and advantages enjoyed, may very probably be the Gospel hearing sinner, who knows his duty and does it not. His woe is that of Chorazin and Bethsaida, in comparison with which the doom of Sodom was light.

Our conclusion then is, that if Arminianism explains itself aright, it leaves to Calvinism alone its inexorable, historical, and geographical reprobation, a counterpart to its own theological. We survey heathendom with melting pity indeed, but without that horror and mystery which the dark, damnatory view of reprobation affords. We contemplate the whole without any shuddering misgivings of divine injustice. And yet, in the very humaneness of our view, we gather fresh motives, more searching and home-coming views of responsibility, and more cheering incitements to quicken the nerve of missionary enterprise, through all the sections of the Christian Church and for all the lands of the habitable globe.

Art. VIII.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

PROTESTANTISM.

GREAT BRITAIN.

The Rationalistic Controversy.—The essayists and their friends, after having been censured by all the archbishops and bishops of England, and after having seen, at least, part of their views condemned as contrary to the Thirty-nine Articles by the Court of Arches, have received the weighty support of one of the colonial bishops of the Church, Colenso, of Natal, in Africa. The bishop, who already once before had given offense to his Church by his views on the doctrine of the New Testament respecting polygamy, has written a volume* to prove that "the last four books of the Pentateuch must be pronounced to be fictitious," whence he argues that the Book of Genesis must be in the main fictitious also. His work is looked upon, in the Church of England, as a more audacious attack on the Christian foundations than the notorious "Essays and Reviews," both because the attack is more open and direct, and because of the more elevated position of the assailant. It will, of course, have a very large circulation, not only on ac-

* The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua, critically examined, by the Rt. Rev. J. W. Colenso, D.D., Bishop of Natal. London, 1862. Republished in New York, 1862.

count of its important bearing upon the great theological controversy, but also on account of the eminent talent displayed in its compilation. The admirable and lucid style of the bishop, the candor with which he sets forth all his views, as well as the fine exegetical tact which he has shown in the handling of many difficult passages, are admitted on both sides. There seems to be some doubt how the Church is to deal with him. Another colonial prelate, the Bishop of Capetown, is reported to have come to England in order to institute against him a prosecution for heresy; but no exact intimations have as yet been given as to what the Episcopate of England will do in the matter. Many have expected that Bishop Colenso would spare all trouble on that head by his resignation. Several well-known members of the Liberal school, as Rev. Mr. M'Naught and others, have already taken this course. Another brilliant writer of the same school, Rev. Mr. Maurice, was recently reported to have the same intention, but to have later yielded it to the representations of his friends, who are resolved to assert the claim of the Liberal school to a good standing in the Church, and the same representations will be undoubtedly brought to bear upon Bishop Colenso if he should feel inclined to resign.

In the mean while the counts of charge against Dr. Williams and Mr. Wilson have been reformed, according to instruction, and the case against them was soon to be brought up again in the Court of Arches. Proceedings were also to be instituted against another of the essayists, Professor Jowett.

PROGRESS OF METHODISM.—According to the latest statistics of the Methodist denominations of Great Britain, it appears that all of them have made considerable progress during the past year. The British Conference of the Wesleyan Methodists has had an increase of 5,476 in Great Britain, an increase of 4,809 in the Foreign Missions, and a decrease of 810 in Ireland and the Irish Missions; the French Conference an increase of 77; the Australasian Conference an increase of 2,343; the Canada Conference an increase of 2,060, and the Eastern British American Conference a decrease of 108. Thus the whole connection has received during the year an increase of 13,847 members. The increase of the other Methodist bodies is as follows: New Connection, 1,866; Primitive Methodists, 5,791; the Bible Christians, 1,782: the United Free Churches, 4,253; the Reform Union, 1,118. The present membership is as follows: Wesleyan Methodists, (inclusive of the French, Australasian, Canada, and Eastern British American Conferences,) 519,969; New Connection, 32,480; Primitive Methodists, 141,185; Bible Christians, 24,056; United Free Churches, 60,880; Reform Union, 11,356.

EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE. — ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE BRITISH ORGANIZATION.—The Sixteenth Annual Conference of the British branch of the Evangelical Association was held in London, from Oct. 14 to Oct. 16. The annual address was delivered by the Rev. Dr. Macfarlane of Clapham, upon the foundation principles of the Alliance. The report referred to the various means employed by the Alliance for the protection of religious liberty. The statement of funds was satisfactory, the income of the past year amounting to £2,030. Sir Culling Eardley was appointed president of the British branch of the Alliance, having hitherto been chairman of the Committee of Council only, a post involving duties to which his failing health had rendered him unequal. Several important modifications were made in the constitution and duties of the Council. It was determined that an abstract of the proceedings should be furnished to all the sub-committees as soon as possible after each monthly meeting.

Deep interest was expressed in the position of the two Spanish prisoners, Matamoros and Alhama, who had just been condemned, the one to nine, the other to eight years' imprisonment, for the sole crime of being Protestants. Sir Culling Eardley spoke with strong indignation of the sentence, but he hoped the Spanish government was not proof against the power of concentrated public opinion. He suggested that in England there should be extensively signed a declaration, very respectful in its terms, to the Spanish government and the queen, appealing to the generosity and the justice of the Spanish nation, and referring particularly to what Protestants have done for Catholics in other countries. He expected that such a declaration would be indorsed by the English

government, by other Protestant countries of Europe, by America, and even by the governments of France and Austria; and if thus all Europe would unite in this appeal, the Spanish prime minister, Marshal O'Donnell, who was personally in favor of religious liberty, but had to contend against backstairs influence in the palace, and against all the power of the priesthood, might feel strengthened and liberate the sufferers. On motion, it was unanimously resolved to commit the subject to the Council.

A discussion of still greater interest took place on the war in America. A communication from Rev. Mr. Fisch, secretary of the Paris branch of the Alliance, announced that an address of the French Christians was to be sent to their American brethren, expressive of their deepest sympathy, and uttering the conviction that the only cause of this awful struggle was the question of slavery, and that they could not encourage too much the friends across the Atlantic in the steps which are now taken to do away with that abominable institution. "We have not," the communication continues, "a single religious paper which is not a warm supporter of the cause of liberty, freedom, and Christian civilization, which is represented by the North, against the slave oligarchy of the South. Nobody of us would think to put the two causes on the same level, to give encouragement to both; for as the Southern Christians consider as a dreadful evil the emancipation of the slaves, which is our greatest wish, it would be almost a mockery to address them in this circumstance. An address devoted to both would miss its aim for one party and grieve the other exceedingly. Silence would be then much better than any such expression, which would do harm instead of good." Mr. Fisch urged the British branch of the Alliance to adopt a similar address. The discussion which ensued upon this request revealed the fact, that the members of the British branch were far from being as unanimous as the French in favor of the United States, although all expressed a wish to see slavery abolished. Sir Culling Eardley wished to suggest to the brethren in the South to "compete with President Lincoln and take the wind out of his sails" by making provisions for a gradual emancipation of the slaves, and by declaring every negro free who would join the Southern army. The Rev. W. Arthur said it would be a delusion to suppose that the slaveholders could be induced to undo all that they had done. He hoped that the conference would give a deep and solemn deliverance on the subject. The Rev. T. R. Birks asserted that there were many who, on constitutional grounds, sympathized with the South. He seemed to be opposed to the Alliance undertaking to act upon the principle that slavery was abstractedly wrong as a Christian principle. Mr. Birks was, however, the only speaker who seemed to undertake a defense of slavery, and the subsequent speakers strongly expressed their dissent from his views. Ultimately the two parties in the meeting agreed upon the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, that this Conference desire to express their deep sorrow for the continuance of the civil war in America, and the fearful amount of bloodshed and suffering to which it has led. Believing that sin is the cause of God's sore judgment, and that the evils connected with the maintenance of slavery in the South, and complicity with those evils in the North, are one great cause of the solemn visitation, they renew the expression of their earnest prayer that peace may be restored, that these evils and all others which have led to these calamities may be removed, and the immense resources and energies of the Americans themselves be set free to promote the cause of the Gospel of peace and love. They desire further to record their convictions as British Christians, that the duty of our country is to read in this war, not a warrant for self-righteous pride, but a loud call to humiliation, prayer, and repentance, lest our own many national sins should draw down upon us, in turn, the judgment of God. That, considering further the distress thus occasioned to large classes in our own country, they recommend that the second Sunday in November be made an occasion for public and private confession of sin, and special prayer on these grave subjects, so far as practicable, in the Churches of Christ and Christian families throughout the land.

A letter was read from Dr. Thomson, of Edinburgh, on the subject of the observance of the Lord's day. It represented strongly the evil done by Sunday excursion trains, and urged the closing of all government offices. The proceedings were closed by a public meeting, held on the evening of the 17th.

GERMANY.

THE RELIGIOUS ANNIVERSARIES.—THE KIRCHENTAG.—THE GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS SOCIETY.—The twelfth meeting of the German *Kirchentag* (Church Diet) took place on September 23, at Brandenburg, in the Prussian province of the same name. Dr. Nitzsch, the well-known veteran German theologian and professor at Berlin, was elected president. After having requested the Superintendent-General, Dr. Hoffman, and Superintendent Bauer to assist and support him in the regulation of the proceedings, he called on Dr. Herrmann, from Göttingen, for the first discourse, which was to turn on the question, "What are the necessary principles of an ecclesiastical constitution that is to unite the consistorial and synodal systems." The idea that a part of the State Church system can be saved from the evident tendency of the age toward absolute freedom in Church and State is still popular among the leading members of the State Churches, and hence their attachment to a constitution which is to combine the consistorial and the synodal elements. Professor Herrmann, of the Law Faculty of Göttingen, is an earnest champion of this theory, and the assembly is said to have listened to his address, which lasted one hour and a half, with great attention. In the second day's session the assembly committed a grave blunder by allowing and encouraging Dr. Krummacher to read the draught of an address to the Prussian king, assuring him of the sympathy of the assembly in his struggle against the representatives of the Prussian people. Such an encouragement of the most brutal despotism that has for a long time disgraced the history of Germany cannot but be injurious to the interest of the Kirchentag as well as of the Evangelical Church, of which it is so prominent a representative. An account of the collections made in Germany for the support of the Syrian Christians stated as the result, that the sum of 60,000 thalers had been realized, of which 46,000 had been expended. On motion, it was resolved, that of the balance of 14,000 thalers only the interest is to be expended. This interest is to be devoted to, first, the Orphans' and Widows' Institution, founded by pastor Dr. Fliedner, at Beirut, which has already long been engaged in a course of beneficent activity, and is at present harboring about one hundred and twenty-six children and a number of widows. Second, to the hospital called into existence by the Order of the Johanniter, (Protestant Knights of St. John,) at Beirut, in which four brethren of the *Rauhe Haus* are busied with great success.

The Gustavus Adolphus Society held its nineteenth general meeting in Nuremberg, in Bavaria. It was the first time that the Society was permitted to meet in Bavaria. Nuremberg, although now belonging to a Roman Catholic kingdom, is a city full of great Protestant reminiscences. Luther called it the eye of the Reformation; and the valiant King of Sweden, after whom the Gustavus Adolphus Society is named, and who, during the thirty years' war, defended Nuremberg by his powerful sword, termed it the apple of his eye. The city, through its burgomaster and town councils, gave to the society an affectionate reception. The receipts for the past year were announced as amounting to 165,000 thalers, which served for the relief of five hundred and seventy-eight Churches or communities. This is the highest figure that has ever been reached. That of the preceding year had been 157,628 thalers, which had been divided between five hundred and fifty-nine Churches. It was decided by the General Assembly that the twentieth anniversary of the society should take place next year at Lübeck, and the twenty-first, namely, that of the year 1864, at Vienna, in Austria. This last decision was caused by a sudden and unexpected circumstance. It had just been voted that the city of Lübeck should, as it had offered to do, entertain the friends of the Gustavus Adolphus Society, when a deputy of Austria announced, to the great joy of the entire assembly, that he had just received from the capital of the Austrian empire a telegraphic dispatch to the effect that the Austrian Minister of the Interior, Von Schmerling, had authorized the central committee of the society to convene the assembly at Vienna.

ITALY.

PROGRESS OF PROTESTANTISM.—METHODIST MISSIONS. — Protestantism has made again during the past year considerable progress. Each of the three classes of missionaries who are co-operating for the evangelization of the coun-

try, the Waldensians, the members of the Free Evangelical Association, and the Foreign Missionaries, have labored with success, and there is now hardly any large Italian city without at least the nucleus of a Protestant congregation.

In Milan, the capital of Lombardy, a greater number of people hear the Gospel preached than in any other town of Italy. Three able evangelists labor successfully in this quarter. Lagomarsino, late of Genoa, and Tealdo, late of Bologna, of the Free Evangelical Church, preach alternately, not only on the Sabbath, but on every week day, in two large halls, containing four hundred and fifty and two hundred and fifty people respectively. The meetings are always crowded to the door. The congregation has about two hundred and fifty members, who are carefully admitted on the recommendation of two Christian brethren, and after conference with the pastor. The Waldensians have, likewise, a Church at Milan, which is well attended by a steady congregation. Their work includes Sabbath-schools and day-schools, and the superintendence of the Elberfeld Society colportage. Of foreign missionaries Mr. Williams, of the Church of England, and Mr. Piggot, an English Wesleyan, are resident in Milan, and aid in the work of evangelization. The Wesleyans have made preparations for the opening of a school for young ladies. The Wesleyan missionary writes with regard to this school: "While at Ivrea a remarkable providence threw in our path an Italian lady of superior culture, and considerable experience in education, who, having become a convert to evangelical truth, was desirous of finding some employment in connection with the evangelical movement in her own country. The idea of opening in some central city a superior school for the education of young ladies, where the best advantages to be obtained in the country should be united with a sound and earnest training, was suggested by this providence. We have now in Milan an excellent site, suitable premises, and are expecting daily a good English teacher from Westminster, to make the establishment complete."

The Wesleyan missions, in general, promise to occupy a front rank among the new Protestant congregations. At Parma the young Wesleyan evangelist, Belmondo, has been exceedingly well received by the people. The old Roman Catholic Church, in which the service is conducted, has during the summer contained two hundred regular hearers. Many peasants from the villages around flock to the service. The evangelist meets with courtesy and respect. The school and depot are doing well, and the newspapers defend the movement.

The Wesleyan evangelist at Ivrea has been laboring there and in the neighborhood with the happiest results. At a village near Ivrea a whole family have been converted to the Protestant faith, and at their instance a public service has been commenced in their dwelling. A large concourse of people came from that and the adjacent villages, and the congregation often numbers as many as fifty or sixty persons. At another village, some twelve miles from Ivrea, is a regular Sabbath congregation of eighty persons. At Intra, on Lago Maggiore, an evening school and a book shop have been opened in connection with the colportage carried on in the neighborhood.

A lay evangelist of the Waldensians is continuing to have great success at Brescia. A minister of the same Church is carrying on a regular service in Modena, and preaches on alternate Sabbaths in Reggio and Bologna. He has good congregations in these three towns, and is strongly supported by the Swiss communities resident in these parts.

In Naples a new evangelical periodical, *La Civiltà Evangelica*, has been established under the editorship of an ex-Jesuit, Perez, who has been for some time evangelizing in the south. The Protestant schools have been well organized and are very popular in southern Italy. They have recently called forth the praise of men who occupy the highest place in the national educational movement.

There are now four missionaries laboring among the Italian Jews, two of whom are supported by Episcopal Jewish societies, one by the London Jewish Society, and one by the Jewish Committee of the Free Church of Scotland. They are stationed at Turin, Modena, Leghorn, and Ancona. There is said to have been such a favorable opening among the Jews recently that these missionaries have already their hands full of work. The missionary of Ancona, Mr. Meyer, is at the same time preaching to the German and English Protestants in their languages.

ART. IX.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

ENGLAND.

The Reformers and the Theology of the Reformation, a work consisting of articles published in The British and Foreign Evangelical Review, by its late editor, Rev. Dr. Cunningham, has lately been issued by the Clarks of Edinburgh. The articles are eleven in number, embracing topics of much interest to the high Calvinian Orthodoxy of old Scotia. There are articles on the Leaders of the Reformation and upon Luther. There is one on Assurance, in which he handled Sir William Hamilton roughly and damagingly. Other articles are on Melancthon and the Theology of the Church of England, John Calvin, Calvin and Beza, Calvinism and Arminianism, Calvinism and the Doctrine of Philosophical Necessity, Calvinism and its Practical Application. Dr. Cunningham was a frank, bold thinker and speaker. His writings exhibit great mastery of the learning of the topic discussed. His style is full and copious, with sentences of winding volume, somewhat repetitive of the same thought, and approaching the heart of his subject with many a circumlocution and preparatory circuit of language and thought.

The second volume of Dr. Davidson's Introduction to the Old Testament has appeared, and is a specimen of the most destructive criticism. It embraces the historical books from Kings to Esther; the poetical books from Job to Solomon's Song. It has a dissertation of some seventy pages upon Hebrew prophecy introductory to the prophetic books themselves, which are to appear in the concluding volume. He finds in the historical books plenty of discrepancies, legends, suppressions, and tales, dishonoring to God and unworthy of belief. He excludes the predictive element from prophecy. Particular prophecies held by Hengstenberg and Thebuck to have been fulfilled, he explains as being either of later date or not truly verified by events. Still he allows that the prophets, from their higher sympathies with the divine government, could more easily and truly than others anticipate the near future.

Mr. Herbert Spencer, who is as great a projector in the philosophical world as was unhappy Mr. Buckle in the historical, and in much the same spirit, has published his first volume under the title "*First Principles.*" In it he takes the skeptical side of the Hamilton and Mansel philosophy, affirming the absolute unknowableness yet real existence of the absolute and yet as a nothingness to us. He limits all knowledge to objects of which we can draw a mental picture, affirming that all else have no real existence even in thought that truly is thought.

It appears that in the United Kingdoms there are at least 4,000 temperance societies, and not less than 3,000,000 of teetotalers of all ages. The movement has forty paid lecturers, three weekly newspapers, six monthly magazines, two quarterly reviews, a provident institution with an annual income of £114,000, and a permanent land and building society with an income of £77,000, besides other resources.

A volume of valuable thought is entitled, "*An Inquiry into the Theories of History*, with special reference to the Principles of the Positive Philosophy." The writer considers the three great theories of history to be those, respectively, that ascribe the course of events to chance, to blind law, and to will. His ground is that the true theory is that of will, yet that law is the expression or permanent manifestation of that will. This work is good against Atheism or Pantheism, but is perhaps liable to a tendency toward theistic fatalism. Instead of God's governing these emanative laws, there is danger that the laws be made to react and govern God.

The thoughts of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus have been brought into English by George Long. It is pronounced to be "a valuable translation of an immortal book."

"*Relics of Shelley*," is edited by Richard Garnett and published by Moxon. The National Review says that the book has but one really fine new poem of Shelley in it, and that the shreds of poetry should never have been published. The book contains some discussions which the Review says are an error of

judgment till the time arrives for a *full disclosure of Shelley's private life.*

"*The Life of Lord Bolingbroke*, by Thomas Macknight," is announced by Chapman & Hall, for November.

The Clarkes of Edinburgh announce "*Christianity in the First Century*; or, the New Birth of the Social Life of Man through the Rising of Christianity. Translated from the German of Christian Hoffman." "Modern Pantheism, Essay on Religious Philosophy, by M. Emile Saisset. With an Introductory Essay, Marginal Analysis, and Notes, by Rev. William Alexander, M.A., Brazen Nose College, Oxford." 2 vols.

"*Primeval Symbols*; or, the Analogy of Creation and New Creation. By William Fetherston, Barrister at Law." The Literary Gazette says, "We must allow the author to be a most original thinker." The Ecclesiastical Gazette says, "Worth any dozen that reach our table; will well repay serious study."

Gaussen, the author of Theopneusty, has written a work, a translation of which appears under the title, "*The Canon of the Holy Scriptures*, from the double point of view of Science and of Faith." Both his books were furnished to counteract the rationalistic movement and doctrines of Scherer. His historic argument is grounded upon the fact that the New Testament was accepted by the Church as emanating from the Apostles, the organs of Christ's revelation to the world. His second great argument, which is pronounced by critics to be very valuable, is founded on "the inward criterion," the testimonium spiritus sancti.

"*Meditations on Death and Eternity.* Translated from the German by Miss Frederica Rowan," is published by Trübner & Co. Says the Bookseller of August 30th, 1862: "The circumstances under which this volume has been produced are very peculiar. A favorite volume with his late Royal Highness the Prince Consort was the well-known German work, 'STUNDEN DER ANDACHT,' which is generally ascribed to Zschokke. Some of these meditations were frequently read by him, as though he had a presentiment of his early death. After that sad event the book naturally became more than ever endeared to the queen, who solaced herself by making a selection of the greater favorites; these she employed Miss Rowan to translate, and had them printed in a volume, of which a small number were circulated, with a notice that the 'Meditations' had 'been selected for translation by one to whom, in deep and overwhelming sorrow, they had proved a source of comfort and edification.' As the volume is one so eminently calculated to answer this end, it was evident that a much wider circulation was desirable than at first contemplated, and accordingly her majesty was pleased to give her permission to that effect."

GERMANY.

The first complete edition of the sermons of the Franciscan monk, Berthold, of Ratisbon, who, on account of his eloquence, has often been called the German Chrysostom, has been recently commenced by Professor Franz Pfeiffer, of Vienna.* Berthold was born about 1220. Neither his baptismal nor his family name, nor the place of his birth, is known; the latter was probably Ratisbon. In the year 1240 he had finished his novitiate. For ten years his labors were almost wholly confined to Ratisbon and the neighborhood. In 1250 he began his missionary tour, which embraced all Bavaria, the Rhine Provinces, Switzerland, Austria, Moravia, Bohemia, Siberia, and Hungary. He died at Ratisbon, Dec. 13, 1272. His sermons have found, especially in modern times, many admirers, both among Roman Catholics and Protestants. Like many other members of the monastic ordor to which he belonged, he was an opponent of many of the gross abuses prevailing in the Roman Catholic Church. The work is to consist of two volumes; the first one, which is out, contains thirty-six sermons.

Another posthumous work of the late Professor Bleek, of Bonn, has been published, containing the Lectures on the Revelation,† which he had given during seven years in succession at the University of Bonn. The manuscript of the work had already been made use of in the commentary of the late De Wette, to whom Bleek had lent it. Still the editor was of opinion that there was enough new matter in it to justify the

* Pfeiffer, Berthold von Regensburg. 1 vol. Vienna, 1862. 8vo., xxxii, pp. 575.

† Bleek, Vorlesungen über die Apocalypse. Berlin, 1862. 8vo., pp. 362.

publication. He regards in particular the "General Researches on the Revelation" as a model of clearness and keenness. The Lectures are divided into four parts. The first states the contents of the book; the second gives the history of the use of the Revelation in the Church; the third contains researches on the book in general, namely, on its principal aim, on its unity, the time of its composition, on its author, on its style, on the visions, on its canonicity; in the fourth part we receive the commentary.

The word "Spirit" (Πνεῦμα) is of so prominent importance in the Theology of the New Testament, that a special work on the subject is certainly not superfluous. We see that the subject has been recently treated of by an anonymous author in a treatise entitled, "The Biblical Signification of the word Spirit."* The author thinks that the word of Christ, Πνευμα ὁ θεος, shows the development of the conception Spirit. It must, however, be borne in mind, he says, that the correct translation of the Greek sentence is not "God is *a* Spirit," but "God is Spirit." From the unity of the Spirit, thus pronounced, he infers that that which is opposed to God, the evil, cannot be "Spirit," and can be called so only in an improper sense. On the other hand, if God is Spirit, the power in man which we call Spirit cannot be man's own power, it must be derived from God, and Spirit must be understood to signify "the power of good derived from God." The author has examined all the passages in which the word spirit occurs, and he divides them into four groups. He counts to the first those passages in which Spirit signifies the power of good derived from God. He makes the number of this class to be two hundred and twenty-nine. To the second class belong those passages in which the Greek word for spirit is used for that which is opposed to God. This is explained from the original meaning of the word, both in Greek and Hebrew, which means breath, wind, and the like. The passages of the third group, twenty-four in number, are such in which the word "spirit" is not applied in the full signification which is established by the passage "God is Spirit," but in which its signification can be easily traced to the original meaning of the Greek "Pneuma." In the fourth place the author enumerates thirty-six passages in which the word spirit is not named, but which express that there must dwell in man a power from God, which is the Spirit or "the power of good derived from God."

The work of Sprenger on the Life and Doctrines of Mohammed,* to which attention has already been called in a former number of the Quarterly Review, has met with a very favorable reception on the part of the leading Oriental scholars of all countries. The second volume begins with the emigration of Mohammed to Abyssinia and his relapse into paganism in the year 616; the persecution of Mohammed, and the conversion of Hamza and Omar; further persecutions, and the second flight of the prophet to Abyssinia; Christian and other influences upon Mohammed during the years 616 to 619, the doctrines of Mohammed, the theological controversies in Mecca; finally, the three last years preceding the flight to Medina, and this flight itself, the starting-point of Mohammedanism as a religious organization.

Besides the Commentary to the Revelation from the late Professor Bleek, which has been above referred to, we receive another one to the same biblical book† from Professor Gustav Volkmar, of Zurich. This author is one of the most prolific writers of the critical school of Tübingen, and in the denial of the authenticity of the books of the New Testament he goes further than most of the other theologians of his school. He places the Book of Revelation upon a level with such apocryphal works of the Old Covenant as the Fourth Book of Ezra and the Book of Henoch. He claims for his book the honor that it is the first commentary that is compiled from the stand-point of "pure criticism."

The work of Professor Weisse, of Leipzic, on "Philosophical Dogmatics; or, Philosophy of Christianity,"‡ which was commenced seven years ago, has been recently concluded by the publication of the third volume containing the "Heilslehre; or, the Doctrine of Salvation." As the title-page indicates, the

* Die Biblische Bedeutung des Wortes Geist. Giessen, 1862. 8vo., pp. 362.

* Sprenger, Das Leben und die Lehre Mohammed's. Vol. 2. Berlin, 1862. 8vo., pp. 548.

† Volkmar, Commentar zur Offenbarung Johannis. Zürich, 1862, xii, pp. 350.

‡ Weisse. Philosophische Dogmatik, vol. 3. Leipzic, 1862. 8vo., xxiii, pp. 486.

author attempts a fusion between the metaphysical philosophy of Germany and the doctrines of Christianity. Professor Weisse is an opponent of the Pantheistic school and a leading representative of the new philosophical school of Germany, whose system has been sometimes designated by the appellation of Panentheism.

FRANCE.

France has among its leading scholars a few who openly avow their hostility to Christianity. Probably the most brilliant among these writers is Ernest Renan, who some time ago was appointed by the French government, notwithstanding his repeated and confessed attacks upon the essence and the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, Professor of Hebrew at the College de France. Having repeated, however, his attacks on Christianity, he was removed from his chair after his first lecture. Mr. Renan, and his friends of course, represented this measure of the government as an encroachment upon the religious liberty of the professors, and Mr. Renan undertook to defend this view in a brilliant pamphlet, entitled, "The Chair of Hebrew at the College de France. An explanation to my colleagues."* This pamphlet is, however, not, as might be inferred from the title, merely a discussion of the right of the government to remove a professor on account of his theological views, but its principal part is devoted to a summary exposition of his theological views. He wants to prove that a religion is possible without a supernatural element. He concludes his attacks upon the supernatural by repeating the trite assertion, that a majority of the distinguished men of our age have emancipated themselves from a belief in it. "The supernatural," he says, "has become, as it was, an original sin of which men are ashamed. The countries and the classes of population which believe in it are of secondary importance. Whether the fact be hailed or regretted, the supernatural is disappearing from this world; it finds a sincere belief only among the classes which are behind their age." The *Revue Chretienne* justly remarks, in reply to these assertions, "Mr. Renan is as hazardous in his numerical calculations as he is in his philosophical assertions. Compare the nineteenth century with its predecessor. Then the negation of positive Christianity proceeded from England, spread in Germany, and reigned with Voltaire everywhere where the French language is spoken. To-day, in the same countries, Christian faith has struck deep root; it has retaken hold of the spirit in England, a country, it is true, of secondary importance; it controls the energetic race which has founded the greatest republic of modern times; in Germany it triumphs over the vastest science, a science which equals it; and in France, leaving aside the party reactions, which are of little account, it appears to all just minds only too much revenged by the results of the great and generous movements of 1789. People begin to understand what it costs to part with it, and more than one mind of the first order returns to it."

The *Protestant Year-book*,* now published by the Rev. Th. de Prat, furnishes the best and completest material for the current history of French Protestantism. Its publication was commenced in 1854, by Mr. Bellamy d'Angouleme, who for several years continued it with praiseworthy zeal and disinterestedness. He was succeeded by the Rev. Th. de Prat, who, in 1861, announced that he would abandon the annual publication, and publish it only every third year, after the general elections. The volume for 1862 is the completest yet published. It gives the following totals for the three classes of Churches of which French Protestantism consists: Reformed Church, 889 temples or oratories and 679 pastors; Lutheran Church, 390 places of worship and 297 pastors; Independent Churches, 142 places of worship and 94 pastors. It has been long the wish and endeavor of the editors to give in the Year-book the exact statistics of the Protestant population, but they have never yet succeeded in collecting the necessary documents. As to the official census, all Protestants agree that it deserves no confidence. Mr. de Prat quotes, in the preface, a fact which gives an idea of the inaccuracy of the officials in taking the religious census. In a town in northern France, a pastor with his whole family and the five Presbyterial coun-

* Renan La Chaire d'hebreu au College de France. Paris, 1862.

* Annuaire Protestant, Par Th. de Prat, Pasteur, 1862–64. Paris, 1862.

selors are put down as Catholics, and similar instances have been reported from other places.

A new commentary to the so-called Messianic Psalms* has been published by Ed. Böhl. The author singles out for his purpose twelve psalms, without, however, maintaining that this selection embraces every Messianic psalm. He confines himself to this number in order to be fully safe. He divides the Messianic psalms into six groups. In the first he embraces Psalms xvi, xxii, xl, lxix, being those which refer to the sufferings of David at the time of the persecution by Saul. The second group, Psalms xxi and xxii, concerning the exaltation of David, beginning with his nomination and recognition as king. To the third group belong all those which sing of the solemn transfer of the Ark of the Covenant to Zion; but of the psalms of this class only Psalm cxviii is selected for commentation. The promise of a royal architect, in the seventh chapter of the Second Book of Samuel, the author regards as the transition from the Davidic to the Solomonic psalms, and he therefore makes this chapter his fourth group. In the fifth group he comprises such psalms—Psalms viii, xlv, lxxii, cx, —as refer to Solomon, his person and fate. The last of these psalms (cx) reaches partly over to the sixth group, in which we find Psalm xli, and which treats of the last period of David's sufferings, brought down upon his gray head by Adonijah.

One of the sensation books of the Paris book market is Pelletan's "New Babylon,"† in which he pictures Paris, externally, socially, and morally, as it seems to his judgment and his eyes. Mr. Pelletan has no sympathy with, no toleration for, the present system of France. Studying the outward and inward aspects of the New Babylon, Mr. Pelletan sees only degeneracy and decay, hypocrisy and false economy working destructively hand in hand; sham and delusion under every fair exterior; a population dwindling, and a criminal calendar swelling; a prodigality which may well be called profligate in its tastelessness, heartlessness, and recklessness; a profligacy which has eaten into the very core of society; letters and art extinguished or turned to pollution; youth fading into the premature old age of vice; domesticity abandoned; marriage falling into disrepute; and degraded womanhood becoming the pet institution of the day. Not since the satires of Juvenal has a more stern and sweeping bill of indictment been drawn up against the social life of a great city than that in which Mr. Pelletan denounces and exposes the Paris of 1862.

For the decay of morals and intellect, which he professes to have proved, Mr. Pelletan finds but one great and predominant cause, the absence of political and intellectual freedom. Nothing, he over and over again declares, can compensate for the evils which spring from the suppression of free thought. No new streets, no improvement in police, no civic tranquillity, no imperial splendor, no foreign glory, no Mexico, no Cochin China, can make up for this. Mr. Pelletan scorns "glory" as he loves freedom, order, and progress. He detests and contemns the war spirit and jealousies of nations; but there is yet one war now going on in which he finds something like consolation. He points with delight to the American war. "The American of the North," he says, "the 'Yankee,' the 'clown,' the worshiper of the almighty dollar, behold what he does when the slaveholding South, as if to fasten upon the negro the tyranny of climate, tears the bond of union. For a simple metaphysical idea—the Union; for another abstract idea, legality; for a dozen of stars, more or less, on a stripe of bunting; the American of the North offers upon the altar of his country his last man and his last dollar. He gives the example, never known before, of a voluntary budget; he takes the rifle himself, ready to die for abstract justice; he learns the art of war, as the France of the Republic did, under the fire of the enemy; he hesitates at first, he loses the battle at first, but be sure he wins the day at last. Do you know any grander spectacle in history, any fairer apotheosis of freedom?"

* Böhl, Zwölf Messianische Psalmen Erklärt. Basil, 1862. 8vo., xlii, pp. 365.

† Pelletan, *La Nouvelle Babylon.* Paris, 1862.

Art. X. — SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES, AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Quarterly Reviews.

The American Theological Review, October, 1862.—1. The Council of Trent. 2. The Rational Psychology and its Vindications. 3. The Religion of the American Indians. 4. The Heretical Gnosis. 5. Place of Man in a Natural System of Zoology. 6. The National Crisis.

Bibliotheca Sacra and Biblical Repository, October, 1862.—1. The Atonement in its Relations to God and Man. 2. The Apostolic Salutations and Benedictions. 3. Wedgwood on English Etymology. 4. The State and Slavery. 5. English Etymology as Adapted to Popular Use: its leading Facts and Principles. 6. Editorial Correspondence. 7. Recent German Works on Liberal Education.

The Congregational Quarterly, April, 1862.—1. Samuel Worcester. 2. State-street Congregational Church, Brooklyn, N. Y. 3. Christians on Furlough. 4. Church Covenant of Windsor, Conn., A.D. 1647. 5. The Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States of America. 6. Congregational Churches and Ministers in Portage and Summit Counties, O. 7. Sonnet. 8. Confessions of Faith. 9. The Bicentenary of Nonconformity. 10. Statistics of the Orthodox Congregational Churches in Canada for 1861. 11. Home Evangelization.

Danville Review, September, 1862.—1. The Secession Conspiracy in Kentucky, and its Overthrow: with the Relations of both to the General Revolt. Part Third. 2. The Unity of the Human Race. 3. Journalism. 4. Studies of the Bible, No. II.—Israel in Egypt. 5. The Holy Spirit and the Church. 6. Israel and Sinai. 7. Imputation and Original Sin. Part III.

The Freewill Baptist Quarterly, October, 1862.—1. A View of the Divine Government. 2. The Annihilation of the Wicked not a Doctrine of the Bible. 3. The Freewill Baptist Denomination: its Position and Prospects. 4. John Leland. 5. Suffering as a Discipline. 6. Invention of Writing—the Alphabet and Printing. 7. The Sermon: Form; Qualifications. 8. The Free Christian Baptists. 9. Lessons from Ancient Cities.

New Englander, October, 1862.—1. The Laws of Political Economy, in their Moral Relations. 2. Alexis de Tocqueville. 3. State Rights. 4. Vassar Female College. 5. The Gospel according to Job. 6. Adjutant Stearns. 7. Emancipation. 8. Edward C. Herrick.

Presbyterian Quarterly Review, October, 1862.—1. Memorabilia of Dr. John Owen. 2. The Pulpit a Civilizer. 3. Alexis de Tocqueville. 4. Alcuin—The Teacher of Charlemagne. 5. The Two Rebellions—An Analogy of Faith. 6. Death of Rev. Benjamin John Wallace.

English Reviews.

Christian Remembrancer, October, 1862.—1. Conference on Missions. 2. The Ephraem Rescript. 3. The Life of Edward Irving. 4. Aids to Faith. 5. Female Life in Prison. 6. The Letters and the Life of Francis Bacon. 7. Liturgical Quotations in the Isapostolic Fathers. 8. The Church Congress at Oxford, July, 1862.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, October, 1862.—1. Jeremy Taylor. 2. Guizot on the Signs of the Times. 3. Hengstenberg on the Sacrifices of Holy Scripture. 4. Steudel on the Infallible Inspiration of the Apostles. 5. Modern Humanitarianism. 6. The Pharisaism and Sadduceeism of Modern and Primitive Christianity. 7. Professor Astié on the Two Theologies. 8. The Controversy on the Alleged Platonism of the Fathers. 9. The Three Generations of Puritanism.

BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1862.—1. Muir's Life of Mohammed. 2. The Letters of Mendelssohn. 3. Arndt and his Sacred Poetry. 4. Gibraltar and Spain. 5. French Protestantism. 6. Medieval Preaching. 7. Illusions and Hallucinations. 8. The Church of England in 1862—What Next?

EDINBURGH REVIEW, October, 1862.—1. Solar Chemistry. 2. The Herculanean Papyri. 3. The Mussulmans in Sicily. 4. The Supernatural. 5. The English in the Eastern Seas. 6. The Legend of St. Swithin. 7. Mrs. Oliphant's Life of Edward Irving. 8. The Mausoleum at Halicarnassus. 9. Hops at Home and Abroad. 10. Prince Eugene of Savoy. 11. The American Revolution.

THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, (Wesleyan,) October, 1862.—1. Cornwall and the Cornish People. 2. Minor Elizabethan Poets. 3. Ferns. 4. Iceland. 5. Jurisprudence. 6. Edward Irving. 7. Bible Classes. 8. Trollope's North America.

THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1862.—1. Les Misérables. 2. The Platonic Dialogues. 3. Modern Political Memoirs. 4. Belgium. 5. The Waterloo of Thiers and Victor Hugo. 6. Aids to Faith. 7. China—The Taeping Rebellion. 8. The Confederate Struggle and Recognition.

WESTMINSTER REVIEW, October, 1862.—1. Essays and Reviews: Dr. Lushington's Judgment. 2. The British Sea Fisheries. 3. Railways; their Cost and Profits. 4. Gibraltar. 5. Idées Napoléoniennes; the Second Empire. 7. The Religious Difficulties of India. 6. The Encyclopedia Britannica. 8. The Slave Power.

THE NATIONAL REVIEW, October, 1862.—1. Dupleix. 2. A Catholic View of the Roman Question. 3. Heroditus and his Commentators. 4. Mr. Clough's Poems. 5. Napoleonism. 6. Thomas Chalmers, A. J. Scott, and Edward Irving. 7. The Diary of Varnhagen Von Ense. 8. Mr. Henry Taylor's New Drama. 9. Science, Nescience, and Faith. 10. Political Opinion in the Northern States.

The National Review belongs, as we have before intimated, to the Intuitional School of religion. It maintains the principles of Parkerism with a less belligerent and far more genial style and temper. Its metaphysical articles are often singularly subtle and eloquent; and where they strike at the negationists, such as Sir William Hamilton and Mansel, or Herbert Spencer and M. Comte, they frequently present passages of singular value.

We make some extracts of this character from the ninth article, Mansel and Hamilton's Philosophy of Ignorance:

The doctrine of religious nescience has been rendered so familiar by Mr. Mansel as to belong to the common stock of contemporary thought, and to make any full exposition of its grounds unnecessary. It assumes that God, if acknowledged at all, must be entitled to the epithets "Absolute" and "Infinite" on the one

hand, and "Cause" on the other. Supposing this to be admitted, several contradictions arise between the parts of the admission, and some positions to which thought is incompetent altogether. To be "Absolute," for instance, means, to be out of all relations; to be "Cause" means, to stand related to an effect; and the same object cannot be both. Again, "Infinite" Being is unexclusive being, to which nothing can be added and no new predicate attached; "Causal" Being is transitive and productive, passing to conditions not occupied before, and adding to the stock of existence, or functions of existence, chargeable upon it. The epithets are therefore incompatible. Moreover, the very nature of Thought itself imprisons us within the circle of relative things: for it carries in it a necessary duality, and consists in marking off and distinguishing,—object from subject, body from space, attribute from substance, prior from posterior, and individuals, classes, and qualities *inter se*. Apart from a field or term of comparison, *any*-thing proposed for thought becomes *no*-thing, and only a vacancy remains: nor is the vacancy itself appreciable but by standing over against the self that looks into it. If then to think is, on the one hand, to note the confines of things, it can never pass beyond the finite; and if it is, on the other, to discriminate their contents and properties, it can never pass beyond the relative. The Absolute and Infinite cannot therefore present itself to the intellect at all.

Its refutation in brief:

What, after all, then is the amount of this terrible nescience, victoriously established by such a flourish of double-edged abstractions? Let not the dazzled observer be alarmed: with all their swift dexterities, these metaphysical whifflers draw no blood: if they do more than beat the air, they cleave only ghostly foes that need no healing and are immortal. It all comes to this, that we cannot know God out of all relation, apart from his character, apart from his universe, apart from ourselves,—vacuum within, vacuum without, and no difference between them, but everywhere a sublime equivalence of being and of blank. Privation of this knowledge we suffer, not in our capacity of *ignorant* creatures, but in our capacity of *intellectual* beings; intelligence itself consisting in *not having* cognition of such sort; so that, if we had it, we should cease to understand, and pass out of the category of thinking natures altogether. If any one chooses to imagine that this would be a promotion, and to feel himself aggrieved by his exclusion from it, far be it from us to disturb so transcendent a grief; but from the common human level his dream of privilege is indistinguishable from the reality of loss, and his ambition of apotheosis seems tantamount to a longing for death. God other than "Absolute," God as *related* to nature, to humanity,—as embracing and quickening the finite world, as the Source of all order, beauty, good,—in every aspect which distinguishes the Living from the Existing God,—we are not by the hypothesis debarred from knowing. This is enough; and every step beyond this would be a step out of knowledge into ignorance, a lapse over the brink of reason into unreason. We protest against these relative apprehensions being left to us with an apology, and disparaged as "regulative knowledge,"—a kind of pious frauds put upon our nature,—falsehoods which it is wholesome for us to believe. Their relativity is a ground of trust, and not of distrust; presenting precisely that union of the Real and the Phenomenal, Being and Genesis, the One and the Many, the divorce of which, in the interest of either, has falsified almost every philosophy. True, God so regarded, will not, in the rigorous metaphysical sense, be absolutely infinite. But we know no reason why he should be; and must leave it to the schoolmen who worship such abstractions to go into mourning at the discovery.

Another view of Manselism:

The doctrine of nescience is further defended by appeal to Spinoza's principle, that to predicate is to limit,—"Omnis determinatio, est negatio." Whatever you affirm of any subject introduces a boundary into its nature, and shuts the door on a possibility previously open. How then, it is asked, can the Infinite be the object of thought? To think is mentally to predicate; to predicate is to limit: so that, under the process, the Infinite becomes finite: and to know it is to destroy it. If so, however, the Infinite can have no predicates,—none of the marks, that is, or characters of existence, and will be indistinguishable from non-being. To deny it

to Thought, yet save it to Existence,—as Mr. Spencer proposes,—is thus impossible. If it is an incognizable, it is also a nonentity. What is intrinsically out of thought is necessarily out of being.

Its refutation:

Every relative disability may be read two ways. A disqualification in the nature of thought for knowing x is, from the other side, a disqualification in the nature of x for being known. To say then that the First Cause is wholly removed from our apprehension is not simply a disclaimer of faculty on our part: it is a charge of inability against the First Cause too. The dictum about it is this: "It is a Being that may exist out of knowledge, but that is precluded from entering within the sphere of knowledge." We are told in one breath that this Being must be in every sense "perfect, complete, total—including in itself all power, and transcending all law," (p. 38;) and in another, that this perfect and omnipotent One is totally incapable of revealing any one of an infinite store of attributes. Need we point out the contradictions which this position involves? If you abide by it, you deny the Absolute and Infinite in the very act of affirming it: for, in debarring the First Cause from self-revelation, you impose a limit on its nature. And in the very act of declaring the First Cause incognizable, you do not permit it to remain unknown. For that only is unknown of which you can neither affirm nor deny any predicate: here you deny the power of self-disclosure to the "Absolute," of which therefore something is known, namely, that nothing can be known!

Again:

Who is this Uncreated that can come forth into the field of existence and fill it all, and yet by no crevice can find entrance into the field of thought? that can fling the universal order and beauty into light and space, yet not tell his idea to a single soul?—that can bid the universe into being, yet not say, "Lo! it is I?" So little credible do we find this combination, that, when we hear men insisting on the dumbness of the Everlasting Cause, we cannot imagine but that the religious interpretation of the world has already ceased to be open to them; and that, however they may assume, with Mr. Spencer, a neutral attitude toward the spiritual and the material conceptions of the Ultimate Reality, the controversy has in effect, though perhaps unconsciously, died out for them by prejudgment.

Striking demonstration that Infinity is not a mere negation of finity, and is as truly *known*:

The finite body cut out before our visual perception, or embraced by the hands, lies as an island in the emptiness around, and without comparative reference to this cannot be represented: the same experience which gives us the definite object gives us also the infinite space; and both terms,—the limited appearance and the unlimited ground,—are apprehended with equal certitude and clearness, and furnished with names equally susceptible of distinct use in predication and reasoning. The transient successions,—for instance, the strokes of a clock,—which we count, present themselves to us as dotted upon the line of permanent duration; of which, without them, we should have had no apprehension; but which, as their condition, is unreservedly known. Time with its one dimension, Space with its three, we are compelled to regard as infinite; not in the mere subjective sense, that our thought of them suffers no arrest; but in the objective sense, that they in themselves can have no beginning or end. In these two instances of relation, between a phenomenon given in perception, and an entity as its logical condition, the correlatives are on a perfect parity of intellectual validity. You may disparage the underlying ground as "negative," and negative it is so long as your attention only uses it to pitch on the phenomenon it carries; but this order is reversible at will; and the moment you change the focus of your thought and bring the containing field into your view, your representation of space is not less positive than that of body. Plus and minus are themselves relatives, and change places according to the starting-point and direction of your measurement. "The darkness," says Malebranche somewhere, "strikes upon our perceptions as well as the light: it effaces, no doubt, the glare of colors, but produces in its turn effects of its own."

You may decry the ideas of the "infinite" and the "eternal" as not "clear;" and clear they are not, *if nothing but the mental picture of an outline can deserve that word.* But if a thought is clear, when it sits apart without danger being confounded with another, when it can exactly keep its own speech and reasoning, without forfeiture and without encroachment,—if, in short, logical clearness consists, not in the idea of a limit, but in the limit of the idea,—then no sharpest image of any finite quantity,—say, of a circle or an hour,—is clearer than the thought of the infinite and the eternal. Or, finally, will you perhaps admit these to their proper honors as mere *thoughts*,—positive thoughts, clear thoughts,—but deny to them the character of *knowledge*? This course is open to you on one condition: that you restrict the word "knowledge" to the discrimination of phenomenon from one another, and refuse it to the discrimination of them from their ground; and say, for instance, "I know the moon to be different from the sun; but I do not know it to be different from the space in which it floats:" or, "I know Cesar's life and date to be other than Seneca's; but I do not know either from the eternity in which it appears." Can anything, however, be more arbitrary than such a definition? more repugnant to common sense and common language? nay, more self-destructive? for only as differenced from their common ground can things ever be known as differenced from one another: erase the primary differentiation, and all others are forever kept out of existence. We have no guarantee for any except in the assumed veracity of our perceptive or logical faculties; and that guarantee we have alike for all. We conclude then, on reviewing these examples of Space and Time, that *ontological ideas, introducing us to certain fixed entities, belong no less to our knowledge than scientific ideas of phenomenal disposition and succession.* The two types of cognition are different in this: that the one gives to our apprehension *the unchangeable constancies of the universe*,—what ever is, not what will appear,—and so supplies no aftersight, no foresight, but simply insight: while the other gives us the order and the lines of change, and so enables us to reproduce the past in thought and anticipate the future. Both kinds of discernment have the same warrant, both are alike indispensable to the harmony of Reason, with itself and with the world; neither can affect independence of the other; and the attempt to glorify exclusively the characteristics of either is a mere professional limitation of mind, whether in the priest of Nature or the priest of God.

The argument carried to a theistic result:

What we have said with regard to Space and Time applies equally to the case of Causation. Here, too, the Finite offered to perception introduces to an Infinite supplied by thought. As a definite body reveals also the Space around, and an interrupted succession exhibits the uniform Time beneath, so does the passing phenomenon demand for itself a Power behind: the Space and Time and Power not being part of the thing perceived, but its condition; guaranteed to us, therefore, on the warrant, not of Sense, but of Intellect. They are all on the same footing: we think them all by the same necessity: we know them all with the same certainty. Mr. Spencer freely allows that we are obliged to regard every phenomenon as the manifestation of some Power: that "we are obliged to regard that Power as Omnipresent," (p. 99;) that "we are no more able to form a circumscribed idea of Cause than of Space or Time, and we are consequently obliged to think of the Cause which transcends our thought as positive though indefinite." (p. 93;) that we have a right to trust this demand for originating power; and that on this reposes our indestructible belief in an ultimate Omnipotent Reality. Here already are several predicates assigned which hardly consist with the proclamation that the Primary Existence is wholly unknown; that Being, it seems we may say is One, Eternal, Ubiquitous, Omnipotent, manifested as Cause in all phenomena. Is there not more explicitness here than could be expected from an entity absolutely latent? But this is not all. Our author further identifies the First Cause with what appears in Science under the name of "Force,' and is tracked through the metamorphoses of physical, chemical, vital, and other phenomena. The dynamic principles that we carry into our interpretation of nature, that Force is persistent through all expenditures, and one under every disguise, are in truth but transformed expressions of the axiom of ultimate Causation. The primary and secondary agencies being thus merged into one, and conjointly made objects of *d*

priori apprehension, the next question naturally is, what in the last resort means this word "Cause?" Pursued backward to its native seat, as a form of the intellect itself, what type does the thought present? Mr. Spencer truly says, "The force by which we ourselves produce changes, and which serves to symbolize the cause of changes in general, is the final disclosure of analysis," (p. 235;) he admits that we cannot match our own voluntary effort against an external force, and regard them as susceptible of a common measure, without assuming them to be like in kind, (pp. 58, 254;) and as "no force save that of which we are conscious during our own muscular efforts is immediately known to us," while "all other force is mediately known," it is clearly the inner volition that serves as prototype of all exterior power, and defines what the intellect intends by the word Cause. Now combine these several propositions. One power we immediately know. That power is Will. Others, if assumed by us, must be assimilated to this. But behind every phenomenon we must assume a power. And all such powers are modes of one and the same. And that one is identical with the First Cause and Ultimate Reality of Being. The inference is irresistible, that by a fundamental necessity of thought we are constrained to own an ever-living Will, a Personal Agent, as Author and Administrator of the universe.

Self-existence of Deity does not involve the self-existence of phenomena:

Far from admitting this indiscriminating doctrine, that self-existence may go either everywhere or nowhere, we submit the distinction that while, by the laws of thought, *phenomena demand causation, entities dispense with it:* and it is, we presume, in obedience to this law that our author himself plants his "Absolute Reality" behind the scenery and changes of the world. It is not existence, but entrance upon existence and exit thence, that must be referred to an originating power. And inasmuch as the universe resolves itself into a perpetual genesis, a vast aggregate and history of phenomena, the Theist is perfectly justified in treating it as disqualified for self-existence, and in passing behind it for the Supreme Entity that needs no Cause. This distinction is no invention of mere theology; it is recognized in other fields. No one asks a cause for the *Space* of the universe; and it depends on the theory we may form of its *Matter* whether that too is excepted from the category of originated things. But everywhere the line is drawn upon the same principle; that entities may have self-existence, phenomena must have their Cause.

Two valuable maxims:

Though Sense may vary, Reason must be uniform in all beings; as Mind must be one, so must Righteousness be one, whether in heaven or upon earth. The *first* declares precisely what the most calm and cautious of modern savans, Oersted, wrote a treatise to establish,—the Unity of Reason throughout the universe; the ubiquity of space and time securing the relations of measure and number everywhere; and all other knowledge being entangled with this constant element. The *second* declares the corresponding Moral principle,—the Unity of Goodness,—the persistency of Right,—the identity of Real Excellence, from sphere to sphere of character. Is it "audacity," is it "irreverent," to apply these principles to the Highest of Spiritual Natures? Then it is "audacious" and "irreverent" to own him as Mind, or speak of any Divine Righteousness at all; for to do so is to assume a constant essence embodied in these words.

JOURNAL OF SACRED LITERATURE AND BIBLICAL RECORD, October, 1863.—1. Prophecy: its Nature, Interpretation, and Uses. 2. Ernest Renan. 3. Dean Ellicott on the Destiny of the Creature. 4. The Atonement in Relation to Hebrews ix, 16–18. 5. The Tree of Life. 6. The Syriac Language and Literature. 7. Life and Miracles of Apollonius of Tyana. 8. The Biblical Canon. 9. Marcus Antoninus a Persecutor. 10. The Resurrection; an Easter Sermon.

This number contains a letter from Professor Challis, the author of an ingenious work explaining the first chapter of Genesis on the

hypothesis that it is simply a picture of the creation as previously outlined in the divine mind. Mr. Challis acknowledges the truth of Mr. Rorison's analysis in the Replies to Essays and Reviews (noticed in our last number) of the six creative days as conclusive, and adjusts his own theory to it. Mr. Rorison's analysis, slightly modified, might be thus exhibited.

The six days may be set in double threes:

1. Light.	1. Lights.
2. Watery Expanse,	2. Water animals and birds.
3. Vegetative earth.	3. Land animals—Man.

It will be seen that each digit of the first column corresponds with the same digit in the second column. Each digit in the first row denotes a created *residence;* and the same digit in the second row denotes its created occupant. *Light* is created at figure 1 in the first three, and the *luminaries* as its tenants at figure 1 of the second three. Second in both are the *waters and the expanse* tenanted with *water animals and birds.* Third in both the prepared *earth* with its highest *order of tenantry.*

In both rows there is a parallel descent, the three grades of which are, the empyrean, the medial, and the terrene; the ethereal, the fluid, and the solid; the skies, the atmosphere, the earth. The narrative goes upon the plan that the whole system was constructed the first three days, and stocked with occupants the second three days. A similar instance of double threes will be found in the Lord's Prayer, as presented in Whedon's Commentary, page 93. In the first three of the prayer also will, we think, be found nearly the same descent—celestial, medial, terrestrial. It will be seen that, according to this analysis, the plan of the creative days is not naturalistic but artificial. This, if so, would seem to close the issue between the "cosmogony of Moses" and the geology of science.

German Reviews.

DORPATER ZEITSCHRIFT FUR THEOLOGIE UND KIRCHE. (Dorpat Journal for Theology and Church. Edited by the Professors of the Theological Faculty of Dorpat, Russia. Number Three. 1862.)—1. Oettingen, Regeneration through Infant Baptism. 2. Hahn, Pastoral Duties in German Cities. 3. Oettingen, The Dedication of a Lutheran Church and the Confessional Movement in the Tyrol. 4. The General Synod of the Lutheran Church of Bavaria.

Professor Oettingen, in the first article, pleads for the old Lutheran doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration. He develops at length his own views of the nature of this regeneration, and promises to show,

in another article, that it is a sound biblical doctrine, and in accordance with the symbolical books of the Lutheran Church. The author admits his belief in the "possibility and necessity of infant faith," and will give proofs for it in the second article. Like the entire old Lutheran Church of the European continent, he is very severe against the Baptists, and he demands that "every spiritual communication with them be broken off, and every appearance of fraternal concession disappear." He wants them to be branded "as impious," and as "enemies of the kingdom of God." (Pp. 326, 327.) Every denial of full baptismal regeneration is considered by him as a concession to the Baptists. The whole article breathes the spirit of unmitigated fanaticism.

THEOLOGISCHE QUARTALSCHRIFT. (Theological Quarterly. Edited by the Professors of (Rom. Cath.) Theology at the University of Tübingen. Number Three. 1862.)—1. Hefele, Reconciliation of Emperor Frederic Barbarossa and Pope Alexander III. at Venice in 1177. 2. Welte, The Apology of Melito of Sardes. 3. Langen, The Jewish Synedrium and the Roman Procuratorship in Judea. 4. Nolte, Extracts from the (unprinted) Chronicles of Georgius Hamartolus.

The first article, by one of the ablest Church historians of the Roman Catholic Church, rectifies a common statement in the history of Pope Alexander III. and Emperor Frederic Barbarossa. The second gives a translation of an Apology for Christianity, which Melito of Sardes, a celebrated bishop and apologist of the second Christian century, addressed to the Emperor Antoninus. This apology is referred to by some of the Church historians of the ancient Church, as Eusebius; but, like so many other writings of the old fathers, it was lost in the course of time. Only about thirty years ago an Englishman, Henry Tattam, discovered it again with a number of other Syriac manuscripts in a convent of the Nitrian desert of Egypt, and it became the property of the British Museum in London. The Syriac text, together with an English translation and notes, was published at London in 1855, by Cureton. An account of it was also given in the *Journal Asiatique* of Paris, by Ernest Renan, who likewise published the Syriac text with the Latin translation in the *Spicilegium Solesmense*, a collection of unedited works and fragments of ancient ecclesiastical writers, published by the Congregation of French Benedictines at Solesmes. The Apology contains some new views and statements on the origin of Polytheism and Idolatry in several regions. The authorship of Bishop Melito of Sardes (the manuscript calls the author only Melito the Philosopher) has been contested by Bunsen, but defended by Cureton.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Theological Essays and Reviews. Edited by Dr. Ullmann and Dr. Rothe. First Number. 1863.)—*Essays.* 1. Plitt, On the Importance of the Heidelberg Catechism for the Reformed Church. 2. Eggel, On Shelling's Philosophy of Revelation. *Thoughts and Remarks:* 1. Masse, A Miner's Notes to Job xxviii. 2. Bäumlein, Papias's Account of the Gospel of Mark. 3. Paret, Another Remark on James iv, 5, and Gen. iv, 7. *Reviews:* 1. Kling, Philosophy and Theology, with particular reference to the works of Sengler (Erkenntnisslehre) and L. Schmidt (Einleitung in die Philosophie;) 2. Gess, *Gebet im Namen Jesu*, (Prayer in the Name of Jesus,) Reviewed by Reggenbach. *Characteristic:* Ullmann, Biographical Notice of Dr. Kling.

We have had to remark with regard to several preceding numbers of the *Studien* that the selection of topics was not a very fortunate one, and that the veteran theological review of Protestant Germany was in danger of being outflanked in point of interest by some of her younger sisters. The present number, however, is again full of interesting matter. We receive, in particular, two very valuable articles by Eggel and Kling on the efforts recently made in Germany to bring about a full harmony between philosophy and Christian theology. The author of the latter article, Professor Kling, of the University of Bonn and Marburg, one of the most distinguished divines and scholars of Protestant Germany, died last year, March 8, 1862, and the senior editor of the *Studien*, Dr. Ullmann, devotes to his memory some affectionate remarks. The article on the Heidelberg Catechism, by Professor Plitt, of Bonn, is very seasonable at a time when the Reformed Churches in both hemispheres are on the point of celebrating the tercentenary of the introduction of this catechism.

ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR WISSENSCHAFTLICHE THEOLOGIE. (Journal for Scientific Theology. Edited by Professor Hilgenfeld of Jena. Number Four. 1862.)—1. Furrer, Rudolf Collin, A Contribution to the History of the Swiss Reformation. 2. Hilgenfeld, Gnosticism and the Philosophumena, with special reference to the recent works of W. Möller and R. A. Lipsius.

The latter article, by Professor Hilgenfeld, is a thorough review of the new controversy on the Gnostic systems which has arisen out of the publication of the celebrated *Philosophumena*, a work ascribed to Bishop Hippolytus. The account which this work gives of Gnosticism differs very materially from the sources of information which have hitherto been known to us, and the question has therefore naturally come up, Which of the two accounts, the old or the new one, is entitled to the greatest credit? The information contained in the *Philosophumena* has been very elaborately set forth in the learned work of W. Möller, (*Die Geschichte der Kosmologie der Griechischen Kirche bis auf Origines.* Halle. 1860,) a young theological lecturer (Privatdocent) at the University of Halle. Less

reliance on the statements of the *Philosophumena* is placed by Dr. Lipsius, Professor of Protestant Theology at Vienna, in his work on "Gnosticism, its Essence, Origin, and Development," (*Gnosticismus*, etc. Leipzic, 1860,) one of the most thorough recent works on the subject. Professor Hilgenfeld subjects the views of both these scholars to a thorough examination, and develops at large his own opinion about the character and the history of Gnosticism.

ZEITSCHRIFT FUER HISTORISCHE THEOLOGIE. (Journal of Historical Theology. Edited by Dr. Ch. W. Niedner. First Number. 1863.)—David Joris of Delft: His Life, his Doctrine, and his Sect. By F. Niffold. First Article.

The entire space of this number of the Quarterly is taken up by this single article on David Joris of Delft, one of the numerous sectarians of the Netherlands in the sixteenth century, whose lives and writings the author has made his special study. The present article is only a first installment, as it is called the first part of the first section. It begins with a quotation from Mosheim, to the effect that the opinions still widely differ on the character of Joris, some placing him on the list of the worst fanatics and blasphemers, and others calling him a saintly mystic, and that, therefore, his cause still awaits the sentence of an impartial judge, who will decide on the ground of authentic and reliable documents. A literary introduction of twenty-two pages shows that the author has collected for his work more material than ever has been made use of by any of his predecessors. As Joris took for some time an active part in the Anabaptist movement in Holland, this thorough and exhaustive work on his life bids fair to be a contribution of the greatest importance to the entire Church history of that period.

French Reviews.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES.—August 1.—2. GUIZOT, Un Projet de Mariage Royal. 2. SAINT-RENE TAILLANDIER, Le Roi George de Podiebrad, (1st article.) 7. CH. DE MAZADE, La Guerre du Mexique.

August 15.—2. REVILLE, Le Mythe de Promethée et les Etudes Modernes sur l'Humanité Primitive. 4. SAINT-RENE TAILLANDIER, Le Roi George de Podiebrad, (2d article.) 5. SAISSET, Recherches Nouvelles sur l'Ame et sur la Vie.

September 1.—1. Maxime du Camp, Naples et la Société Napolitaine sous le Roi Victor Emmanuel. 3. REMUSAT, Rome et son Nouvel Historien (Ampère.) 4. SAINT-RENE TAILLANDIER, Le Roi George de Podiebrad, (concluded.) 6. COCHUT, Les Finances et les Banques des' Etats-Unis depuis la Guerre.

September 15.—2. SAINT-MARC GIRARDIN, La Question d'Orient en 1840 et en 1862. 3. GALOS, La Marine Marchande en France d'après l'Enquête de 1862. 4. TAINE, La Poesie Moderne en Angleterre. 6. D'HAUSSONVILLE, M. de Cavour et la Crise Italienne. 7. L. DE CARNE, La Revolutions et la Republique de 1848 à Propos d l'Histoire de Mr. Garnier-Pagès.

October 1.—1. GUIZOT, Un Projet de Mariage Royal, (8d article.) 3. DU HAILLY, New York pendant la Guerre. 4. L. DE CARNE, La Revolution et la Republique de 1848, (2d article.) 5. ESQUIROS, L'Angleterre et la Vie Anglaise, (17th article.) 10. LAVOLLEE, Madagascar et le Roi Radama II.

October 15.—2. TROGNON, Guerre d'Amérique—Campagne de l'Armée du Potomac. 4. TAINE, La Poesie Moderne, (2d article: Lord Byron.) 5. SAINT-MARC GIRARDIN, La Question d'Orient et 1840 et en 1862.

November 1.—1. MICHEL CHEVALIER, L'Industrie Moderne. 3. SAINT-RENE TAILLANDIER, Publicistes Modernes de l'Allemagne. 4. GEFFROY, les Etudes et les Decouvertes Archeoliques Reventes dans le Nord Scandinave. 5. DU HAILLY. New York et la Vie Americaine.

November 15.—2. PALLU, La Compagne de Cochinchine en 1861. 5. LEONCE DE LAVERGNE, De l'Accord de l'Economie Politique et de la Religion a Propos d'un Livre Catholique. 6. CH. DE REMUSAT, Shaftesbury. 9. RECLUS, Les Livres sur la Crise Americaine.

The article on the American War, contained in the number of October 10, and signed by Mr. Trognon, the Secretary of the Prince of Joinville, has produced quite a sensation both here and in Europe. The authorship has been commonly ascribed to the Prince of Joinville, or another Orleanist prince, and a translation of the article has been published in New York in pamphlet form. The political press has so generally given extracts from and comments upon it, that we suppose most of our readers are familiar with its views.

One of the most valuable articles in the last numbers of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* is the essay of Leonce de Lavergne on the Harmony between Political Economy and Religion. The author shows that as modern civilization, so also the science of political economy is an offspring of the Christian religion. The political economist cannot solve his task without assigning to the immense influence of religion on social life its due part; and Christians, on the other side, ought to appreciate the importance of political economy, which will teach them the art of making a more and more numerous portion of the human family participant of the great blessings which Christianity has brought down upon earth. The author is happy to find that the importance of the subject begins to be duly appreciated in the Roman Catholic Church, whose writers have too often denounced political science, like so many other sciences, as an aberration from the true principles of Christians. He cites the eminent orator and philosopher, Father Gratry, who says in one of his works: "I have been assured that political economy is a scourge; but I say, it is the salvation of society." He mentions with gratification the fact that the bishops of Belgium have established at the University of Louvain, which is entirely under their control, a chair of Political Economy, and he devotes

the greater part of his article to a review of a work by Professor Perrin, the occupant of this chair, on "The Wealth of Christian Nations." While he criticises and rejects the views which the Roman Catholic writer, in common with his Church, expresses in the defense of begging, against the universality of primary instruction and the like, he cordially recommends such principles as are derived from doctrines common to all Christians. In conclusion, the author expresses a sanguine hope that modern industry, in close alliance with Christianity, will more and more succeed in the abolition of misery and vice.

REVUE CHRETIENNE.—August, 1862.—Lyric Poetry in France, by Rosseau Saint Hilaire. Diversities of Human Races, by B. Pozzy. Life in Ancient Rome.

September.—Les Misérables, by Charles Secretan. Diversities of Human Races, by B. Pozzy. What one sees in an English Village, by Eug. Berster. Last Days of Lefevre d'Etaples, by Jules Bonnet.

October.—Life upon our Globe, by F. Godet. A Study of Voltaire, by F. Kuhn. The Spiritual Philosophy and Christianity, by F. Bonifas. A Visit to M. Schelling at Berlin in 1851, by A. Eschenauer.

ART. XI.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

Tracts for Priests and People. By various writers. 12mo., pp. 372. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1862.

This volume presents itself as a soft-spoken mediator between the Essays and Reviews and their orthodox opponents. Its own standpoint, disclosed gradually as the reader advances, is thus incidentally indicated in a passage expounding M. Comte's ignorance of the true moral condition of the English mind: "Entirely ignoring that mighty movement of religious regeneration led, in the eighteenth century, among the many by the Wesleys and Whitefield, among the few by William Law, and which, as it takes hold by degrees of the vitals of the Anglican Church, gives birth through Alexander Knox to the Anglo-Catholic, through Simeon to the Evangelical, through Coleridge to what may be called the essentially theological school of our renewed Divinity." It is, then, a production of the refined, spiritual, and fervid Coleridgian, Maurician Theology, claiming its advocates to be the aristocratic counterpart of the Methodistic commonalty.

It is difficult to draw a sketch of a theology which systematically avoids and abjures all sharp outlines of doctrinal statement, and prefers to reveal itself in delicate and finely-hued blurs. Truth stated with precision, it scornfully denounces as "dogma"—a term

which serves to brand every clear exposition of any tenet they reject. As near as we can discern the bearings of their theology it is as follows:

Christ, as second in the Trinity, is head of the human race; for whom he has made an atonement, not by substitution, but by sacrifice of himself wholly and entirely to the will of God, to meet whatever sufferings may result. Identifying themselves with him in such utter self-consecration to God, men are justified in him, and saved through him. So blessed is that headship of Christ, and so efficient is his satisfaction unto God for all the sins of all the race, that his atonement is very likely, perhaps very sure, to result, at some future flowing period, in the course of the rolling æons, in a complete and blessed redemption for all. The Bible contains the true word of God; is inspired; it is not known or definable in precisely what sense, but in such a sense as is no other book; so that it is the apex of the pyramid of all existing records. Miracles are not evidential; for the real evidence of truth is its own self-evidencing truthfulness. They were simply *mighty works*, well suited to awaken an uncultivated age, for the purpose of drawing men's attention, awakening and training their minds to an exalted view of the character and mission of the Son of God. To a student of modern science they are ill-suited as means of "evangelical demonstration." The freest range is to be allowed to modern criticism in judging and rejecting parts more or less of the sacred canon, although the whole book is generally accepted as Bible. "Bibliolatry," however, is hardly better than Mariolatry, as being an obstacle to the true freedom of the human spirit, and a check upon a genuine religious feeling. In this way the advocates of this "renewed theology" believe that the intuitions of the human spirit can be satisfied, the demands of the age can be met, the utmost desirable scope can be allowed for religious individualities, a most scholarly theology can be maintained, a true spiritual religion, amounting to a refined Methodism, can be "enjoyed," and Christianity, on its revised foundations, can stand the revolutions of mind and the shocks of time.

It is difficult to read Mr. Maurice without believing that, in spite of his solemnly accepting the formulas of ordinary theology in a sense diverse from their apparent original intention, he is a man of a genuine earnest religious sincerity. As matter of fact, he is said to be a man of eminently pure life and fervent benevolence. There cannot be a doubt that he really feels that he and his school are rescuing Christianity from wreck in the present and coming age by placing its theology on a tenable basis. He proposes to

shape our religion to the demands of the waning nineteenth and coming twentieth century. This he would do, not by the wholesale surrenders and trenchant assaults of Theodore Parker; but by insensible modifications, by conciliatory restatements, by enlargment of cautious freedoms, and yet by retaining all that does not contradict or enslave the intuitions, and by insisting on the superiority of the rich religious spirit to the dry theological "dogma."

Besides Mr. Maurice, other able and scholarly writers have contributed to the volume. Mr. Hughes, of Tom Brown fame, shows how gracefully the "renewed theology" can sit upon a refined English layman. Rev. Francis Garden, sub-dean of her majesty's chapel royal, discusses the atonement. J. M. Ludlow, in a dialogue, maintains that honest doubt is not always condemnable want of the spirit of faith; and the same Mr. Ludlow, in two "Lay Dialogues," discusses with much acuteness the laws of nature and Comte's Positive Philosophy.

A Complete System of Christian Theology; or, a Concise, Comprehensive, and Systematic View of the Evidences, Doctrines, Morals, and Institutions of Christianity. By SAMUEL WAKEFIELD, D.D. 8vo., pp. 664. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1862.

The need has long been felt of a system of Theology, compact, yet complete, better calculated for our candidates for the ministry, and for our reading and reflecting laymen, than any extant. Watson is, as a whole, unsurpassed in the English language as a systematic theological author. His work has had no little influence in disciplining the minds and forming the views of our ministry. It is very undesirable, indeed, that his Institutes should be struck from our course of studies. But it needs no little acquaintance with the nomenclature of theology, and no little logical training, to read his work with combined pleasure and profit. A work on the basis of Watson, in a similar style, with a less elaborate structure of periods, more brief as a whole, yet furnishing a discussion of some important topics omitted by Watson, was therefore a real desideratum. The task was undertaken by Dr. Wakefield, and has been performed so well that we have hardly any fault to find with it, unless it be in the form of a regret that the work was not entirely original and independent, giving us Wakefield alone and letting Watson stand in his own untouched position. Dr. Wakefield's name has hardly been known to the Church as that of an able theological writer, and the completeness of his success, attested by the more than ordinary routine compliments of the press, has taken some of us by surprise.

Why should not this book be in the hands of our laity, in their libraries, and, in handsome form, upon their tables? Every layman,

at any rate, who voted for lay delegation, attesting thereby his belief that the laity have some interest in the doctrines and discipline of the Church, is, we think, bound to purchase and peruse it. To have read well its pages would be no ordinary advantage to any man. To have mastered its contents is to be no mean theologian. As editor of the work, we are bound to say that we are not to be held as believing all we have indorsed for publication. There are points in which the author bases himself upon Watson, in which we concur with neither. There are points of philosophy in which Mr. Watson followed the prevalent theories of the Locke philosophy which Dr. Wakefield has preserved, and which we should have expunged and replaced with the reverse view. There are some minor points of theology in which we differ from him. By way of compromise the author did make some concessions to the editor in expunging some views; and the editor has conceded other points in which he could not concur. Yet, as a whole, as to the main outlines of our Arminian Wesleyan theology, we know of no work which can be pronounced a truer and completer representation than the volume before us.

Dr. Wakefield's style is a very clear, solid, straightforward expression of the thought. He has few, if any, sentences that require a second perusal to be understood by any reader who knows the meaning of the terms. He has a true skill in analysis; and the lucid and exhaustive division of the matter, marked by the proper typography, greatly facilitates the systematic mastery of the subject by the reader, and renders it an admirable recitation book. We advise not the removal of Watson from the course of study, but the placing Wakefield in an earlier place as an introductory to the later study of the Institutes.

Perfect Love; or, Plain Things, for those who need them, concerning the Doctrine, Experience, Profession and Practice of Christian Holiness. By J. A. Wood, of the Wyoming Annual Conference. 12mo., pp. 314. Boston: H. V. Degen & Son. 1862.

It is at the present time specially important that the doctrine of Christian Holiness should be maintained with explicit clearness and unshrinking firmness, as it was presented in the latest expositions of Wesley, and yet that it be guarded from overstatements, overactions, and foreign elements, which tend to adulterate and bring it into disrepute with many truly evangelical Christians. The volume before us makes no very elaborate attempt at this kind of discrimination. It is simply an effort to awaken a desire and an earnest seeking for holiness, written with considerable freshness of style, backed by the author's own experience. For that very important purpose it is perhaps adapted to be effective.

One chapter there is, however, which seems to us not only foreign to, but requiring to be kept entirely separate from, the subject of sanctification. We are somewhat acquainted with the pages of the eminent masters of "Holy Living and Dying," with Kempis, and Jeremy Taylor, and Henry More, and Fenelon; and while we recognize in some of them a decided tendency to a holy repose, a sanctified quietism, and in others admissions that excited manifestations are an unavoidable incident, we do not recollect in any of them a chapter implying that shouting or falling is any desirable accompaniment of a work of God, or are any proper part of Christian sanctification. There are, indeed, usually in every period of great religious excitement unavoidable overactions of this kind. The Bible attests that in a ruder age religious earnestness sometimes manifested itself in shouting, leaping, and dancing. But it is a sad thing when these incidentals are by weak persons exalted, as they sometimes are, to regular institutions, and made tests of the genuineness and the exaltedness of piety. Such persons will graciously admit that some who are Christians do not shout, but perhaps it is "because they have nothing to shout for." Where this test of piety and superior holiness becomes established in a given Church, those who have no other qualifications are sure to adopt this route to distinction. To disregard the standard of civilization around them, and to overlook and override the feelings of fellow-Christians, are, in their view, a religious merit, a triumph of militant piety. More intelligent and thoughtful Christians either, like Edward Irving, bow in submission to these self-anointed dictators; or, browbeaten and disheartened, silently retire, carrying their influence and means to build up the institutions of other Churches, which rise in power and success around us, and leaving us a residuum of feeble piety without influence or hold upon the community, a standing quotation against Methodism, and an argument against all profession or attainment of higher religious life. In such a community you will hear it said, "There are members enough gone from us to other Churches to form here, by themselves, a powerful Methodist Church." To steer clear of these evils without checking the spirit of a true Christian zeal, and producing a reactionary coldness, is often a difficult problem. It requires the application of a skillful, loving, chastening hand upon the part of the wise pastor.

Sermons Preached and Revised. By the Rev. C. H. SPURGEON. Seventh Series. New York: Sheldon & Co. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1862.

The seventh series means the seventh volume. This fact fully decides that Spurgeon stands the test of publication, of criticism,

and of semi-infidel ribaldry, and is entitled to be considered an immovable "institution." We rejoice that it is so. Setting aside his unnecessary streaks of Calvinism, his Sermons cannot fail to conduce to "the spreading of scriptural holiness throughout the land."

A Manual of Worship, suitable to be used in Legislative Bodies, in the Army and Navy, and in Military Academies, Asylums, Hospitals, etc. Compiled from the forms and in accordance with the common usages of all Christian denominations, and jointly recommended by eminent clergymen of various persuasions. 24mo., pp. 132. Philadelphia: George W. Childs. 1862.

The prayers and lessons of this beautiful manual are adapted to a great variety of public occasions, and are suitable for every religious denomination. They are recommended by such authorities as Barnes, Durbin, Hodge, Stockton, Bellows, and President Woolsey of Yale.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

The Origin and History of the English Language, and of the Early Literature it Embodies. By GEORGE P. MARSH, author of "Lectures on the English Language," etc., etc. 8vo., pp. 574. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. London: Sampson Low, Son, & Co. 1862.

It is a remarkable fact that it should be reserved for this late day, and for an American scholar to make the requisite thorough researches, and bring within possession of the ordinary purchaser a philosophical, practical, and eloquent history of the origin and early progress of our English language. Most scholars, writers, and orators use our language as they find it, adopting the practice of authors whose genius has secured them eminence as their standard, regulating themselves by the laws deduced by grammarians from existing facts; but the genesis and early growth of our mother-speech are as deep in primeval mystery to them as the springs of the Nile to the classic ages. Mr. Marsh's works, particularly his present volume, together with the noble and inspiring example he sets, will, we think, do much toward inaugurating a new era. The handlers of our language will feel the deep necessity and a proper ambition to master its history and its philosophy. Mr. Marsh demonstrates that it is a history and a philosophy full of interest for the liberal mind. He carries a rich enthusiasm, unalloyed with eccentricity, through all his labors. His style is rich and roundly rhetorical. His numerous quotations from our ancestral authors form an old anthology. Let our young scholars, especially, and our aspirants for a full mastery of our hereditary English, treat themselves to a thorough study of Mr. Marsh's volumes.

The period covered by Mr. Marsh's history extends from the

reign of Henry III. to that of Elizabeth, embracing about four centuries. It blends intimately with the political and archæological history of England; and all combined furnish a picture of the development of the mind and character of a nation more important to us than any other portion of modern European history.

The following table of contents will give a view of its train of topics: Origin and Composition of the Anglo-Saxon People and their Language; Anglo-Saxon Vocabulary, Literature, and Grammar; Semi-Saxon Literature; English Language and Literature of the First Period; from the Middle of the Thirteenth to the Middle of the Fourteenth Century; Commencement of Second Period—from 1350 to the time of the Author of Piers Ploughman; the Author of Piers Ploughman and his Imitators; Wiclif and his School; Chaucer and Gower; The English Language and Literature from the Beginning of the Fifteenth Century to the time of Caxton; The English Language and Literature from Caxton to the Accession of Elizabeth; The English Language and Literature during the Reign of Elizabeth.

History, Biography, and Topography.

The History of Methodism in Canada. With an account of the work of God among the Canadian Indian Tribes, and Occasional Notices of the Civil Affairs of the Province. By GEORGE F. PLAYTER, of the Wesleyan Conference. 12mo., pp. 414. Toronto: Anson Green. 1862.

Mr. Playter is favorably known to our readers as the contributor to our pages of a series of articles on Wesley as a Man of Literature. The series seemed to show no ordinary power of giving, with a very plain style, an interest to his subject. We received with pleasant expectation a volume from his hand of history of Canadian Methodism. There is so much in common, not only as Americans, but specially as Methodists with Canada, that the subject ought to attract a greater interest than our means of information have been sufficient to create. A common language, a common religious ancestry, a common theology and religious spirit, are most ample grounds for a mutual fraternal interest. The first reception of the volume prompted the momentary purpose of making it the ground of a brief presentation, in a full review, of the religious history of our Canadian brethren to the readers of the Quarterly.

Mr. Playter is a pioneer in the work, and it bears the stamp of the pioneer character. Like Dr. Bangs's History of Methodism, it is the raw material for history rather than the history itself. When our writer comes to the production of his volume it is soon seen that the historical power is not pre-eminent. The plain style

does now and then attract interest; but the whole wears too much a documentary and statistical look to win us to its pages by the blending of coloring and truth. The Methodist public are much indebted, however, to Mr. Playter for his elaborate researches; for his rescuing the evanescing facts and placing them in history; and we wish him an extended circulation and a full remuneration for his labor of love in the belief that it is generally a work of truth. The future historian of American Methodism will owe him a tribute of thanks.

Mr. Playter devotes ten pages to a purely political discussion of the war of 1812 between America and England. What this has to do with the History of Canadian Methodism Mr. Playter would be perplexed to tell. We make free to tell him that it is out of place, out of time, out of character, and contains some very strange statements for any place or time. It is wholly pervaded with an unhistorical, untruthful, partisan spirit. That he should be a loyal subject of Queen Victoria, a frank and honorable Briton, preferring a constitutional monarchy, and ready to maintain his cause, we should fully approve. But why he should drag a bitter political discussion, grossly maligning the United States, into a history of the spread of the Gospel of peace, we know not. It has wonderfully the look of an attempt, not to animate the spirit of high-toned loyalty to the mother country, but to create and to court the Canadian feeling of hostility to this country, much too rife at the present time, and plant its bitter seeds in the heart of Canadian Methodists. He is pleased to say that "the war was no remedy for the evil at all" of which America complained; "the British government did after as before the war." If Mr. Playter did not know this to be a falsehood, he was unprepared to treat the subject. England did not do "after as before the war." Never from that day to this has England dared to step on board an American ship and take an English seaman from our protection. That was the point for which America fought; and bitter for England would at any time since have been the day that she reasserted the claim and repeated without reparation the deed. So satisfied was America with the result, that opposition to the war was the death of the Federal party. The very grounds taken by Mr. Quincey, as quoted by Mr. Playter, exiled that gentleman from public life.

Mr. Playter is evidently possessed with the notion, entertained by some Canadians, that the people of this country are ever cherishing designs of invading Canada and wresting her from the English government. Outside the columns of that degraded organ of the lowest

depravity in our country, the New York Herald, we have neither heard talk nor seen publications evidencing any such wish. With the people of Canada we have ever desired a friendly feeling and a genial intercourse. Such a feeling has, we are happy to say, uniformly been reciprocated by the Canadian friends with whom it has been our good fortune to have acquaintance. Of that supposed kindly feeling Mr. Playter's occupancy of the pages of our Quarterly was one of the results. We did not then anticipate the reception of so malignant a chapter from his pen, and we are frank to say that the man who thus seeks to infuse the spirit of hostility into either section is the unequivocal enemy of both. We take this occasion to say, that any Canadian Methodist writer who will furnish a genial article, comprising a compressed history of Canadian Methodism, will receive the thanks of editor and readers of the Methodist Quarterly Review.

Belles-Lettres and Classical.

Liberia's Offering. Being Addresses, Sermons, etc. By Rev. Edward W. Blyden. 8vo., pp. 167. New York. 1862.

This magnificent pamphlet—or, shall we call it, this handsome volume with a glazed pink paper cover—is the production of a Professor in the State College in Liberia, Africa. It commences with a brief biographical sketch of the author, and consists bodily of six addresses, popular and collegiate, delivered in Liberia. It is adorned with a fine engraving of the Institution, of which he is one of the officers.

No one would infer from these pieces that not a drop of Caucasian blood adulterated the veins of the hand that wrote them. In a style of clear, pure, flowing English, the author defends his race, suggests the methods of improvement, and points his adopted State, on the soil of his ancestral continent, to the path of honor and prosperity. The book is one of those signs of success which cheer the hearts of the much maligned cause of Liberian colonization. The volume is worthy of the respect of a critical reader, and should attract the notice and sympathy of the friends of the human race.

Juvenile.

Allie and Ryan; or, the New Bonnet and Dress. By Rena Ray. Four Illustrations. 18mo., pp. 253. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1862.

Steps Up the Ladder; or, the Story of Poor Little Tim. A True Story. Three Illustrations. 18mo., pp. 126. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1862.

Alice Barlow; or, Principle in Everything. A Village History. Six Illustrations. 18mo., pp. 268. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1862.

Little Mabel's Friends. A Sequel to "Little Mabel and her Sunlit Home." By a Lady. Four Illustrations. 18mo., pp. 145. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1862.

Frank's Friend; or, the Rampart of Strasburg. By Rev. K. H. CASPARI, author of "The Schoolmaster and his Son." Translated from the German. 18mo., pp. 82. Philadelphia Lutheran Board of Publication. 1862.

Miscellaneous.

The Photograph Album. Various Sizes. New York: Carlton & Porter.

How many inventions of modern art combine to complete this latest product of the civilization of the age, the Photograph Album! And in spite of the alarms of war and the omens of commercial embarrassment, the taste of our public maintains its demand for this, one of its choicest gratifications. And why not? Are we sure that overretrenchment will not be a common damage, ruining our mutual industries, especially those by which our higher wants have been supplied? At any rate do not abolish the supplies for the intellect, the heart, and the purer tastes.

The Adventures of Philip, on his Way through the World, showing who Robbed him, who Helped him, and who Passed by him. By W. M. THACKERAY, author of "Vanity Fair," "The Newcombs," "The Virginians," "Pendennis," etc., etc., etc. With Illustrations. 8vo., pp. 267. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1862.

Miriam. By MARION HARLAND. 12mo., pp. 419. New York: Sheldon & Co. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1862.

Orley Farm. A Novel by ANTHONY TROLLOPE, author of "North America," "Dr. Thorne," "Framley Parsonage," etc., etc., etc. Illustrated by J. E. Millais. 8vo., pp. 338. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1862.

A Manual of Information and Suggestions for Object Lessons. In a Course of Elementary Instruction, Adapted to the Use of the School and Family Charts, and other Aids in Object Teaching. By MARCIUS WILLSON, Author of "Willson's Historical Series," "School and Family Readers," etc. 12mo., pp. 336. New York: Harper & Brothers.

History of Frederick the Second, called Frederick the Great. By THOMAS CARLYLE. In Four Volumes. Vol. III. 12mo., pp. 596. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1862.

Pamphlets.

Sources of Power in the Missionary Enterprise. A Discourse preached before the Missionary Society of the Detroit Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. By Rev. T. C. GARDNER, A.M. Published by order of the Conference. 12mo., pp. 29. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1862.

Mr. Gardner has published too little to enable our public to appreciate his abilities as a master of clear thought in flowing and

picturesque style. We give a paragraph or two to enable our readers to decide.

Influence on missions of a true or false exposition of prophecy:

The point of divergence is the doctrine of the millennium. There is a true and a false idea of the millennium. The true strengthens the heart and faith of the Church, and inspires all her energies for the conquest of the world. The false weakens the Church's very existence, and paralyzes her right arm of power. The true makes spiritual causes, flowing through the Church's life and the various channels of sanctified human agency, the means under God of fulfilling the prophecies. The false so literalizes the scriptural millennium as to take it out of the scope and province of spiritual agencies and make it the subject of direct physical omnipotence. According to this idea Christ is to reign literally on the earth a thousand years prior to his judgment-advent. He is to take to himself his great physical power, is to change thus the surface and appearances of the globe, making a new earth if not a new heaven, and in the exercise of arbitrary will and power is to subdue the nations to his sway. Now we have always considered this interpretation as radically false, and as fraught with serious practical mischief to the cause of Christ. It reverses at once the mode of the divine procedure in extension of Christ's kingdom. It sets aside all the laws of the Christian dispensation, and makes the progress of the Gospel and the conversion of souls depend, not on the confluence of the infinite grace of God with the free-will of man, but on an intensely arbitrary will acting irrespective of all conditions of existence. This theory does not, it is true, object to the preaching of the Gospel and the maintenance of missions, but then it puts no real faith in such means for wide-spread and permanent results, and stamps the whole missionary enterprise as utterly impracticable, so far at least as it respects the ultimate triumphs of Christianity. It maintains that it is not the province, and therefore not the duty, of the Church to convert the world, and that when the predicted time arrives Christ himself will convert the world without the intervening agency of his Church. Holding to such a view of prophecy, who can put forth any sustained missionary effort? Unless this missionary scheme comes entirely within the scope of Christian faith it does not come within the scope of the Church's power. If your interpreting key of prophecy does not unlock to your vision the golden gates of a world redeemed to God through the preaching of the cross by human messengers, prophecy will pour no inspirations into your being to work in earnest for the coming of Christ's kingdom. Now we believe the true teaching of prophecy to be, that the ultimate objects of the missionary enterprise come within the range of well-directed sanctified human agency; that it is a practicable, common-sense scheme of Christian effort and beneficence; and that, so surely as the Church shall obey her marching orders and hold her course steady through the centuries, so surely shall she conquer the world to Christ. Look into the prophecy-illumined future and see that in the last days the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills, and all nations shall flow unto it. The Church shall mount up to the highest seats of empire, and the great national waves of the world's population shall flow up to the loftiest elevations of regenerated life and existence. Then out of Zion shall go forth the law—the law of the world's history—and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.

Reciprocal relations of Church and Missions:

An ecclesiastical organization without any missionary outgrowth of aggressive measures for the propagation of the Gospel may be a beautiful piece of machinery, but it is not a living Christian Church. On the other hand, we argue *from* missionary operations *to* the Church as we do from nature to God. We may infer from the dew-drop the existence of the ocean, and we trace a Bible from some lonely cottage in Asia to the Church of the living God in America. The source of all good is God in the infinitude and eternity of his existence; but the great time-reservoir of his grace and wisdom and power is his Church upon earth.

Cause and Probable Results of the Civil War in America. Facts for the People of Great Britain. By WILLIAM TAYLOR, of California, author of "Seven Years' Street Preaching in San Francisco," etc. 12mo., pp. 30. London: Simpkin, Marshall, & Co. 1862.

This pamphlet by Mr. Taylor marshals a large mass of facts, presented in a forcible way, showing the true nature of the slaveholders' rebellion. England too earnestly desires our national dismemberment to regard the argument. Otherwise it would be as effective as it is unanswerable. For how can any friend of freedom and righteousness, any enemy of human bondage, especially since the President's proclamation and his message of 1862, pretend to doubt that the true foe with which our free North struggles is the fell power of American slavery?

We said nearly a year ago that the only basis of permanent peace is a Northernization of the South. Short of this we are two nations, and no documentary unions can make us ONE. Our worst enemies are, and ever have been, the *compromisers*. There is no safe intermediate between the complete abolishment of the old and creation of a new South, homogeneous with the North, or an inauguration of two independent nationalities. That renovation of the South may consist of the entire destruction of slavery, and the occupancy of the vacant lands of the South by a hardy, industrious, free yeomanry. Then, not until then, we may hope to be not a mere Union but a Unit.

Late, yet sure in the accomplishment of this view, comes the President's Proclamation of Emancipation. We trust that before our readers trace our words its consummation will be a fact of history. No great convulsion, no disintegration of southern society will ensue. But a blow will be given, quiet, without a shock, by which the legal bond will be forever broken, and southern society will be compelled to readjust itself to the new order of things. The slave will become a hired laborer. The late slaveholders will be the most decided opponents of the phantasy of general colonization. The system of free labor being inaugurated, and the power of the oligarchy broken, confiscation, immigration, and renovation will be the desirable results. How completely and how rapidly this programme is to be fulfilled time will decide.

Christian Predestination; or, the Predetermined Providential Appointment of them that love God to suffer with Jesus, that with Him they may be Glorified. Being an Exposition of Romans viii, 29, 30, deduced critically from the text. By the Rev. JOHN S. EVANS. 18mo., pp. 48. Quebec. 1862.

This is a very acute piece of biblical argument. Its aim is to furnish a true and natural exposition of a standing proof-text appropriated

by Calvinism. The critic would rescue the terms "called," "justified," and "glorified" from the technical sense which a system has fastened to them, and which inveterately spring up as soon as the words are heard. His exposition is that the foreknown are "the called" to suffer the "afflictions" of the previous context; "in hope" that in those "afflictions" they are "justified," and "glorified" by a sustaining, defending, honoring God.

The Great Specific against Despair of Pardon; or, Christ's Propitiation and Advocacy extending alike to every Sinner without exception. A Discourse before the Genesee Conference of Ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church at its session in Albion, and published at its order and expense. By Rev. I. CHAMBERLAYNE. 12mo., pp. 32. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1862.

Dr. Chamberlayne has a mind that delights to grapple with the grand doctrines and hard problems of old theology. He here takes stand, with able, manly argument, against the doctrine that any man before death "sins away his day of grace," or—if we understand him—commits "the unpardonable sin." Against this doctrine he arrays in mass the counter principle that the Atonement reaches not only every sinner but *every sin*. Still, with every respect for the able author, we do not see how this contravenes the declaration of Christ that there is one sin without forgiveness, inasmuch as it blasphemes and drives away, by its enormity, that spirit whose gracious aid is *condition to all repentance*. Our impression is that millions are lost because we cannot awaken their fear to one who perishes from "despair."

ART. XII.—THE DENIAL OF FINAL CAUSES.

THE remarks on final causes at page 39 are so obtruded upon the train of thought that we could have easily separated them from the article, but have preferred to retain them as a specimen of the godless naturalism which is at the present day infecting European science. From the fact that certain phenomena appear in nature, which plainly serve no purpose of utility, it is inferred that there is no *design* in creation at all; that things are *used*, because there are antecedent favorable conditions for *use;* but that *use* is not the *end* or *purpose* for which anything exists. "So the true naturalist will say that birds fly *because* they have wings; but never birds have wings *in order* that they may fly." It is not clear from Martins's quotation whether De Candolle intended to limit all

reasoners by his maxim, or naturalists as such only. If the latter, he was only stating the boundaries of natural science. It may indeed be true, that such is the only maxim for the naturalist; but that does not settle the question whether a thinker of a wider range may not accept both propositions, and say, "Not only do birds fly *because* they have wings, but they have wings *in order* that they may fly."

Our naturalist affords us in this essay a beautiful view of the structural system of living nature. One thing strikes us on a comprehensive glance at its whole. The principle of its plan, namely, the blending of *uniformity and variety*, is a *contingent*, not a *necessary* principle. It is not a system of organic *necessity*, originating like the steps of a geometric demonstration, solely possible, self-existent, and rising with a structure, in which every successive step results from the preceding. A system of uniformities with *ad libitum* variations is a system of a *selective* character, picked out of countless other supposably possible systems, formed with an outline and a coherent intellective plan, of which the principles are intellectively detected, and are found to be perfectly in accordance with the laws of volitional thought. The only solution of their *origin* then, since blind causational necessity is out of the question, is *intelligent choice*; and intelligent choice, present at and anterior to the selection of the plan, and comprehending the whole, basing it on its actual principles.

What are these principles? The naturalist tells us in this article. They are "uniformity in type and variety in modification." This is the fundamental law, and the whole system is its fulfillment. But what is the law for? It is for the purpose of regulating the actions of every part of the system, so as to produce its whole. What are the actions of its parts and particles for? To so obey the law as to complete its organic plan. What is the synthesis of law and actions for? To produce the entire system. The very selection of the system, of its laws, and of the action of the elements according to its laws, is inexplicable without the supposition of design. So far, then, from furnishing a refutation of the law of design thus far, the whole scheme of the naturalist seems obliged to illustrate its existence.

But how are these laws by us discovered? By observing the facts. But does not the same observation find out that the *subserviences to use* are quite as numerous as the "varieties in modification?" Are there not infinite multiplicities of curious, wonderful, and use-serving action and operation *attained at least by the way?* The naturalist will tell us that he had nothing to

do with these. We reply, then he had nothing to do with, and no right to say anything about the existence or non-existence of the doctrine of ends. If *he* has nothing to do with this, others may belong to a broader and higher school; and over-passing his limits, they may say that *we* have something to do with them. They may claim to find *uniformity in type, variety in modification,* and *both subservient to infinite varieties of use.*

This subserviency to *use* is no more to be destroyed by the existence of arrangements made to secure other principles, namely, the law sometimes of uniformity, sometimes of variety, than the fact of variety and uniformity is destroyed by the myriads of subordinations to the law of use. The fact, at any rate, of subserviency to *use* is too universal and overwhelming in amount, and too positive in its character and in its artistic complicated and converging combinations, to be possibly mistaken without a most perverse and inveterate purpose to be mistaken. But in the light of the remarks thus far made, let us survey the exceptions to the law of *use* by which Martins and Goethe would overthrow its existence.

That the useless nipple is given to man on the law of *uniformity* does not in the least contradict the fact that the breast is given to the woman for *use;* namely, for the purpose of nourishment; a purpose without which the race cannot be preserved; a purpose demonstrated by its pervading character for the female of a large genus of beings, for which it is necessary as a means of generic existence. That the useless wings of the apterix preserve the law of uniformity does not disprove that those of the eagle and the lark preserve the law of use. That the ox hooks because he has horns nobody denies; but the fact that there are animals not so well provided does not in the least disprove the purpose of fulfilling the law of variety by making him an aggressive and self-defensive animal. There may be a variety of variations from the law of use without destroying that law, as well as from the law of uniformity of type without destroying that law. Each law may take its turn, and with due "variety" blend, even in the same case.

There is in this matter a question which both Martins and Goethe overlook. The true question is not, "Why do birds fly?" but, How came this complicated, converging, and most exquisite adjustment of conditions by which birds are able to fly? Nor does Mr. Darwin's "natural selection" at all aid us here; for the question still recurs, How came this most complex and yet most complete system, in which "natural selection" has its chances of effective work? "Natural selection" operates with wonderful success; but it must possess as truly wonderful a synthesis of prin-

ciples, a framework and system within which to work, as genius ever invented or art constructed. What is the solution to this so complicated yet so complete and structural a system?

It is a plain first principle of all reasoning that *an immediate and ample solution of a problem should not be rejected in behalf of a more distant and less ample one;* still less *for no other whatever.* Of this complicated system we have a complete and ample solution, if it may but be even for a moment tried. The supposition, namely, of an anterior Intellect conceiving the plan with an executive Will adequate to its execution, does furnish all the conditions necessary for the solution of this question; and there is not only no better, but there is positively no other whatever. And we might leave it for matter of reflection whether it is not intuitively certain that *Mind* such as, or at least analogous to, the *mind* which we are conscious ourselves of possessing, must not be the cause of plans, of a nature, so purely rational.

Take for instance the human tongue, viewed as the organ of speech, and consider what an infinite number of adjustments of the most complex character must precede, in order to its being an articulate organ. And still further back, consider its connection with the anterior physical frame of man; then its adjustment to the ear not merely of the individual, but of all other individuals; requiring another system to match of exquisite adjustments in the ear itself. Then consider the relation of both with sound; and of sound with thought, in order to its adaptation to be the medium of communicating that thought from mind to mind. Escape if you can, without an abdication of common sense, the perceiving that the ear and the tongue are predictive of human intercourse, society, and a social system. Is it not most plain to every man's reason that all this can have no antecedent solution but the presupposition of an anterior potential Mind, a mind which understands mind, which designs design, which anticipates facts, society, history, and makes the most wonderful provision for such results? The man who comprehends all these innumerable and infinitesimal requisite complications, and then says, "Men talk *because* they have lungs, throat, tongues, vocality, ears, and minds, all adjusted harmoniously and converging to this result," and refuses to admit that "these conditions are *designedly* combined *in order* that speech and the social system may exist," disuses his honest common-sense.

We said that living nature is not like a geometric problem of Euclid, whose origin is in necessity, and whose every step follows in the whole structure with an intrinsic adamantine necessity. We will now say that it is like a parable of the divine Lord of

nature and teacher from its phenomena—the blessed Jesus. These parables consist of a main outline *designed* for practical illustration, with voluntary finishings designed to complete the narrative or form a natural and touching picture. Who would be such a fool as to say, "This parable has no meaning; for look at that additional and useless detail, which has no practical or illustrative application!" We would tell him that *use* is sometimes attained by the addition of something *useless*,—useless, that is, in the sense of not serving the immediate purpose, but more useful in the end just because it postpones the use. So the very law of *uniformity in variety* is not only an intelligential law, but it is a law of *use;* and the whole system with its laws merges into *a system of use.* And thereupon the human mind will ever be impelled and authorized by its own imperative nature to ask of the whole the old question, "What is the end of God in creation?"

Naturalists are doubtless great men, and many of them are good men;* but they are not lords of all discussion. And it is very arrogant for them first to exclude every consideration which does not belong to their department, and then to issue a ukase to which every other department of the world of thought is expected to bow, requiring all to stop at their terminal point. It is very stupid for them to draw conclusions which may be good for them, but when broader considerations are adduced modifying the universality of their conclusions, to answer, "That does not belong to my department." The exclusive naturalist may never go beyond "birds fly because they have wings." The *philosopher* will say, "Birds fly because they have wings, AND they have wings in order that they may fly."

The following books have been received too late for full notice in our January number:

Lyra Cœlestis, by A. C. THOMSON. Boston: Gould & Lincoln.
Hopkins's Moral Science, by the same Publishers.
Gaussen on the Canon—a superb volume. American Tract Society.

Of this last a notice will in fact be found in our Foreign Literary Intelligence.

* It is due, we believe, to the scientific men of our country to say that the great body of them take ground against skepticism. American science is not irreligious.

THE PLAN OF EPISCOPAL VISITATION FOR 1863.

Conference.	Place.	Time.		Bishop.
Kentucky	Hartford	February	26*	Morris.
Baltimore	Georgetown	March	4	Simpson
East Baltimore	York, Pa.	"	4	Scott.
Liberia	Careysburgh	"	4	Burns.
Missouri and Arkansas	Hannibal	"	4	Ames.
Kansas	Lawrence	"	11	Ames.
New Jersey	Burlington	"	18	Scott.
Philadelphia	Westchester, Pa.	"	18	Simpson.
Pittsburgh	Coshocton, Ohio	"	18	Janes.
Western Virginia	Fairmont	"	18	Morris.
Nebraska	Brownsville	"	25	Ames.
Newark	Hedding Church, Jersey City.	"	25	Baker.
New England	High-street, Charlestown	April	1	Scott.
New York East	South-second-st., Brooklyn	"	1	Baker.
Providence	Warren, R.I.	"	1	Janes.
New Hampshire	Haverhill, Mass.	"	8	Baker.
North Indiana	Wabash	"	9*	Morris.
Wyoming	Susquehanna, Pa.	"	9*	Janes.
New York	Washington Square, N. Y.	"	15	Scott.
Troy	Fort Edward	"	15	Baker.
Vermont	St. Albans	"	15	Simpson.
Black River	Arsenal-street, Watertown	"	22	Janes.
Maine	Chestnut-street, Portland	"	22	Simpson.
Oneida	Cortland	"	22	Baker.
East Maine	Rockland	"	29	Simpson.
German	Bremen	June	20	Ames.
Erie	Ashtabula	July	15	Simpson.
Oregon	Lebanon	August	12	Janes.
California	Napa City	September	2	Janes.
Cincinnati	Xenia	"	2	Baker.
North Ohio	Mount Vernon	"	2	Morris.
Western Iowa	Winterset	"	2	Ames.
West Wisconsin	Lodi, Dane County	"	2	Simpson.
Central Ohio	Upper Sandusky	"	9	Simpson.
East Genesee	Penn Yan	"	9	Scott.
Iowa	Newton, Jasper County	"	9	Ames.
Ohio	Lancaster	"	9	Baker.
Central Illinois	Canton	"	16	Scott.
Detroit	Romeo	"	16	Simpson.
Indiana	Washington	"	16	Morris.
Southeastern Indiana	Columbus	"	16	Baker.
Upper Iowa	Davenport	"	16	Ames.
Michigan	Jackson	"	23	Simpson.
Rock River	Rockfort	"	23	Scott.
Southern Illinois	Mount Carmel	"	23	Baker.
Minnesota	Hastings	"	30	Ames.
North-west Indiana	Michigan City	"	30	Morris.
Genesee	Rushford	October	1*	Simpson.
Wisconsin	Waukesha	"	1*	Scott.
North-west Wisconsin	West Eau Claire	"	7	Ames.
Illinois	Springfield	"	8*	Scott.

* Thursday.

Correction.—In our notice of Dr. Stockton's book of poems we imputed to him the doctrine that "denominational organizations are wrong." In a private note to us he states that he holds no such doctrine, and wonders whence we "derived this notion." It is of little consequence *whence;* but we cheerfully record the correction of our misstatement to which he is entitled.

THE

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

APRIL, 1863.

ART. I.—NATURAL THEOLOGY.

"THE invisible things of God," says St. Paul, "from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead." This being premised, it follows that the more deeply we inquire into nature, and the wider we make our circle of knowledge, the more will the wisdom, power, and goodness of the Creator shine forth. False views of nature, and a narrow conception of the plan of the universe and of the relation of its parts, almost necessarily lead to false views of God. We should, therefore, hail with peculiar delight the daily accessions that are made to our knowledge of nature, although there should occasionally appear phenomena which seem to militate against the wisdom and goodness of God, and may be pressed into an unholy cause by the false interpreters of nature; we should rest assured that these discrepant phenomena will be ultimately explained, and furnish new proof of the divine attributes. Just as the complex and erratic motions of the moon, which baffled the genius of Newton, and were for a long time regarded as a strong objection to his theory of gravitation, but now, being explained, afford a striking proof of its truth.

It is not necessary for us to inquire whether man without divine revelation would have had any idea of a God. The proof of the divine existence derived from nature is no more

affected by the determination of this question than the truth of the Newtonian system is affected by the answer to the question, whether Kepler and Newton could have demonstrated the plan of the solar system if Copernicus had not suggested the idea to them. Pythagoras first demonstrated the theorem that bears his name; but, independently of his authority, we can prove that in every right-angled triangle the square of the hypotenuse is equal to the sum of the squares of the other two sides.

By Natural Theology, therefore, we mean that which can be proved concerning God from the structure of the universe, independently of the *authority* of revelation.

In appealing to the structure of the universe for the proof of the existence and character of God, it is assumed that this mundane fabric is not eternal. But we need not dwell long on this point, since there is scarcely any one that will *now* advocate its eternity. That the planetary system is not eternal, may be argued from the existence of a resisting medium in space, which has already retarded Encke's comet, and which in the course of time, probably millions of years, will stop the planets. "The chronometer of the heavens must" therefore "have been wound up within a limited time, for it has not yet run down." The continual changes that occur in the earth show that it is not self-subsisting. According to the opinion of the most eminent physicists it was once a fiery mass. Certain it is that as we descend from its surface its heat increases, so that at the depth of not many miles it must be a liquid mass. The upheaval of mountains of granite, the distortion of numerous strata of our globe's crust, and the remains of extinct volcanoes, all bear witness to the existence of powerful internal fires which exhibited themselves with great intensity in the early history of our planet, and which indeed have not yet subsided. Its oblate form shows that in all probability when its diurnal motion began it was in a fluid state. And it can be demonstrated mathematically that its present form would precisely follow from its rotating in a fluid state with the velocity it now has.

Sir Charles Lyell, who differs from most natural philosophers respecting the primitive history of our planet, nevertheless remarks:

If, in tracing back the earth's history, we arrive at the monuments of events which may have happened millions of ages before our times, and if we still find no decided evidence of a commencement, yet the arguments from analogy in support of the probability of a beginning remain unshaken; and if the past duration of the earth be finite, then the aggregate of geological epochs, however numerous, must constitute a mere moment of the past, a mere infinitesimal portion of eternity.—*Principles of Geology.*

The only form of infidelity from which Christianity has anything to fear is the *Theory of Development.* A theory of moral development has been formed by the rationalists of Germany to explain the sublime system of moral truth contained in the Bible, without recurring to divine inspiration. According to this theory the monotheism of the Jewish religion was a simple development of polytheism, and Christianity sprang up spontaneously out of Judaism. A system of natural development has been devised by certain students of nature to explain the order and harmony of the natural world without having recourse to a designing mind. The history of the moral world refutes the former theory, and the history of the natural world shows the falsity of the latter.

No writer, either in ancient or modern times, has given such a systematic theory of development as the author of "The Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation." His work is plausible, but not profound, appealing to our ignorance rather than to our knowledge. As it is one of the most popular forms of infidelity, perhaps we should say atheism, and lies directly in our way, and may be regarded as a type of the whole class, we shall examine those parts of it that mostly concern us.

We may pass by his universally diffused "firemist," his formation of the solar system by the simple operation of dynamic law, and enter at once into the *organic* world. But while we do this we are free to say that in our judgment no natural law will explain the distribution of matter in the solar system, the density of the planets, their relative distances from the sun, their inclination to the plane of their orbit, the period of their rotation, the retrograde motion of the satellites of Uranus, and the constitution of the sun himself.

The great argument for the existence and attributes of God is to be found in the *organic* world, in that wonderful variety of plants and animals, in the adaptation of means to ends, in

the great plan that is seen everwhere, from the smallest spire of grass to the largest oak, from the small infusoria to the great elephant, from the mollusca up to man. The great difficulty of the atheist, after the formation of the solar system upon the nebular hypothesis, is to stock the earth with living beings. By the operation of what law shall this be effected? We know something of the forces of nature, gravitation, chemical affinity, magnetism, and electricity. The natural philosopher may employ these forces as he pleases. He may increase the intensity of almost any of them to the greatest degree, he may combine his chemical elements, but no plant or animal can he produce. Between the combinations of matter and organic life there is a great gulf that no natural law can bridge over.

As to the origin of plants, we know of none that do not spring from seeds. They "are always produced under the influence of a living body similar to themselves, or to what they will become."* Nor is there much difficulty in regard to the manner of their dispersion over the earth from their original habitat. Winds, waters, birds, quadrupeds, and men assist in carrying out the designs of Providence by scattering them, which, upon finding a suitable condition, germinate. No operation of natural law could produce one hundred thousand species of plants. Law is power acting with uniformity. But how shall the same law produce such different results? How could the germs be formed from which the plants could be developed? About what point in the simple elements would the atoms gather? There is a permanency in the species of plants, and each one of the species was, it seems, originally created in but one locality and left to extend itself by natural means. Dr. Gray says:

> All classification and system in natural history rest upon the fundamental idea of the original creation of certain forms which have naturally been perpetuated unchanged, or with such changes only as we may conceive or prove to have arisen from varying physical influences, accidental circumstances, or from cultivation.—*Botanical Text-Book*, p. 358.

Nor were all the trees in the early history of the planet of the simplest form.

> In the ancient strata of the carboniferous era about five hundred species of plants have been found. Among these scarcely a trace

* Dr. Gray.

has yet been discovered of the simplest forms of flowerless vegetation. On the other hand, there appears a remarkable predominance of ferns, several of them arborescent, and plants allied to the Lycopodiums of gigantic size, many of which, called Lepidodendra, formed large and tall trees. Other plants of the Equisetaceæ also abound, and were of large dimensions, so that on the whole the Cryptogamic class at least exhibits in this era *very highly* organized species. There existed at the same time many species of coniferous trees, allied to the Norfolk Island pine or Araucaria tribe.—*Lyell's Principles of Geology.*

We will now pass from the vegetable to the *animal* kingdom. The doctrine of *spontaneous generation* of insects, once so popular, is now held by very few naturalists. Microscopical investigations have set aside all the supposed cases of spontaneous generation. To prove the doctrine would be quite impossible. It is evident that in all cases, where we are able to inquire into the origin of animated beings, they spring from parents; and as the few apparent exceptions are those which are rather too intricate for our full investigation, we have every reason to believe that it is a universal law. In reference to internal parasites, Professor Owen remarks:

> The average number of the ova of the Ascaris lumbricoides (an intestinal worm) is sixty-four millions in the mature female. The ova may be discharged by millions, and the most of them in large cities may be carried into streams of water. An extremely small proportion is ever liable to be again introduced into the alimentary canal of the species of animal that can afford it an appropriate habitat.—*Lectures on the Invertebrate Animals.*

> No single point of a tape-worm can develop a head and form a new individual; the transverse fission relates only to the dissemination of the fertile ova, from which alone Tæniæ are developed. The hypothesis of equivocal generation has been deemed to apply more strongly to the appearance of intestinal parasites in animal bodies than to the origin of animalcules in infusions. But if a tape-worm might be organized from a fortuitous concourse of organic particles, or by the metamorphosis of an organic cell in the animal it infests, why that immense complication and extent of the organ for the production of normal fertile ova? The countless ova of the Tænia, with their hard crusts or shells and tenacity of latent life, are, doubtless, widely dispersed, and need only the accidental introduction into an appropriate nidus for ulterior development.—*Lectures on Entozoa*, pp. 54, 55.

Agassiz remarks, in reference to the mysterious appearance of animalcules in certain places:

We need only to recollect how the Cercaria insinuates itself into the skin and the viscera of mollusca, to understand how admission may be gained to the most inaccessible parts. Such beings occur even in the eye of many animals, especially fishes. As to the larger intestinal worms found in other animals, the mystery of their origin has been entirely solved by recent researches. All animals swallow with their food, and in the water they drink, numerous eggs of such parasites, any one of which, finding in the intestine of the animal favorable conditions, may be hatched. As respects the infusoria, we also know that most of them, the rotifera especially, lay eggs. These eggs, which are extremely minute, (some of them only $\frac{1}{12000}$ of an inch in diameter,) are scattered everywhere in great profusion, in water, in the air, in mist, and even in snow. Assiduous observers have not only seen the egg laid, but moreover have followed their development, and have seen the young animal forming in the egg, then escaping from it, increasing in size, and in its turn laying eggs. They have been able, in some instances, to follow them even to the fifth and sixth generation. This being the case, it is much more rational to suppose that the infusoria are products of like germs, than to assign to them a spontaneous origin altogether incompatible with what we know of organic development; no substantial difficulties to the axiom, "*omne vivum ex ovo*," any longer exist.—*Principles of Zoology*, pp. 171–173.

Professor Schulze, of Berlin, tried for about two months experiments in reference to spontaneous generation, using the greatest precaution to exclude the ova from the air, which he passed through sulphuric acid; but he could not discern with the microscope the slightest trace of infusoria or confervæ or of mould. M. Pasteur has very recently experimented with great care upon the same subject, and concludes that *germs suspended in the air are the exclusive origin, and the first and necessary condition of life in infusions, in putrescible bodies, and in liquids capable of undergoing fermentation.* In the face of such facts as these, one must have strong prejudice indeed in favor of a theory to maintain the doctrine of *spontaneous generation.**

* In Silliman's Journal of Science, July, 1862, is an article on spontaneous generation, by Professor Wyman, who thus sums up the results of his experiments: "The result of the experiments here described is, that the boiled solutions of organic matter made use of, exposed only to air which has passed through tubes heated to redness, or inclosed with air in hermetically sealed vessels and exposed to boiling water, became the seat of infusorial life." Now the most obvious answer to this supposed proof of spontaneous generation is the probability that the ova or spores were not destroyed by the heating processes. How tenacious of life the ova and spores may be we are unable to say; but Humboldt remarks, in reference to certain animalcules: "They have been seen to come to life from a state of appar-

According to Kirby and Spence, there are four hundred thousand species of insects. All these species must have had a separate origin, for their habits and instincts are different, and the distinction in their species is of course founded on the fact, in part at least, that they do not intermix. We know nothing of the perpetuity of hybrid insects, if indeed such beings have an existence. How shall we develop from dead matter by means of electricity, or any other natural force, these four hundred thousand species? The combinations of matter in all these cases must have been different. There must have been in each case the designing mind which formed the species and determined the law of its reproduction. Should we grant that in the earth's primitive history the forces of nature were more powerful than they are now, the atheist would gain nothing by the concession; for, unless some connection can be shown between the quantity of natural forces and organic life, their increase is of no avail. We know that too great a quantity of electricity will *destroy* animal life, but it has never been known to bring the dead to life. No natural philosopher can produce *life*, combine his forces as he will. It is the prerogative of God alone to do this. Cuvier says:

> Life exercising upon the elements which at every instant form part of the living body, and upon those which it attracts to it, an action contrary to that which would be produced without it by the usual chemical affinities, it is inconsistent to suppose that it can itself be produced by these affinities.

The next step in the atheistic theory is to develop the low organizations formed by spontaneous generation into beings of a higher order; to develop fish into reptiles, reptiles into birds, birds into mammalia, and apes into men! Lamarck, a French naturalist, advanced a theory of development according to which an animal's wants, and efforts to satisfy these wants, with its varying conditions, produce new organs and elevate its conditions. The author of the "Vestiges" admits that

ent death, after being dried for twenty-eight days in a vacuum with chloride of lime and sulphuric acid, and after being exposed to a heat of 248 deg."—*Cosmos*, vol. i, p. 354. It is impossible for Prof. Wyman to prove the entire destruction of germs by heating and boiling, and we presume that his infusoria propagate their species, which would be strong proof against their having been formed spontaneously. The solutions of matter used by Prof. Wyman were *organic*, so that, if we granted the supposed cases of spontaneous generation, it would furnish no proof that matter in an inorganic state, its natural condition, could give rise to life.

this theory is insufficient to explain the phenomena of organic nature, and he proposes the theory of *protracted gestation* as the means of elevating an animal from a lower to a higher order. In answering this theory, that we may not be imposed upon by words, let us first inquire, What is meant by development? *To develop is simply to unfold, to reveal what lay concealed;* just as the butterfly may be regarded as a developed caterpillar, which, according to Swammerdam and some other naturalists, contains the germs of the wings of the future butterfly. Now the theory of development obviously presupposes that nearly (if man be an exception) the whole animal creation is *undeveloped.* Fish are undeveloped reptiles, reptiles undeveloped birds and mammalia, and apes undeveloped men! One ape, or a small number of them at most, gave birth to the human race. What has retarded the development of all these animals? We know from experience that the tadpole, the offspring of the frog, becomes a frog, and that the ovum of the butterfly, after having passed through its metamorphosis, becomes a butterfly; the offspring rises no higher than the parent, and we know of no case where it does rise higher. If the lower orders of creation are not the higher ones undeveloped, if they had not the germ of humanity concealed in them, they could never rise to humanity. If they have it concealed, we are driven to the monstrous conclusion that in almost every case it is undeveloped.

According to the "Vestiges," in order to develop a higher animal from a lower one, nothing more is necessary than to *protract the period of gestation.* Now it is obvious that this requires the period of gestation in man (on the supposition that he is the most highly developed animal) to be longer than in any other animal. But the facts contradict the theory; the period of gestation in the elephant is *twenty-three* months, in the horse *eleven* months, in the dromedary *twelve*, while in the rabbit it is only thirty or forty days. In all the quadrumana, as far as has been ascertained, it is *seven* months.* According to the development theory, the period of gestation in the ape, protracted to *nine* months, produced the human being. Now, according to all just principles of reasoning on that hypothesis, (and the theory asserts that the fetal brain passes through the condition

* Martin's Man and Monkeys, p. 175.

of an ape's brain before it becomes that of man,) the human being in the seventh month of fetal development should be an ape. Yet have we ever heard of seven months' children being apes? And should not Kepler, who was a seven months' child, have been an ape instead of being the greatest of astronomers?

The advocates of the development hypothesis appeal to the "stony science" in confirmation of their theory; to the "stony science" they shall go, for we are assured that that venerable tribunal will give judgment against them. Our first witnesses are the placoid fishes, which stand high in the scale of organization, and yet are found in one of the earliest formations, the upper Silurian. All the animals of the Silurian period "must have been to a certain extent cotemporaneous; they exhibit some instances of very imperfect and some of the *most perfect* development of the great kingdom of nature to which they belong."* According to the development hypothesis *all* of them ought to have been of low organization. These animals, in respect to development, held a close analogy to the present system of nature, highly organized and lowly organized beings existing cotemporaneously. We have also in the Silurian strata shells of a "carnivorous animal like the cuttle-fish, a creature of high and complicated organization among the invertebrata, and which seems to have been introduced among the *very earliest of the species* intended to people the primeval seas." The trilobites, one of the earliest forms of organic life, had eyes as perfect as those of any crustacean now living. To these witnesses we may add the "asterolepis" of Hugh Miller, found in the old red sandstone, belonging to a class of fish of the highest order that has ever been called into existence. These fish appear to have varied in length from five to twenty or twenty-five feet. Leaving the lower strata and traveling upward, we have in the new red sandstone of the Connecticut valley, to say nothing of the animals in the coal formation, footprints of various animals. Thirty of these are believed to be those of birds, four of lizards, two chelonians, and six of batrachians. Some of these birds had feet four times as large as the ostrich. Speaking of the large saurians in the Permian or Triassic formation, Lyell remarks:

* Ansted's Ancient World, p. 40.

This family of reptiles is allied to the living monitor, and its appearance in a primary or paleozoic formation, observes Mr. Owen, is opposed to the doctrine of progressive development of reptiles from fish, or from simple to more complex forms; for if they existed at the present day, these monitors would take rank at the head of the Lacertian order.—*Manual of Geology*, p. 306.

Birds and mammalia, though they may be numerous, are to but a small extent buried in deposits, and their absence from any formation is by no means a proof that they had no existence when that formation was made. The domain of the higher orders of animals is by geological discoveries continually extending downward, so that no geologist can assign them definite limits in the past history of the organic world. To build a theory on very partial knowledge is the bane of true science.

Very recently Mr. Darwin put forth a theory on the "Origin of Species," in which the ground is taken that species are variable, and that all the forms of organic life may have sprung from a few individuals at most. He says:

I believe that animals have descended from at most only four or five progenitors, and plants from an equal or lesser number. . . . I should infer from analogy that probably all the organic beings which have ever lived on the earth have descended from some one primordial form, into which life was first breathed.

On this theory, that beautiful adaptation of means to ends, those exquisite contrivances that on every side strike the eye and fill us with wonder and admiration, surpassing the highest works of human art, were not thus formed by a creative hand, but are merely the result of a long series of improvements in nature herself, which, like man, ever carries forward her works to perfection, selecting the good and casting the bad away. In Mr. Darwin's theory, "Natural Selection" is the great creative and transforming power of organic nature. He tells us that,

Owing to the struggle for life, any variation, however slight, and from whatever cause proceeding, if it be in any degree profitable to an individual of any species, in its infinitely complex relations to other organic beings and to external nature, will tend to the preservation of that individual, and will generally be inherited by its offspring. The offspring, also, will thus have a better chance of surviving; for, of the many individuals of any species which are periodically born, but a small number can survive. I have called this principle, by which each slight variation, if useful, is preserved, by the term of Natural Selection, in order to mark its relation to man's power of selection.

It matters not how complex the organs may be, however striking the contrivances, natural selection can effect them. This is the magician's wand that relieves him of every difficulty and brings about every result. Mr. Darwin says:

> To suppose that the eye, with all its inimitable contrivances for adjusting the focus to different distances, for admitting different amounts of light, and for the correction of spherical and chromatic aberration, could have been formed by natural selection, seems, I freely confess, absurd in the highest possible degree. Yet reason tells me, that if numerous gradations from a perfect and complex eye to one very imperfect and simple, each grade being useful to its possessor, can be shown to exist; if, further, the eye does vary ever so slightly, and the variation be inherited, which is certainly the case; and if any variation or modification in the organ be ever useful to an animal under changing conditions of life, then the difficulty of believing that a perfect and complex eye could be formed by natural selection, though insuperable by our imagination, can hardly be considered real.—P. 167.

Again he tells us: "The belief that an organ so perfect as the eye could have been formed by natural selection, is more than enough to stagger any one." Yet Mr. Darwin resolutely believes it, and censures those as prejudiced who have not the same marvelous faith. Surely he can call no Christian credulous after this, for the Bible makes no such heavy demand upon our faith as this theory does. We might entitle Mr. Darwin's book, "Creation made Easy." The only difference between his theory and the Metamorphoses of Ovid is that Mr. Darwin's theory requires a long time for transmutations, while in the poet they are sudden. Mr. Darwin does not tell us what was the form of the primordial being from which all others have been derived. It appears, however, to have been the simplest kind of living being, blind, deaf, and dumb; the light surrounded it, but there was no eye to receive it; sounds vibrated, but there was no ear to receive them; it was left by its Maker to do the best it could, and either to perish or wait for improvement.

But it may be asked, What is the object of such an hypothesis? And the evident answer is, To avoid the interposition of divine power in the creation of the various species of living beings. He rejects the creation of each species because it is miraculous. In this respect he resembles the rationalist, who for the same reason rejects the miracles of Christ; with this dif-

ference, however, that if the rationalist believed in one miracle, he would probably believe in all of them. Mr. Darwin affects to believe in one act of creation and rejects all the rest. But if the Almighty created a single being in the beginning, why should he not have made it perfect? And why should he not have created more than one being? As the order of nature was interrupted, the amount of that interruption makes but little difference.

Besides this, Mr. Darwin, like other philosophers, is seeking after *unity* in nature. But may it not be just as absurd to seek this unity in creation as it is to search for the philosopher's stone? Is it probable that the sixty-two elements of modern chemistry can be traced up to or resolved into one primal element? That, indeed, would seem to be impossible, for variety could never spring from such unity. So far from this being the case, we have reason to believe that chemical science will increase the number of simple elements in the future as it has done in the past. Gravitation, chemical affinity, electrical and magnetic attraction, may all be the modifications of one law; but these modifications must be as old as matter itself, and they must have been made by the Creator. When we have ascribed the various races of men to one primitive pair, assigned one separate origin to each species of plants and animals, and have found a plan in creation, we have perhaps sought far enough for unity in nature.

Mr. Darwin rejects with contempt the idea of a *plan* in creation. To him, similarity of plan is a proof that all animals are modifications of a primitive being. On the hypothesis that nature is the product of a Supreme Intelligence, we should expect with confidence to see a plan in the organic world, and its absence would strongly militate against the doctrine of a creative intelligence. The construction of the organic world upon a plan, variously modified to meet the changing conditions of organic beings in different periods of the globe's history, and in different states in the same period, indicates the highest wisdom. Nor is this plan arbitrary; for what other plan of organic structure would be so suitable? The arrangement of the organs of sense, of locomotion, in short, the whole structure, is admirably adapted to the convenience of the animal and to give it symmetry. We ourselves work upon a plan. Our houses, ships, steamboats, are all built upon a plan.

In proof of the great changes to which organic beings are subject, Mr. Darwin brings forward a large number of remarkable variations in domestic fowls, especially pigeons. But these changes take place in the hands of man, under domestic culture; whether such varieties would be produced in a wild state is the question to be determined. We certainly know of no such changes in wild animals, and even those variations that occur in domestic animals have their limits. We have not a particle of proof that pigeons could be changed into any other fowl, or into a quadruped. Were these varieties of the tame pigeon, to which Mr. Darwin refers, turned out into a wild state, they would most probably revert to the original type, to which all varieties have a strong tendency.

Yet even domesticated animals do not all undergo great change. Camels have been used in Asia and in Africa from the earliest times. We have of them but two species; they have suffered but little change. Among the animals embalmed by the ancient Egyptians were the bull, dog, and cat. Mummies of these animals, embalmed three thousand years ago, were brought to Paris under Napoleon, and examined by the French naturalists:

> Now such were the conformity of the whole of these species to those now living, that there was no more difference, says Cuvier, between them than between the human mummies and the embalmed bodies of men of the present day. Yet some of these animals have since that period been transferred by man to almost every climate, and forced to accommodate their habits to the greatest variety of circumstances. The cat, for example, has been carried over the whole earth, and within the last three centuries has been naturalized in every part of the New World, from the cold regions of Canada to the tropical plains of Guiana, yet it has scarcely undergone any perceptible mutation, and it is still the same animal which was held sacred by the Egyptians. Of the ox, undoubtedly, there are very many distinct races: but the bull Apis, which was led in solemn procession by the Egyptian priests, did not differ from some of those now living.—*Lyell's Prim. Geol.*, p. 564.

No one species of animal has, perhaps, passed through more changes, and been affected more in his transmigrations, than the dog, the faithful companion of man. Yet "in all the varieties of the dog," says Cuvier, "the relation of the bones with each other remains essentially the same; the form of the teeth never changes in any perceptible degree, except that, in some

individuals, one additional false grinder occasionally appears, sometimes on the one side, sometimes on the other."* There is indeed a stability and permanency in species which all the hostile influences of climate, food, and the art of man cannot destroy. And the entire history of the organic world furnishes us with not a single instance of the transmutation, of the development of an animal of a lower into one of a higher organization.

One of the strongest proofs of the original reality and permanency of species is furnished by the sterility of hybrids. Were hybrids fruitful, it would be impossible to classify either the animal or vegetable kingdom. And generally, the fertility of the offspring is the proof that the parents are of the same species. Mr. Darwin discusses at considerable length the question of the sterility of hybrids, and endeavors to show that this sterility does not always exist, and that consequently it is not an insuperable objection to his theory of transmutation. But whatever modification we may have to make to the statement, *Hybrids are sterile!* its essential truth remains unshaken. It is the art of man that brings about a union that gives rise to hybrid animals, for the opposite sexes of different species have an aversion to union.

The most palpable objection to Mr. Darwin's theory of transmutation is the fact of the classification of plants and animals. If all the forms of organic life were natural modifications of a single being, produced in a long series of ages, the gradations should be insensible. Why does not this insensible gradation exist in nature? What has become of all the intermediate forms?

On Mr. Darwin's theory, what our eyes behold are nature's best productions, which have withstood the storms and conflicts of the past ages; while the imperfect beings lie wrecked all over the illimitable abyss,

> Thick as autumnal leaves that strew the brooks
> In Vallambrosa.

But is it not singular that none of these imperfect beings have been driven upon our shores by some favorable wind? However violent the conflict of life may have been, some should have survived.

But let us ask the geologist, whose office it is to explore the

* Lyell's Prim. Geol., p. 562.

ruins of the past world, whether he knows anything of these imperfect products of nature. His answer is in the words of Lyell: "In whatever direction we pursue our researches, whether in time or space, we discover everywhere the clear proofs of a Creative Intelligence, and of his foresight, wisdom, and power." The geologists tell us that they have examined the organic remains of miles of the globe's crust, from the trilobites of the Silurian system, one of the earliest forms of organic life, to the mastodons of the drift period, and that divine wisdom shines through them all.

Mr. Darwin supposes that the eye was formed by a long series of improvements; and yet the eyes of the trilobite were as perfect as those of any living being. Imperfect eyes are to be found neither in the present nor past organic world. They exist in the imagination of our author only. Thousands of years ago, we know that the eyes of man and many other animals were as perfect as they are now. The eye undergoes no change; and even if it did, the improbability that all these changes would conspire to form the perfect eye is as millions to one. The same holds true of the ear, the hand, and of all the other exquisitely contrived parts of the human frame.

The geologists are almost unanimous in declaring that the animals of the present world could not be derived from those of the lower strata. They find in the past world no transmutation of species. Mr. Darwin admits that all the most eminent paleontologists, namely, Cuvier, Owen, Agassiz, Barrande, Falconer, E. Forbes, etc., and all our greatest geologists, as Lyell, Murchison, Sedgwick, etc., have unanimously, often vehemently, maintained the immutability of species. "I feel," says he, "how rash it is to differ from these great authorities, to whom with others we owe all our knowledge." He thinks, however, that Lyell now hesitates in his opinion.

Mr. Darwin's theory demands that all the earliest organic beings perished without leaving a trace behind. The fossil remains of the Silurian system contradict his theory. Hence this could not be the earliest formation. Geologists have not been able to find animals in a state of transition from one species to another, and he, therefore, contends that the geological record is imperfect. He grants, however, that few geolo-

gists will admit that this record is as imperfect as his theory requires.

But in order to get a clear view of the absurdity of the Darwinian theory, let us see how it proceeds in a single case, that of the goose. Mr. Darwin supposes that this fowl once had four legs (*anser quadrupes!*) Now as all changes in nature, according to Mr. Darwin, are slow, there was a time when the fore-feet could not be used to advantage either as feet or wings, and this unfavorable position in the struggle for life with animals of the same class possessing more advantages, would have insured its destruction before it became a winged biped. It is amusing to see Mr. Darwin gravely assert that the flying squirrel is in a state of transition to a winged animal. There is not the slightest indication of the fore-feet becoming wings. There are simply phalanges on both sides of the animal, connecting the fore and hind feet. This is likewise true of the colugo and other flying quadrupeds.

Mr. Darwin ransacks the whole creation to find arguments in support of his theory, every one of which he could easily answer, and to find instances that seem to clash with design in creation. He cites the case of upland geese with webbed feet, which rarely go into the water; woodpeckers in the plains of La Plata, where not a tree grows. We see here no great difficulty; for may not beings occasionally get out of the sphere for which they were created, just as the Arabian locust is sometimes thrown into Hyde Park, and as aerolites are hurled from their orbits upon the earth?

It must, however, be admitted that Mr. Darwin's theory explains some facts; and what hypothesis will not do that? But it is just as far from explaining the phenomena of organic nature as is the Ptolemaic system from explaining the facts of astronomy. Nor do we think that there is any probability that it ever will be accepted by the scientific world as a satisfactory exposition of the phenomena of the animal and vegetable kingdoms. The author of the "Vestiges" repudiates Lamarck's hypothesis; Mr. Darwin rejects that of the "Vestiges," and his own will doubtless share the same fate.

That the human race is of recent origin is one of the most firmly established facts. The earth's crust, to a depth of several miles, has been more or less examined by the geologist. The

internal forces have thrown up the strata that would otherwise have remained inaccessible, enabling him to read with comparative ease the numerous pages thus unfolded. Yet among the many fossils of the animals of the past history of our planet, fossils scattered throughout its miles of strata, no remains of man or of any of his works have been found, except in the most recent formations. Had man existed during the deposition of the various strata in which no memorial of his existence has been found, it would be strange that he left no trace of that existence, no carved stone or wood, no footprints, no ruins of cities, not a single bone or impression. No animal is so active as man; none ventures out as he does upon the deep; none is so likely to leave traces of his existence. Some animals, on account of their constitution, are confined to certain localities, while man is strictly a cosmopolite. Let us, however, for the sake of the argument, suppose that man *did* exist during one of the older formations, say the Oolitic, though by no means the oldest, cotemporary with its great saurians, yet owing to the fewness of his numbers, and the small extent of his migrations, that no geologist has yet been so fortunate as to meet with his remains: we would indeed expect, with a considerable degree of confidence, to find vestiges of his existence in the next higher formation, the Wealden; for during the lapse of many years he must have spread extensively over the earth. But supposing, what is extremely improbable, that he existed during all these stages, where we find no remains of him, he would certainly be found in the Cretaceous formation. Such, however, is not the case; for we must travel upward through many deposits before we reach his remains. By such a course of reasoning we can show the impossibility of man's having been long upon the globe, to say nothing of the impossibility of his having been eternal. The argument of the old divines, that it is impossible for a *contrived* being to be eternal, though we admit its force, is now no longer necessary. Geology says nothing about its abstract possibility, but she says emphatically, *man is not eternal.*

Within the last few years, however, large quantities of flint implements, worked by the hand of man, have been found in the drift in the valley of the Somme, in France, which would seem to indicate that man's origin was not quite so recent as

had been supposed. But it is impossible to calculate with any degree of certainty the number of years that elapsed since the drift period. It is true that some of the animals of that period, as the mastodon and the megatherium, have become extinct, although we have no proof that these animals were cotemporary with man.

Prof. H. D. Rogers, who has examined these flints in the drift, remarks in reference to their age:

> The diluvium of geologists has, since the days of the illustrious Cuvier, been always looked upon as something very ancient, simply because he and his successors, finding it replete with the remains of huge land animals no longer living, never succeeded in detecting in it a solitary bone or tooth of a human being, nor indeed anything indicative of man's existence; but now that things indicative of man have been found, it is surely illogical, and a begging of the very question itself, to impute an age incompatible with the fact of his then existing. I would repeat, then, that a specially remote age is not attributable to the flint-carving men of the diluvium, simply because it is the diluvium or mammoth-embedding gravel which contains them. If their association with these extinct mammals *does* intimate a long pre-historic antiquity, the evidences of this are to be sought in some of the other attendant phenomena. The age, therefore, of the diluvium, which incloses the remains of the extinct mammalian animals, must now be viewed as doubly uncertain, doubtful from the uncertainty of its coincidence with the age of the flint implements; and, again, doubtful even if this coincidence were established, from the absence of any link of connection between those earliest traces of man and his *historic ages*. In conclusion, then, of the whole inquiry, condensing into one expression my answer to the general question, whether a remote pre-historic antiquity for the human race has been established from the recent specimens of man's handiwork in the so-called diluvium, I maintain it is not proven; by no means asserting that it can be disproved, but insisting simply that it remains *not proven*.

Paleontologists distinguish three ages of man in Europe: the age of stone, the age of bronze, and the age of iron, so called from the material of which implements were made during these respective periods. At the place where the Tiniere empties into the Geneva lake in Switzerland is formed a cone of deposit; a railway excavation made through this cone to the depth of nearly twenty-three feet lays open the strata containing implements used by man in different periods of his existence. Mr. Morlot has calculated the time necessary for the formation of

the whole of this cone, and found it to be from seventy-four to one hundred and ten centuries.* Calculations of this kind, although not to be relied upon as fixing with any accuracy the antiquity of man, are valuable as showing his very recent origin, an event of a few thousand years ago.

Now we have in the introduction of man upon our planet the strongest proof of the existence of an intelligent and powerful Deity. The atheist cannot argue that man is eternal; and it is impossible to develop him from the lower animals. He stands alone, distinguished from the brute creation by bearing the image of his Maker—a moral and intellectual image—and reflecting the glory of the divine character. We point the atheist not to the stars, but to *man*, as being the noblest visible monument that the Creator has ever erected of his existence, power, and wisdom.

As it is from the ape tribe that the atheist derives the most glorious of the creation of God, let us take a look at them, and see whether we can recognize in these hairy creatures our distinguished progenitors. Now the first thing that strikes us is that they are all dumb, and cannot walk erect. This surely looks as if they could not be our ancestors. And the more we examine them, the more striking does their difference from us appear. Of all the ape tribe, the chimpanzee approaches nearest man. The gorilla, a large species of ape, brought to light a few years ago, is placed by Prof. Owen next to man. St. Hilaire, Duvernoy, and Wyman place the gorilla below the chimpanzee in the scale of organization, and in this we think most naturalists will agree with them. In the Smithsonian Institution is a cast of the head of a gorilla from the Imperial Museum of Vienna; likewise two casts of skulls of the same animal. Comparing these heads with the head of the chimpanzee, we are led irresistibly to place the latter next to man. One of the most striking peculiarities in the head of the gorilla, is the crest on the skull extending from the front to the back of the head, with deep cavities on each side. The principal differences between the chimpanzee and man are the following: "The existence of four hands instead of two, the inability to stand erect, consequent on the structure of a skeleton adapted to an arboreal life, the excessive length of the arms, the com-

* See an interesting paper on this subject in the Smithsonian Report for 1860.

paratively short and permanently flexed legs, the protruding face, the position of the occipital condyles in the posterior third of the base of the skull, and the consequent preponderance of the head forward," the largely developed canine teeth, which, when the mouth is shut, do not strike against but overpass each other, and the elongated pelvis. The hand is a rude imitation of the human organ. The thumb is short and not opposable to the fingers. Nor does the hand possess the feeling of touch like that of man. In many respects the muscles likewise differ from those of man. To these differences between the chimpanzee and man we must add the absence of the divine gift of reason, that discursive power of the human intellect that generalizes universal nature, analyzes the soil, measures the distances of planets, and weighs their masses. But there is nothing in which man is so unlike the highest developed ape as in the possession of a moral nature, the feeling of moral obligation. Man feels too that he has a connection with a higher power, and with an invisible world. How shall all these faculties be developed from the brutish ape? We doubt very much that the ape has as much sagacity as the dog. In proportion as other animals approach man in physical structure, we do not see that they approximate him in intellect. Nor must we omit the important fact, that while the ape tribe is confined to a tropical zone, and dies soon after he leaves it, man has a constitution adapted to every clime.

Now the question arises, How does Mr. Darwin's theory of natural selection apply to the development of man from the ape? Mr. Darwin has made no attempt to apply it; it does not suit at all. Where are the intermediate forms between the chimpanzee and man? What could have destroyed these intermediate forms? They must have, in most respects, possessed advantages over the ape tribe; and although their position was inferior to higher orders—the races of man in his present development—they could as well have existed cotemporaneously with him as apes now do, or as inferior races of men alongside of superior ones.

We cannot leave this part of our subject without noticing a human skull and part of a skeleton that were discovered in 1857 in a cave between Düsseldorf and Elberfeld. This skull has been thought to indicate a nearer approach to that of the

chimpanzee than is presented in the skulls of living human races. This skull has a supraciliary ridge which is found in the gorilla and chimpanzee, but not in the orang-outang. The London Geologist remarks on this skull that it has

> A very fair development of brain, and in the general shape of the skull (the supraciliary ridge apart) we find nothing which approximates to the gorilla; no interparietal crest, obliterating the sagittal sutures, extends along the head; none of the other characters that so prominently differentiate the human from the simian sub-kingdom are to be found in this ancient skull. It is not cerebrally inferior to the Papuan or negro races."

If this is a fair specimen of the skulls of the inhabitants of Europe at the early period to which it belongs, it is strange we have no other skulls with this supraciliary ridge, either living or fossil. Nor do we see any good reason to believe that civilization develops the skull and brain. In the earliest age of man in Europe, the age of stone, the skull was round: no approach to that of the ape. From a cursory examination of the skulls in the Smithsonian Institution, we cannot perceive any development of skull produced by civilization. Nor is it true that the brain of the negro is of small capacity. Sir William Hamilton and Prof. Tiedmann have incontrovertibly established the fact that the brain of the negro is not less than that of the European, and greatly larger than Hindoo, Ceylonese, and sundry other Asiatic brains. While living quadrumana are separated from man by such a wide interval, it is impossible to fill up the gap by fossil forms. A few years ago the fossil remains of a quadrumanous animal, dryopithecus, was found in the upper Miocene formation. From the two branches of the lower jaw and the humerus, Lyell declared that it "came nearer to man than any quadrumanous species living or fossil before known to geologists." To this Prof. Owen replies that the statement is "without the support of any adequate fact, and in contravention of most of those to be deduced from Mr. Lartet's figures of the fossils."

That there should have been, to a certain extent, progress in the creation of God, the formation of the highest being, man, last, coincides better with our views of the divine proceeding than would the creation of the lower animals after man. The various orders of animated existence were introduced at that time when the earth suited their respective conditions. The

great object of the Deity, as far as we can learn it from the plan of creation, was the introduction of man upon our planet.

The fundamental argument for the existence of an intelligent Creator is that design must have had a designer, or, to express it more philosophically, that the adaptation of means to a certain end, or conspiring to produce certain results, implies design. For design and designer are as much correlative terms as effect and cause. So that the only possible question is, whether there is *design* in nature. Now it is not possible for us to reason upon this subject, and scarcely upon any other, without reference to ourselves. The idea of a connection between effect and cause has been most probably derived from our own experience and consciousness. We are conscious of a connection between our own volitions and acts; we know that we *cause* certain things, and we are led immediately to the truth that there is a cause of the great phenomena of nature. We know that there must be a cause of planetary motion; that if a planet keep its orbit, there must be a cause for it; that if a new being is introduced upon the earth, there must be a cause for it. Hardly any one, we presume, will attack this principle, and the same course of reasoning will apply to the design in nature. We are conscious of designing things, of adapting means to ends; and we also ascribe *design* to other men in their works, although these works may far surpass anything that we ourselves can do. We indeed know from experience, that if intelligence does not direct affairs, they almost invariably go wrong; we know that it is not *natural* that every thing should turn out right. Confusion and apparent chance are evident all through mundane affairs. But in the midst of all this, we find animated nature bearing the most striking instances of order and harmony; a wonderful relation of parts, of means to ends, that are beneficial.

Furthermore, we not only ascribe design to men, but also to some of the lower animals; to others, instinct. If a reasoning animal performs actions of a certain kind, we impute them to *design*. If another animal by instinct acts in a similar manner, is it not clear that there must still be design somewhere? if not in the animal, then in its Maker. This remark will apply to the bee's cell, constructed on the highest mathematical principles.

The ear is formed with reference to sound; and the eye, implying a most profound knowledge of optics, is precisely

adapted to the laws of light, varying in different animals to suit their condition. Can it be any more doubted that the eye was formed for vision than that the telescope and microscope were formed to assist vision? If there were but a few instances of apparent design in nature, we might think *it happened* so; but the uniformity of design forbids it.

It is sometimes sneeringly said by the atheist, that our belief in God is the result of our ignorance; that when we are unable to trace out the natural causes of things we fly to a Deity; and that when the sciences shall have reached a greater degree of perfection, and the relations of the universe shall have been better understood, there will be no need of resorting to a Deity to explain the phenomena of nature. Now we admit that natural philosophy does in some cases remove the Deity to a greater distance from us, but does not dispense with his agency. Remove the first cause as far back as we please, we must soon or later place him at the head of all nature. Whatever explanation may be given of the phenomena of nature, design and contrivance will still remain. But it is nevertheless true that in the explanation of natural phenomena we have in many cases reached an *ultimatum*. We know that it is necessary for vision that an image of the object be formed upon the retina of the eye, and we know that the eye is wonderfully adapted to this purpose, surpassing in perfection the best optical instruments. No future discovery can change this fact; it is complete in itself. The same remark will apply to the ear in its formation for hearing. The relation of the sexes throughout organized nature is the clearest indication of design for the perpetuation of plants and animals. No future discovery in anatomy or physiology can change it. The same is true of nearly all other phenomena. Our belief, therefore, of the existence of a Supreme Intelligence is based upon *positive knowledge*. The fact is, science has furnished the strongest proofs of the divine existence. The telescope has revealed to us innumerable worlds, while the microscope has disclosed to us millions of sentient beings. Geology has augmented to an astonishing degree our knowledge of the past history of our planet. The anatomist has increased the number of instances of exquisite and delicate contrivances in the organization of our frame.

The Deity that the universe proclaims to us is not simply a power but a *person*. The mere existence of power or motion does not, perhaps, prove the existence of intelligence; but where there is contrivance and design directing forces to beneficial ends, there must be strict *personality*. We see no way of avoiding the conclusion. The acts of a mind prove the existence of a mind. Our minds are also a proof of the intelligence of the First Cause, for none but an intelligent Being could produce intelligence. That the Deity is not the object of our senses is not strange, since the most active powers of nature are the most concealed. Nothing but gross matter is the object of sense. Gravitation, chemical affinity, and terrestrial magnetism are invisible. Of man, *mind* is the all-important part, but our senses take no cognizance of it; our minds are mutually concealed from each other. The anatomist may dissect the human brain, and search the abode of intellect, but search in vain; it perpetually eludes his grasp. The great intellects of Newton and Milton were known to the world only by their works. In the same manner we are to judge of the existence and character of God. The existence, therefore, of an Intelligent Cause is to be regarded as a truth of strict induction. If it is an hypothesis, it is one that is *absolutely necessary* to explain the phenomena of nature.

We may in a future article consider the moral nature in man, in its bearing upon Natural Theology.

Art. II.—STEVENS'S HISTORY OF METHODISM.

The History of the Religious Movement of the Eighteenth Century called Methodism; considered in its different Denominational Forms, and its Relations to British and American Protestantism. By Abel Stevens, LL.D. Vol. III. From the Death of Wesley to the Centenary Jubilee of Methodism. New York: Carlton & Porter. London: Alexander Heylin. 1861.

This third volume of Dr. Stevens's "History of Methodism" will lose much of its enduring interest by being read out of connection with the two preceding volumes. The first of these

volumes containing the Wesleyan reformation in its germinant state, the second in its early development, and the third in its maturing fruit, evidently must be read in their order and connection. Thus we can appreciate the irrepressible power of the movement only when we know the resistance with which it was doomed to conflict. This the first volume describes in the variety of its forms and in the obstinacy of its character.

The great reformation of the sixteenth century found the fiercest resistance in the hierarchal usurpations which had overshadowed christendom. This stupendous system, which was the growth of centuries, and the mightiest imposture ever practiced on humanity, was the grand obstacle of the German movement. But the Wesleyan reformation grappled with another class of obstacles. The former reformation was a protest against the frightful abuses of priestly power; the latter against the practical ungodliness of the age. How rife and multiform was this ungodliness, a thousand witnesses attest. It had generated the deism of England, of which such minds as Hobbes, Tindal, Collins, Shaftesbury, Chubb, and many of smaller notoriety, were open advocates. This deism of the island was rapidly becoming the atheism of the continent, the rationalism of Germany.

The crown of England, through several reigns, having used its prerogatives to restore popery, accelerated the return of the masses to practical heathenism. The profound torpor which had paralyzed the national Church, was itself a fruitful source of general immorality. That the minister of the altar should head the mob to disperse earnest worshipers, was evincive that heartless formality had supplanted spiritual devotion, and that the establishment itself was among the most formidable obstacles to the reformation. This profound spiritual apathy was also the legitimate source of the Arianism, Socinianism, and Unitarianism so skillfully vindicated by the Clarkes, Priestleys, and Whistons of their respective ages.

This decline of truth and piety had reached its maximum, when the voices of the Wesleys, like the blast of a trumpet, broke the slumber of ages, and introduced the era of spirituality.

"The ribald burlesque and licentious humor," says our author, "of such men as Swift and Sterne, sufficiently indicate

the clerical taste of the day;" while the works of Dryden, which are not more bright with genius than dark with vice, furnish a specimen of the demand then made by polite society. Indeed, such was the national relish for the poisoning cup of infidelity, that the works of Bolingbroke, Hume, and Gibbon had become the chosen books of large circles.

The historian has also summoned witnesses from another class, who attest to a state of morals corresponding to this virtual rejection of revealed truth. We allude to the British Essayists of the eighteenth century, comprising Steele, Addison, and Johnson. The Tatler of the first, the Spectator of the second, and the Rambler of the last, having the one general aim to rebuke humorously or sarcastically the vices of the age, are attestations to their prevalence. Not only had moral death pervaded the national Church, but it had also swept like a desolating flood over the dissenters. Scores of thoughtful men blended their voices of sorrow in the assertion "that *ungodliness was the characteristic of the English nation.*" No voice gave utterance to this sentiment with more depth and tenderness than "good Bishop Burnet," who tearfully declared that "such was the waste of religion in the hearts and lives of men that there was fearful apprehension that it would die out of the world." This moral blight pervaded the whole period from "the restoration," till Methodism entered on its high commission to disperse the fearful gloom of that long night of almost two centuries.

The characteristics of these obstacles are the exponents of that agency which was to overcome them. Unlike the Reformation of Germany, which was a war against false doctrine, the Wesleyan movement was a conflict with dead formality and corrupt manners.

That the Christian Church is the organic form of spiritual life, is that great principle whose development is the philosophy of Methodism.

At several points our author finds a striking similarity between the incipient struggles of Christianity in the apostolic age, and those of the Wesleyan revival in the last century. In nothing was this similarity more striking than in the utter absence of all pomp and circumstance. The living truths of redemption flowed from apostles' lips not often in the temple or synagogue,

but on the ship and shore, on Mars' Hill and in judgment halls and in the jail at Philippi, in the private dwelling and by the way side, and wherever there were listening ears to drink in the "joyful sound." Equally homeless and churchless was incipient Methodism. Its most signal victories were won when its preachers, excluded from churches, raised their mighty voices beneath the open canopy of heaven; when crowded thousands hung with rapture on their artless lips; when school-rooms, private houses, and city commons witnessed the unutterable emotions of agitated crowds. There, despite of all external inconveniences, the word of life, invested with irrepressible energies, mysteriously expanded and multiplied. Thousands seemed to hear the voice from heaven which startled the German monk on the staircase at Rome, saying, "The just shall live by faith." This germinant principle of the great reformation once more developed its measureless power to disenthrall and enrapture the penitent.

This third volume of Dr. Stevens's history grasps forty-eight years, being the most thrilling period of Methodism. Being the seventh and closing book of the series, it contains eighteen chapters, spread over more than five hundred pages. The author has opened the volume by most graphically depicting the last decade of the eighteenth century so far as it relates to his subject. The events of that period he shows to have been too stirring to ever fade from history. The fields will continue red that were drenched with blood, and the re-erected thrones of Europe are scarcely yet firm that it shook to the ground. But the event that most painfully interested the Wesleyan societies was the death of their *founder*.

The author has shown that this event created through the connection the profoundest concern for its continued unity and efficiency. It was regarded as pregnant with consequences which might be disastrous to the great evangelical movement. While it generated these fears on the part of friends, it rekindled the hopes of enemies. It was feared that at the last gasp of this apostolic man the fraternal bond of the connection would dissolve, and that the societies of which he had been the binding center would go off in scattered fragments. It was hoped by the foes of "the revival," that now the "*invincible agitator*" was gone, the repose of the Church would be unbroken, and the amusements of the Sabbath be resumed.

Both parties well knew the height to which that influence had reached, which had been accumulating for more than half a century, which had poured its swelling stream through the first and second generations to the third. But neither those hopes or fears have ever become a *realization.*

The powers of this unique character, formed of strong and well-balanced elements, precluded the very result that was dreaded. That power was too great and holy to be exclusively embodied in his *person.* It imbued with an ever-living spirit the entire organism which Providence had formed by his skillful hand. The agency of Wesley was of that class of moral influences which time cannot waste nor social changes neutralize. Enthroning itself firmly in the moral powers of our being, it is imperishable as they.

Both the fears and hopes, therefore, that the cause of Wesley would die with him ignored that great principle, that divine truth, inculcated by holy agency, will erect to itself monuments more durable than brass.

It is true, that never did the stroke of death fall on a more venerated head of a community. The affection of the societies was the basis of his authority. The vigor of his purpose, the purity of his motives, the power of his perseverance, the loftiness of his aim, all bathed in the light of a singular intelligence, made his sway absolute over all he served. But death could not abolish, but only transfer this power from his person to his cause. This organism, made vital in every part, would in a manner perpetuate his life through ages in an expanded form. But the calamities to the connection which were apprehended as following Mr. Wesley's death, were the more feared from the great political upheaval of Europe. The revolution in France burst on the nations like an earthquake which had engulfed the empire. The whirlwind of revolution passed over populous states, and ancient thrones tottered to their fall. No moral interest remained unscathed in its course.

This outbreak was the more desolating from its unnatural alliance with *infidelity.* This in its darkest type, in the form of atheism, for the first time in man's history, identified itself with the rights of man, and was borne forward on the popular tide to a loftier position than ever before attained. Roman superstition was the transition ground over which the national

mind passed to broad infidelity. Ages of corruption prepared it for the monstrous leap. The scene opened by this twofold agency in France is *alone in history*. God was rejected, reason deified, the immortality of man blotted out, and the eternity of death avowed. Then rolled forward the tide of fire! "The mob executioners of to-day became the mob victims of to-morrow. The streets flowed with blood, and terror sat on its throne of skulls," the nation shivered with a chill of horror on the brink of the yawning gulf. The same maddening cup was tasted by other nations; they were frenzied by the draught, and were hastening to a kindred doom.

England itself, our author has shown, was not without its sympathizers. The monstrous wedlock contracted between infidelity and liberty deluded the lovers of human rights into an advocacy for the *foul betrayers* of those rights. They rejected God in order to obtain the boon of liberty for man. Though this moral blight had not smitten England as a nation, not a few of her representative minds had received its virus, and exerted an agency to make the infection general. This deathly malady chilled the ardor of religion and loosened the bonds of society. Though the Wesleyan revival was a wall of brass against this continental flood, yet the efficiency of that revival was weakened by the infidelity of Voltaire. It cannot be concealed that the controversies among the successors of Wesley were rendered more alarming by this external hostile force; that this increased the perils of the Connection, when its peace was threatened by the death of the founder.

The character of Wesley has a solitary grandeur. It required for its development more than a single age. It is one of those rare monuments destined not to waste by the lapse of time, but to accumulate in its luster, as centuries shall unfold, the assemblage of its virtues. Still, the greatness of the man consisted not in a monarch mind, towering above all others in the largeness of its grasp; or in creative genius, which could construct an ideal fabric, gorgeous in its rainbow beauties; not in its philosophical power of lofty generalization, by which metaphysics expands the domain of knowledge; but in all the mental powers singularly perfect in their balance. If his sphere of life was not divinely chosen, unusual human wisdom presided over the choice. The adaptation of light to the eye is not more perfect

than was that of the man to his work. The execution of his life-plan required a logical, not a metaphysical mind; dialectical, not philosophical powers. His work was that of a great religious reformer, not of a scientific discoverer. *That* lies in the sphere of logic, *this* lies in that undefined territory where first principles emerge from the region of mystery. His mind acted with great power in the logical sphere, where the undimmed light of certainty shines on every step; where the data are assumed and the whole process advances by the necessary laws of thought. The scholars of his age as justly entitled him "the *logician*" as "the *Grecian*." The structure of his mind gave him the richest endowments for every sort of excellence out of the field of discovery, where the task was not to grapple with primary principles.

The errors he was to correct lay within the sphere of given principles, and chiefly within that of *revealed* truth; here he was at home. The unerring precision of his statements, the transparent clearness of his definitions, and the rigorous exactitude with which he traced to their premises all his conclusions, made his doctrinal position impregnable, and invested moral evidence with the highest authority.

But the character of this remarkable mind was less uncommon than the work which it achieved. He wrought out a plan, says our historian, which could only have been accomplished by four men of his longevity. 1. How few devoting an entire life to literature have excelled him in this department! His far-reaching plan comprised poetry, music, history, natural, moral, and political philosophy, with almost every topic of divinity. His stupendous labor swelled the number of originated and abridged volumes till it reached nearly two hundred. There is scarcely a single mode adopted in this age for the diffusion of useful knowledge among the masses which is not traceable to this comprehensive mind. Though he spoke through the press as from the pulpit "*ad populum*," his productions were not, like those of most prolific pens, superficial, but *accurate* and profound. His depth in classic lore was often betrayed by the gems from the classic page which ornamented his volumes, and his depth and perspicuity flowed from the same ancient source. 2. His travels alone might have occupied a long life. Between four and five thousand miles per year was the average distance

of his journeys, so that his aggregate travels for more than half a century was equal to ten journeys around the globe, and all this, up to his seventieth year, was performed on horseback. 3. His functions as an ecclesiastical legislator were sufficient to employ the utmost energies of an ordinary mind. The compact and vigorous system which grew up under his skillful hand bears the marks of a powerful combining intellect and of a highly practical mind. Nor was his administrative power inferior to his originating skill. The wealth and wisdom, power and policy, pride and prejudice, which combined to thwart his agency, could be baffled only by a caution and perseverance which characterize minds formed to govern. 4. The other division of his labor was in the *pulpit*. Here he had no equal. Whitefield for a season was his only competitor, but fell far behind him in this noble strife. Only in the extent of territory which he traversed did Whitefield exceed Wesley, not in the number of his sermons; while he averaged ten per week through his public life, Wesley delivered fifteen; and surviving the former more than a score of years, he delivered forty-two thousand, while Whitefield did not exceed eighteen thousand. What historical record of all the Christian ages has brought down to us a single example to equal this? Since martyrdom terminated the heroic course of the apostles, Wesley has stood *alone*, and shines in his solitary grandeur.

When it is remembered that in all these four departments this unique mind achieved complete success in the face of appalling obstacles, how can we withhold our admiration? A life protracted to within a dozen years of a century, under this immense weight of care and toil, must have been "a charmed life," a life providentially appropriated; and this has its proof in the far-reaching results of that extraordinary agency. The problem of his character has its solution in the appointment of God, and in the results of the legitimate workings of his great plan.

"His was a life," says Dr. Stevens, "which the philosopher must pronounce singularly successful and fortunate, and the Christian singularly *providential*." Unlike most great men, who die with their life-plans immature, he survived to witness the completion of his. *Substantially* his was finished before his death transferred it to other hands, only *circumstantially* was it modified after his departure. His successors were ade-

quate to *this*, after by his own wisdom *that* had been achieved. His great organic system had in its texture the elements of permanency; an accurately defined theology, a perfectly adapted literature, a well-adjusted scheme of Church government conspired to give to it strength and vitality. Well might he resign this to the operation of providential events which should continue shaping it better to work out its lofty destiny.

He lived till the storm of persecution had restrained its rage, till the tongue of slander had ceased to defame him, till personal foes had repented of their hostility or dropped into the grave. Order was the spirit that ruled his mighty life. His parsimony of time was equal only to the rigidity with which he appropriated all his waking and sleeping hours. His time for sleep commenced at nine in the evening, his hour of rising was four in the morning. Through all the rigor of the seasons, at a latitude of fifty degrees, this veteran, under the weight of eighty years, was seen rising from his bed, lighting his own fire, and resuming his life-task.

As the time of his departure approached, all his arrangements were made so as to be consummated in that event. The scene of his death was the focal point on which all the achievements of his life shed their converging lights. With an eye directed to the heavens, and with a spirit glowing in the INFINITE smile, he passed the mortal change with the calmness of infant slumbers.*

* On no merely psychological theory will the problem of Mr. Wesley's character admit of solution. All who have attempted it on such ground have caricatured rather than portrayed that great man. Viewed from the true stand-point, there is no historic character in human annals of easier solution; never was there one of greater simplicity. By ignoring the constancy and loftiness of his aim, the key to the arcana of his character is lost. This, properly considered, unravels all mystery, and simplifies every complication. The whole machinery which he worked was adapted to these *three ends*, namely: To secure men's conversion to God; to retain them in that spiritual state; and to be aggressive beyond all limitation. In accomplishing this sublime triplex object he was guided by the broadest principles, impelled by the most expansive charity, and chained to his life-plan by the unity of his hallowed purpose. The Wesleyan Institute has proved itself a masterpiece of social organization for the working out of these great ends. Had it combined complicated impulses, which should secure a harmonious interaction, the utmost success would have demanded a mind unlike Wesley's. But the simplicity of the principles of his Institute furnished full scope to his great powers. Indeed, the *supernatural* element is the true key to Wesleyanism. This had so permeated all his powers and purposes, that his heart and face were bright and glowing as the sun. His whole

Few topics of his history has Dr. Stevens sketched with a more masterly hand than the Wesleyan scheme of *education*. He shows that in this, as in other prospective interests, the founder of Methodism did not allow the present to exclude the future, but acted with equal reference to both; that, penetrated with the assurance that felt religion is the quickener of the intellect, while he promoted *that*, he provided for *this*. At the very dawn of the revival he projected his educational plan. This plan burst into execution, not suddenly and prematurely, but gradually, as the educational demands of the Connection advanced. Few great leaders have furnished so practical a solution of the problem of education as connected with religion. He was profoundly convinced that while this connection was genuine, the boon of education was invaluable—that being a monument erected in mind no waste of ages could crumble it. After the Kingswood school had shone with a bright and growing luster for more than two generations; after it had shaped the character of ministers' sons for large usefulness in social positions, auxiliaries to it arose in the shape of many high schools, and in that of a normal school, whose building alone cost more than two hundred thousand dollars. Then, by the aid of princely donations, the Connection established five hundred day-schools, which impart instruction to almost one hundred thousand children. It was impossible that such an educational agency should long operate amid the great mass of Wesleyans without fastening upon them this conviction, namely, *that the standard of pulpit intelligence must be raised.* Indeed, it required no far-seeing sagacity to determine that such an agency would create this demand, and that a failure to meet it would be the fatal arrest of progress. The foresight of this had long stirred the leading minds of the Connection, which for years had looked anxiously around for means to meet this *inevitable* demand.

The founder, who contemplated the future with a more piercing eye, prophetically inquired at his first conference,

character was so radiant with genuine benevolence that his heart would have filled an angel's bosom. What account can be given of the living green of May, or the radiant bloom of spring, if the sun in the heavens be ignored? Extinguish that great magician, and all solution is impossible. So would it be with Wesley's character, apart from the eternal Beam that painted all its beauties. As the power of God was the secret of his success, the mystery of Methodism is resolvable only in that Supreme Agency.

"How can we obtain an institution for ministerial education?" A satisfactory answer to this momentous inquiry, which was reiterated from conference to conference, was postponed only by the want of fit instructors and financial resources. Meantime the desideratum was but limitedly supplied by the Kingswood school. Our author, with his characteristic exactness and elegance, traces these steps till the conference, in 1834, had reached the point when their plan burst into execution—their *theory* became a *fact*. Then he proceeds to show in the light of facts, and with the clearness of vision, that the force of those very circumstances which had originated a theological school has not since ceased to give it ample support, and that the hopes in which the conference established it have been abundantly realized in the fruits of both its branches.

This scheme, which had been maturing for more than half a century, and which had been pressed upon the attention of the conference by such powerfully combining minds as Bunting, Newton, and Watson, warranted all that confidence which experiment has since justified. But momentous as was this enterprise, and splendid as has been its success, it was not inaugurated without opposition, though the causes were various which combined to oppose it, and the hostility determined with which it was to grapple. The famous Dr. Warren was its most formidable antagonist. Indeed, he wielded all the elements of the opposition; not, as Dr. Stevens has shown, from an honest conviction that some interest of religion would be periled by the enterprise, but from the smart endured in wounded ambition, which he perceived was to be utterly disappointed by the management of the institution being committed to other hands. The iron purpose of the doctor, and of the party he represented, to shake down the Wesleyan polity, made him reckless of expense, and repeated in his appeals to the courts of justice. But that legal process issuing not in the overthrow of that polity, but in the exhibition of the adamantine strength of its great principles, left no hope to the disaffected, and banished all doubt from the friends of the Connection. Our *history* embraces a most thrilling picture of the intense interest with which many Wesleyans witnessed every step of this legal inquiry—the breathless solicitude with which they waited for the decision of the court, and their irrepressible

emotions when that decision rang out full and clear in support of the conference.

But Dr. Warren, goaded on by the agitating element of his nature, had the temerity to carry the case to a higher tribunal. But here again patient investigation issued in the same triumphant result. The moral grandeur of the cause electrified the court, and convinced it that nothing but persecution could call in question its comprehensively-benevolent principles, and elicited from the judges of both courts the most expressive eulogy on Methodism. Never was there a just cause violently assailed with less success; never were the intrinsic excellencies of a vilified cause more effectually elicited by an enemy's hand.

This final decision from so high a tribunal determined for ages the legal stability of the Wesleyan system. It rang through the Connection as the blast of a trumpet, reassuring the thousands of its earnest friends.

The school of the prophets, the immediate occasion of this fierce attack, has worked to a charm, vastly exceeding the most cherished hopes of its founders. Its powerful development places it among the mightiest reinforcements of the Wesleyan ministry. About eighty young ministers now occupy those sacred halls. Nearly five hundred have issued from them prepared to do the work of evangelists. Vast portions of the itinerant field at home now smile beneath the culture of their hands. They are numerously in the foreign work, grappling with the man of sin, and with the fiercest agencies of idolatry. The cause of missions has numbered among them not only its most eloquent and tireless advocates, but its brave and triumphant martyrs. Many ages will not suffice to compute that amazing energy added by this institution to the missionary character of the Methodist ministry. So far are the Connection now from regarding it as an "*innovation*," they consider it as one of the most legitimate developments of Wesleyanism—not the introduction of a new and alien principle, but a beautiful application of the principle which the Connection has ever recognized. Thus the stupendous results of this expedient have silenced all objection, and unified the Connection in the conviction that it resulted from that far-seeing wisdom by which Providence had so long guided that powerful ministry.

Our history shows that Wesley and Whitefield were the most famous of all the stirring preachers of the eighteenth century. They were similar, however, only in the power of their piety and in the thrilling eloquence of their sermons. That original greatness stamped on the mind of Wesley had scarcely its shadow in the powers of Whitefield. The latter was merely an orator; the former added to this characteristic the depth and breadth of a philosopher. Each became the leader of one of the Methodistic divisions: Whitefield of the Calvinistic, and Wesley of the Arminian. But when that orator, whose eloquence melted and agitated crowded thousands, descended the pulpit and wielded the pen, the giant became an infant. His vindication of Calvinism was a faint echo of what had been more powerfully uttered by mightier minds in bygone ages; while Wesley's comprehensive mind, grasping the entire controversy, had carefully traced it from its incipiency with Augustine through the conflicting action of the councils in the following centuries, and amid the strife of the two ancient monastic orders, and in its revival again when the long-extinguished Christian light was rekindled in the sixteenth century. But not only was Wesley familiar with the far-reaching history of this controversy, but his great logical powers enabled him to do much toward settling it. By a single glance his keen eye pierced the sophistry by which Mr. Whitefield and other better dialecticians had advocated "the decrees." He regarded the most successful attempts to improve the Calvinian scheme as ruinous of its symmetry and self-harmony. He conceded the self-consistency of it, and therefore maintained that, as a whole, it was in conflict with other universally recognized principles. The Baxterian and Edwardian modifications, seeming to mitigate the rigor of those stern dogmas, had been largely adopted. But Wesley maintained that these, and all kindred apologies for the unconditional election and reprobation of men, involve the same revolting principle which so many great minds had urged against the Augustinian dogmas; that, in fact, there could be no middle way between old Calvinism and downright Pelagianism. He repudiated all attempts to restrict the decrees to the elect, and urged that election inherently involved reprobation; that if the elect could believe only as they were necessitated, the non-elect could only disbelieve for

the want of being thus necessitated; that the correlation, therefore, between election and reprobation was such as that to cancel the one was to render the other impossible, and that, consequently, whatever objection can be legitimately urged against the decree of reprobation, lies with the same crushing force against the decree of election.

The five points on which the Synod of Dort tried and condemned the Remonstrants, Wesley regarded as involved in the controversy, whatever phase it assumed. This was suggested by the title Arminian, which he gave to his Magazine, (1778.) The doctrinal positions relating to this controversy, which were vindicated in this periodical, were these five, namely: "1. God's decrees fixing the destiny of the righteous and the wicked were conditioned on the foreseen unnecessitated character of the two. 2. That Christ having propitiated for all men, all might believe and be saved. 3. That human depravity could be subdued and regeneration effected only by the Spirit through faith. 4. That this energy of the Spirit can be repelled, as the will is free. 5. That it is possible for the regenerated to apostatize and perish."

The thread of connection running through these five topics shows them to be several parts of an indivisible whole. As neither of them could be true without involving the truth of the others, so no one of them could be false unless all were so. The sun-like clearness with which Wesley discussed these propositions in his doctrinal tracts had never been excelled. On the same questions the sprightly pen of Fletcher was more largely employed. His "Checks to Antinomianism" have shed a luster on these doctrines which a whole century has left undimmed, and which, in the hands of the Methodist ministry, have gone far to revolutionize the English and American pulpit.

The sentence in the Minutes, that "*we have leaned too much toward Calvinism*," was the kindling spark in the magazine. As though the most blighting heresy that could peril the cardinal doctrines of Christianity had arisen, the Calvinistic Methodists arose in their might to crush it in its germ. More than six years measured this severe conflict. No controversy in the history of Methodism was more violent.

That for an entire century not a shadow of change has since appeared in the Arminian type of Methodism, is a fact elo-

quent of the argumentative power with which it was then vindicated.

The powerful advocates of Calvinism centralized around that remarkable lady, the Countess of Huntingdon. No woman in England commanded more moral power, or rallied on a great doctrinal question more literary talent.

The character of the opposing champions enhanced the interest of the spirited controversy, while the strength of the opposition to Arminianism elicited the invincible arguments which sustained it.

But of all the marked features in Wesleyan Methodism, none is invested with more moral beauty than its missionary characteristic. Nor do we elsewhere find it depicted with that simplicity, comprehensiveness, and rigid exactitude with which it is portrayed in the history before us. Dr. Stevens has shown, by ample illustrations, the spirit of missions to be vital to Methodism, and therefore to have been one of its inevitable developments. He has thus proved that the inborn power which made it expansive at home could never permit it to remain at home; that its destiny was aggression till the whole ransomed territory shall be conquered. The rapid diffusion of itself through British Protestantism was prophetic of its higher mission by which an incoming age was to be stirred. Long before this living element had embodied itself in missionary societies, its irrepressible energies had borne it to other lands. Panting for the disenthrallment of the race, it made its way to the islands of the sea and to the continent of America. The doctor justly regards the foreign missionary work as the third permanent stage of the Wesleyan development. But he shows that prior to this the expansive power of this living element had extended it into Nova Scotia, (1765,) into the West India Islands, (1760,) into North America, (1769.)

The great representative of the movement in this foreign work at a later period was Dr. Coke. While this apostolic man circumstantially varied greatly from his ministerial coadjutors, *substantially* he was one with them. The same irrepressible energy which impelled them to penetrate the cottage of ignorance, the back lanes of London, and the gloomy haunts of vice everywhere to cheer dark spirits by the lamp of heavenly hope, that same spirit prompted Coke to fly to the islands of

the sea and to distant continents. After his fifth missionary voyage to America, our history traces him to the West India Islands, and exhibits his profound sympathy with the persecuted missionaries at these posts of danger.

There this great-hearted man was shocked by the barbarity of the persecution, and delighted with the heroism with which it was braved. Finding the sable crowd before the grated window of the missionary's dungeon bathed in tears, under the utterances of his heavenly message, the doctor was thrilled with renewed confidence in the success of this sublime struggle. He declared that the Spirit which sustained these buoyant sufferers was the same by which the martyrs shouted in the flames. Penetrated with the incongruity of these colonial persecutions, with the unrestricted toleration of the parent state, Coke no sooner returned to England than he shaped matters to urge it on the notice of Parliament. This appeal was completely successful. Those barbarous laws were annulled, the prison doors unbarred, and the immured heralds of Christ were once more blowing the trumpet of truth.

At this period Dr. Coke seemed the embodiment of the missionary zeal of the age. He had not merely planned, established, and supervised many missions in the British colonies, but arranged for one in Asia, on which he intended to enter in person. Though this heroic purpose was defeated by his sudden death in the midst of his voyage thither, the mission he had planned was not a failure. The missionaries accompanying him had scarcely dried the tears in which they had bathed the remains of their departed leader, when they resolved to inaugurate the enterprise for which he had given his life. The providence was startling which had bereaved them, but they were too profoundly consecrated to the ransom of India to leave unattempted the execution of Coke's great scheme. They advanced with an intrepid step to grapple with the giant idolatry of that ancient nation, and thus was prepared the way for those stupendous achievements of which India has since been the theater.

But as our history shows, the death of this ubiquitous missionary not only did not defeat the well-devised mission in the East, but, while it struck the knell through the Church, "it was a summons to the Church to rise universally and march round

the world." His personal agency, which, in its single unaided efforts, seemed almost adequate to the demands of missions, had now ceased. The painful consciousness of this stirred the leading minds of the Connection to their depth, and the conferences arose as a unit to supply this service. The movement was so profound as to thrill the Protestantism of Europe, which now struck for the universal evangelization of the nations. This spirit became pervasive and dominant, especially in the dissenting Churches, and was destined thenceforth to shape and emblazon their history. Forthwith arose in rapid succession the great missionary associations of the age. First appeared the Baptist Society, (1792,) then the Scottish Society, (1796,) and then the London Missionary Society, (1795,) which Dr. Stevens has traced directly to Methodism in its Calvinistic form. Of the many millions poured through these channels into the missionary treasury, the Wesleyans alone, in half a century, contributed more than seventeen millions of dollars.

Thus this great revival of the eighteenth century has given the strongest attestation of its vital force in the missionary efficacy it has displayed. The vital spirit which it breathed on those self-sacrificing hundreds who have sublimely expatriated themselves to kindle heavenly hope in barbarous climes, could not be diverse from that which fell in tongues of fire on the pentecostal ministers. Those, like these, surmounted obstacles the most formidable. Wealth and wisdom, pride and prejudice, power and policy, hate and superstition, all gave way before these anointed heralds.

For six years succeeding 1821 the mission field amazingly expanded; an island or a group of islands were annually added to it. But in almost every instance the heavenly work was inaugurated under a storm of persecution; still, ascendancy was gained under its severest peltings. Their persons, their chapels, the entire circles of their interests, were often periled by the fury of the mob. But amid all these perils the stream of Gospel influence swelled and rolled on with accumulating power till no resistance could arrest it; so that in less than twenty years they were in the midst of scenes resembling apostolic triumphs among ancient pagans, who cast their idols to the bats and their books to the flames. Indeed, the achievements made by new-born Christianity were again repeated on these dark islands of the ocean.

Our history has not ignored the effect on the great emancipation struggle which was exerted by this moral change of those enslaved pagans. It stirred many a noble heart in England to toil for their disenthrallment. In 1807 the friends of the black man saw the end of the slave-trade, and twenty-seven years later they triumphed in the freedom of the colonies. Now ceased forever the tarring and feathering and imprisoning and vexing the heroic missionaries. The last day of slavery had come, and thrilling were the events that closed the dark history of human chattelism on these islands. Eight hundred thousand slaves crowded round the altars of religion. The light of freedom should dawn on them in the temple of God. The midnight hour saw them on their knees; the clock struck the eventful hour, and rung out freedom to almost a million of slaves. They arose unfettered by the chains in which they were born, and through the midnight heavens they rolled the notes of thanksgiving, uttering, like the sound of many waters,

Praise God, from whom all blessings flow.

But we must hasten to notice by a single glance the last act in the great drama which is depicted in the closing chapters of this interesting volume. This consisted in what signalized the "Centenary of Methodism." Our author having looked with scrutiny into those events which are supposed to have inaugurated Methodism, justifies the Connection in determining the thirty-ninth year of the last century as its birthtime. That such an era in the history of Protestantism should glide away with the undistinguished past was regarded ungrateful to Providence. To commemorate it by monuments significant of its sublime character was therefore resolutely determined. The aim was not merely retrospective—to recall the divine interferences in the progress of the movement; but also prospective—to promote the far-reaching interests now committed to the Connection. It was not "the boastful jubilation of a successful set," but a profound expression of felt obligation to the living Head of the Church. This was made chiefly not by the fervid expressions of the lips, but by the unequivocal utterances of *action;* by princely contributions to the noblest of great objects.

Though the determination of the conference was to make

the primary object of the jubilee the pious advancement of the societies, still the "Centenary" subserved to an amazing extent the enlargement of their institutions. Our historian portrays with vision-like power the preparatory steps to this grand ovation. The picture which he draws, for instance, of the Manchester meeting in the preceding year opens the thrilling scene before your very eyes. There you see a galaxy of representative minds through which all the voices of the Connection seemed to have utterance; upon which all the lights that had fallen on the pathway of a century appeared to converge. This proved not to be the transient glow of a happy social hour, but a kindled flame which should pervade England, and, unquenched by the ocean, kindle American Methodism.

Never before did the whole British Connection so compete to swell the great thank-offering to God. The six objects were first determined to which the contributions should be appropriated. They were, 1. The edifices for the two theological institutions. 2. The Centenary Buildings in London—the new mission rooms, and "Mission Ship." 3. The relief of distressed chapels. 4. A better support for worn-out preachers, and for the widows of the deceased. 5. The building of a "Centenary Chapel" in Dublin. 6. And the funds of the education committee.

Most of these objects were vital to the invigoration and expansion of the Connection. All the circuits in the kingdom vied in their munificent offerings for these noble objects. More than seventeen hundred thousand dollars was the aggregate sum contributed by the various Methodist bodies, an amount exceeding the contribution of any Protestant body in the world. The princely character of this offering, almost two millions, was more signal, as it was made in a year of unparalelled commercial depression.

But that which most distinguished the "Centenary" as an era in Methodism was the vast accumulation of its *moral power*. Those large offerings, cast into the treasury, were indications of the depth and extent of the Christian affection which bound in unity the entire Connection. Every donor seemed to inscribe on his contribution the remembrance of some personal benefit or family blessing of which Methodism had been the channel. The English nation for the first time now awoke to the grandeur

of that moral power which had arisen in its midst. Astonishment seized the public mind in view of its mighty workings. At this celebration, all Christendom was thrilled by this unequivocal expression of moral feeling which was literally fathomless; the impetus felt by the Connection from these collected forces of a whole century has not yet expended its power, and may continue to operate through the lapse of another century.

As our aim in this article has been to epitomize some prominent topics in the volume rather than to animadvert on any literary defects in it, we hope that the utility thus secured will compensate for the want of that acumen which is involved in critical discrimination. Nevertheless, it will not be out of harmony with this aim to conclude our review of the volume with two or three critical suggestions on its scientific character.

Never did Gieseler utter a profounder truth than in affirming that "no spiritual phenomena external to ourselves can be correctly understood in a historical way without reproducing them in ourselves." The internal evidence of the history before us strongly indicates that it was written under the influence of this sentiment. Much of the fascination experienced in perusing this volume is referrible to the reproducing power of the writer, by which the great events and actors of the century are placed before us. The want of this talent in a historian would be poorly compensated by pointed wit, bold contrast, or light flashes of original conceptions. Indeed, the rush of great thoughts, which startle by their massiveness, would be a poor substitute for this rare talent in the historian.

It seems to us impossible to read this history without feeling that its author has so deeply communed with its chief subjects as rather to belong to their times than to his own, as to place them again on the great stage, and make them act over again their parts which they had so nobly sustained. The remote is thus made near; the past, present. Instead of a dry aggregation of materials, a record of mere facts, a mass of phenomena unclassified, we have a skillful transfer of connected events and of living actors, made in the blended spirit of religious earnestness and of human sympathy. Nor can we deny to this history acute discernment, accompanied by delicate taste, with corresponding precision of language and fluency of style. But in our view these great excellencies have not precluded all

defects. The facts so exactly stated, so skillfully arranged, and so eloquently appropriated, are not always so illuminated by the torch of philosophy as to show *how* and *why* they thus occurred, and not otherwise. The ties running through intervening events are not always so traced as to detect the vital relation between the near and the remote.

Though facts form the web of history, to skillfully group them is not the chief power of history. Facts alone are barren and voiceless; to have significancy they must be traced upward to their efficient causes, and downward to their final causes. Their meaning must be sought not in themselves, but in their vital relations; so that they furnish an index to what preceded them, and to what comes after them; to those influences both immediate and indirect, near and remote. This involves a double development, and involves the two classes of actors, divine and human, God and man; and two opposing principles, evil and good. Without observing this vital connection of events, how can their phenomena be legitimately classified? How can the historian determine whether they have flowed from individual passions, social impulses, or religious instincts? Whether each event be one of that series of which man is causal, or of which God is causal? Whether a given event has only been appropriated by divine agency, as are all events, or has also been *caused* by that agency? He may perceive, indeed, in the very conflict of events the repugnancy of their sources, but without a just assortment of them. How can he avoid confounding the real with the apparent? To preclude this error events of a class must be found morally homogeneous. No mind being constructed to consider anything *alone*, the danger lies not in treating events as *fragments*, but in arranging them in *false* connections.

Of the great law of association, Dr. Stevens has amply availed himself in one direction. In regarding Wesley as the central agency, it was facile tracing the remotest events to their source; grasping the thoughts, motives, and purposes of this master spirit, it was not difficult reaching the forces which operated on his subordinate agencies. The latter, therefore, must be studied in the former, and must be arranged and developed on the same principle. But in the Wesleyan revival the doctor found not only the great actor in the founder of Methodism,

but the central event of the age in the *concentration of the personally pious into one living organism.* This event he found parental to all subordinate events concurring to make this great movement. No mass of events, however huge, under such treatment, will remain chaotic, as this will serve as a clue through the labyrinth. With very slight exceptions, our history avoids the blunder of locating the near for the remote, and of substituting the trivial for the important, and also of finding the chief cause in a single element of the cause. Those, for example, that find the *cause* of the great Methodist movement in the closing of the *church* doors against Wesley, resemble such as refer the reformation of Luther to the wish of the reformer to obtain a wife.

The strictly scientific character which now pervades all classes of researches cannot be withheld from Church history. What is dead is alone—can have nothing to unfold, can make no part of a living system—and should therefore never be obtruded into history to break its thread or mar its symmetry. As nothing can be tested without a rule, and the vitality of this class of events can have no rule out of the Scriptures, to ignore these as the underlying principle is a radical defect. This rule, then, is indispensable, for the double purpose of rejecting the erroneous and accepting the true. Indeed, we maintain that Church history in its utmost depth cannot be fathomed without ultimate reference to God's oracles as its underlying stratum. How, for example, can a key be found to the origin of tendencies, by which successive periods have been distinguished, without a knowledge of the various conceptions of scriptural doctrine? Thus, what rational account would be possible of those stirring events which have immortalized the third and fourth centuries, without an acquaintance with those keenly debated doctrines that were sifted and settled by the first four general councils? Though a mere record of facts is an indispensable element of history, such a narrative alone can never deserve the title of history. Added to this must be that vital tie which binds in unity every part of a living organism, and especially which will connect Church events with Christian doctrines. It is true that equal importance cannot be attached to the formal connection between Methodist history and Methodist doctrine; still we confess, in our view, such

connection more elaborately traced would have much enhanced the value of this history.

A brief but systematical development of Methodist theology in its causal relation to many of the most thrilling events of the great movements, would to many otherwise well-informed readers shed a startling light on the theology of our Church. The period of a century and a quarter has been too brief to convince such that the doctrines of the Methodists are not a series of crude notions too loosely connected to deserve the name of a system. Nor would the catholicity so gracefully exhibited in the history have been *really* less. While this symmetrical system of doctrines would shed its own unborrowed light on the history, it would receive a reflected luster from the great events it had generated; and thus would appear more strikingly the accordance of our theology with the primary intuitions of the soul, and with the most obvious import of the *sacred oracles*. But despite these apparent defects, this work, otherwise executed by a master hand, should be regarded as a priceless contribution to our literature, and as a standard book of its class.

This volume, with the two preceding ones, should not be confined to the minister's library, but should be read wherever the English language is the channel of thought. As we look for a fourth volume of Methodist history from the same able hand, which shall trace the great Wesleyan movement in America, we shall await its appearance with no common solicitude. Signal must be the skill which shall compress into a single volume the huge mass of materials which will crowd on the historian from almost a hundred years of stupendous achievements.

The agency by which Methodism has been developed on this continent is in some regards unique. In part it has passed from the stage, and in part it still survives; while the identity of aim unifies the dead and the living. Great questions, more or less vital to the common cause, have been earnestly discussed. Candor, almost morbid, will be indispensable in the historian to preclude the charge of partiality, to discuss partisan questions free from a partisan spirit. Should the gifted author succeed in this delicate task, the work will be a monument which ages cannot crumble, a book which generations shall read, a living voice of mighty utterances of the Gospel's saving efficacy.

Art. III.—THE TWO GREEK REVOLUTIONS OF 1862.

While upon this western continent we have for months been called to witness the sad loss of human life and destruction of property which a gigantic rebellion has inflicted upon a people that until yesterday had enjoyed a prosperity rarely equaled in the history of the world, and political institutions, the envy of all liberal men, the hand of Providence has not failed to lend us encouragement, in the midst of circumstances so much calculated to depress, by pointing not only to those seasons of severe trial which in the past have visited every nation of importance, but yet more significantly to events occurring in our own times, which must convince us that we are but suffering the common allotment of mankind. The most firmly established of European monarchies have not escaped commotions that seemed to portend more serious conflicts in the future; and the little kingdom of Greece has experienced a civil war which awakened in the minds of the older portion of the population an apprehension of the re-enactment of such scenes of horror as took place thirty or forty years ago, in the days of their youth. In a former article in this Review, little more than a twelvemonth since, we endeavored to convey a correct impression of the present political condition of the Greeks, as the result of their past history, and especially of the policy of the government of Greece during the period that succeeded its revolutionary struggle. We were naturally led to point out some of those dangers which, in our opinion, seemed to threaten the stability of its peace. The record of the past year has lent to our fears the confirmation of fact.

Of dissatisfaction with the administration of Otho there has for a long time been no lack. The glowing expectations founded on his advent to the land of his adoption in the bloom of youth were wholly dissipated years ago. His selfish schemes, as short-sighted as they were permanently injurious to his subjects, disgusted alike, though on very different grounds, the unenlightened peasant and the enthusiastic philhellene. The foreigner came in contact with few persons, in the intercourse he held with the Athenians, who would attempt to uphold the admin-

istration as deserving of respect, or to disguise their dislike of King Otho. The few exceptions were found to consist in general of the *attachés* of the court, or aspirants to offices at the king's disposal. With grief well-nigh amounting to despair, true patriots discovered that when a new cabinet succeeded one that had been overturned in consequence of the disclosure of flagrant malfeasance, or insufferable submission to the arbitrary demands of the sovereign, the new ministers were but the counterparts of their predecessors in everything but name. Nor was their faith in the future confirmed when the new deputies, returned to represent more liberal principles, proved no less open to the influence of the bribes or patronage of the court, so that the king rarely failed to secure a working majority in his favor. Yet popular commotions and abortive attempts at revolution, though frequent, were far less serious than might have been expected; for none were so dull as not readily to perceive that the same powers of Europe which had placed Otho upon the throne could assuredly either secure him in its possession, or supply his place with some other monarch, as much more oppressive as was King Crane than King Log, in the fable.

To the ordinary sources of dissatisfaction, which were of long standing, has of late been added the grievance of an unusual degree of interference with the freedom of the elections, and this of so marked a character as to elicit intimations of disapproval even from foreign governments. When the late Chamber of Deputies convened, it was found that there was not a single member elected by the opposition. The phenomenon was easy of explanation. In Greece the polls are almost uniformly held in the churches. A couple of soldiers posted at the door, on the days of election, gave ready admittance to electors known to be favorable to the administration; while the opposition vainly strove to gain access to the building, and were turned back with the announcement that their names were not upon the register of those entitled to vote. If by any accident the governmental candidate was discovered to be in danger of defeat, the prospect was readily altered by the insertion of additional ballots by the election committee and guard—all being men selected for their known devotion to the crown. To counterbalance this accession of ballots, the names of non-resi-

dents or deceased persons must be inscribed upon the lists; and it was a common report that four thousand dead men voted at Athens alone, all on the ministerial side. No wonder that with a House thus elected, and with senators appointed by the cabinet without any participation of the people in the selection, the most dangerous projects were initiated toward the close of the year 1861. Retrograde governments have always shown the utmost sensitiveness to the criticism of a free press; and the first symptoms of the proximity of revolution are frequently detected in the attempt to fetter its utterances. The new Chambers of Greece had scarcely been organized, before it was rumored that an oppressive bill was to be introduced to regulate the exercise of this new organ of public sentiment. The provision that no person should edit a newspaper who had not acquired the degree of "didactor," or doctor, in one of the schools of the university, was intended to exclude a great part of the present corps of editors. But the additional condition of depositing ten thousand drachms, or nearly seventeen hundred dollars, as caution money, was a manifest violation of the Constitution, which, while it recognizes the pecuniary responsibility of editors and proprietors of public journals, expressly prohibits the exaction of security. It was remarked by one well qualified to judge, that some few of the present corps might perhaps conform to the latter requirement, but that barely two or three were possessed of the necessary qualifications as graduates. "This measure," it was pithily added, "will greatly lighten the labors of the king's attorneys, and especially those of the prosecutor at the capital, since it will put an end to the frequent seizures of papers. It will also free the government from the annoyance of seeing its actions criticised and condemned through the press. Although in the present state of affairs nothing is improbable, yet we incline to believe that the cabinet will give a serious consideration to the consequences of so harsh a measure." The opposition elicited by the mere announcement of the project determined the ministerial party not to bring it publicly forward.

The illiberal character of the legislature was evinced yet more distinctly by the law on mixed marriages, in which the odious provisions of the most bigoted edicts on this vexed question were reproduced. "Marriage between a person belonging

to the Eastern Orthodox (Greek) Church and one belonging to any other Christian religion is valid," says this precious relic of medieval exclusiveness, "when celebrated by a priest of the Eastern Orthodox Church, if all the prescriptions of the Greek law are observed, and if a promise is first made by the bridegroom, in the presence of the justice of the peace (*ειρηνοδίκης*) of the place in which the marriage is performed, that the children that may be born of this marriage shall be baptized and educated in the Eastern Orthodox religion. The violation of this promise is punished according to the 270th article of the Penal Code." Vainly did the friends of religious equality and toleration oppose the law; it was passed by a large majority in spite of the remonstrances of Mr. Cyriacus, representative of the city of Athens, who stigmatized it as repugnant to the spirit of the Constitution, and to the principles of the nineteenth century.

Alarming evidence of the discontent of the people was found about the same time in an attempt made by a young student named Dosios to assassinate the Queen Amelia, then regent, during the absence of her husband. The queen fortunately escaped injury, and the would-be murderer was tried and condemned. His counsel endeavored to prove him insane, but the judges took a different view of the case. He himself, at a preliminary examination, boldly avowed his intention of freeing his country from tyranny. Scarcely had the felicitations of embassadors and high dignitaries, and the special services in the churches in honor of her majesty's deliverance ceased, when a new and equally startling disclosure was made. A conspiracy had been formed to murder the king, who had now returned, and among those implicated were a number of cavalry officers and soldiers. These premonitions could not fail to excite alarm in the breasts of Otho and Amelia, for against insubordination in the native army they had been without defense, since they were compelled in 1843 to dismiss their Bavarian troops.

Notwithstanding these and other tokens of an approaching tempest, the government was unable to obtain any intimations sufficiently definite to enable it to provide against the storm. Information which has of late reached us, but which never found its way into the Athenian press, enables us to assert that an extensive revolution had been organized, far more extensive than the monarch or his counselors ever imagined possible.

The head and heart of the movement was Athens, from which, as a center, it had spread to all parts of the kingdom. In the capital it counted among its adherents many of the most influential citizens, some of whom held high offices in the civil administration, as well as in the army and navy. But although so many were necessarily intrusted with the weighty secret, so perfect was the organization, and so reliable the confidants, that no tidings reached the cabinet. Many a poor Athenian possessed and kept securely the intelligence which the court would have willingly bought at a high price. Vague rumors were indeed current, and the police even ventured to make some arbitrary arrests; but all their search was of no avail. Canaris, an admiral in the Greek navy, was probably the leader of the conspirators. For the outbreak, which was intended to be simultaneous throughout the entire country, a day early in the month of February, 1862, was chosen. On the evening of that day a ball was to be given at the palace, at which the king and queen, the latter an ardent lover of the dance, were to appear in public. At an appointed signal the conspirators, who had posted themselves near the persons of the royal pair, were to advance, and, interrupting their festivities, hurry them off to the port Piræus, whence a steamer in waiting would convey them back to the Germany, which they ought never to have left. The plan was a bold one, and it would probably have been effected without the effusion of blood had not one of those apparently fortuitous circumstances occurred which often disturb the most accurate of human calculations.

An important point in the eyes of the conspirators was the city of Nauplia, situated at the southern end of the rich Argolic plain, sixty miles distant in a direct line from Athens, but nearly twice as far by the circuitous route which a steamer must take in turning the southern cape of the Argolic peninsula. Of no great importance in ancient times, except as the port of the celebrated cities of Mycenæ, Argos, and Tiryns, which, as was customary at an early period, when piracy universally prevailed, were built at a considerable distance from the sea, during the middle ages Nauplia grew at the expense of its neighbors. When Greece revolted from the Turks, Nauplia, called by the Italian sailors Napoli di Romania, was the most important city of the Peloponnesus. When the

claims of various localities to become the permanent capital of the new kingdom were made the subject of debate, there were not a few who advocated the selection of Nauplia, which had served as the temporary seat of government. Nothing but the prestige of Athens prevented the adoption of Nauplia or Corinth for this honorable distinction. Besides its convenient situation for commercial purposes, the city of which we speak possessed a strong fortress, the Palamede, reputed to be the most defensible position in the Peloponnesus, surpassing even the famous Acrocorinthus in this particular, since there are no great elevations in the neighborhood by which it is commanded. The possession of this citadel had indeed made Nauplia the *key* of Southern Greece.

For many years the Palamede has been the arsenal of Greece. At the beginning of 1862 it was said to contain not less than fifty thousand stand of arms. There was a large quantity of ammunition, and all the siege pieces in Greece were to be found within its walls. A great part of the standing army of the kingdom were permanently stationed here to guard the position and its important stores. Three thousand men constituted the garrison at the date above mentioned. Not only the principal officers, but even the subordinates, had entered into the conspiracy; and it has been remarked that none were more faithful than the non-commissioned officers, who on more than one occasion during the subsequent difficulties, detecting infidelity or cowardice in their superiors, locked them in their rooms, that they might have no opportunity to damage the common cause.

The conspirators at Nauplia, in their communications with the leaders at Athens, had been assisted by an agent of the Dutch consulate. Their letters were inclosed by him in envelopes addressed to the consular bureau at the capital, and thus they passed safely through the post-office, protected by the foreign seal from the prying eyes of the salaried spies, whose acquaintance with ordinary letters is reputed to be much too intimate. The Dutch consul himself seems to have been ignorant of the contents of the correspondence that accompanied his dispatches. At length intelligence reached the nomarch of Argolis which satisfied him that letters of a treasonable character would be found in the mail then in the post-office. He at once ordered its detention; and the police officers had

executed his commands, when the agent of the consul revisited the office, suspecting that something was amiss, and requested his dispatches to be returned. Instead of complying with his request the seal was broken, the letters read, and the names of some of the principal leaders at Athens, as well as of their comrades at Nauplia, came to light. The Nauplians saw that there was no time to be lost, if they would consult their own safety. On the first day of February, Old Style, (the thirteenth, New Style,) five or six days before the day previously fixed upon for the common movement, the Hellenic army at Nauplia raised the standard of revolt. Under their commanding officers, Botzaris, Grivas, and Artemes, they at once possessed themselves of the person of the nomarch, who had been instrumental in their discovery, not without some violence. The custom-house and the bank were the first objects of their search, and their contents were speedily applied to the support of the movement. The military prison was visited, and the convicts were not only liberated, but arms were placed in their hands, and they went to swell the number of the insurgents. At the same time the precaution was taken to secure not only the strong fortifications of the citadel, but also the inferior works that protect the lower town in the direction of the suburb of Pronia, and the detached castle of Bourdzi, which stands upon a rock scarcely rising above the sea. So promptly were these measures adopted that if any opposition was entertained by the inhabitants of the city, which with its suburbs may contain eight or nine thousand souls, few ventured to give any expression to their secret feelings.

Meanwhile at Athens the intelligence awakened the deepest solicitude. The king could not view without emotion the establishment of an armed band of rebels in the very city where twenty-nine years before, on the 6th of February, 1833, he had stepped for the first time upon Grecian soil. Apprehensions were entertained lest the insurrection at Nauplia might prove to be only a part of a preconcerted movement extending over the entire country. It was not, therefore, without great relief that telegraphic dispatches from Argos, Patras, Lamia, and other prominent localities, announced the maintenance of good order, and a general repudiation of the attempt of the rebels. At Athens itself quiet ruled, and the citizens

devoted themselves to their usual pursuits, with the exception of a few ever ready to take advantage of any novelty to indulge in idleness. The legislative bodies were summoned to an extraordinary session, and at once took occasion to express in strong terms their condemnation of the revolution, and their readiness to afford the government all needed aid and support. At the same time the government ordered the arrest of fifteen or twenty Athenians of various professions, whose names are given in the Greek journals. They seem subsequently to have been as summarily released; and from this circumstance we may be warranted in inferring that the grounds of their imprisonment were discovered to be frivolous. At least no charge was preferred against them that could be substantiated before a court of law.

As intelligence began to come in from those parts of the kingdom which were in less close communication with the capital, it was found that nowhere had the insurrection manifested itself outside of Nauplia, save in the town of Tripolis, or as it is named upon our maps, Tripolitza, the capital of Arcadia, the central *nome* of Peloponnesus. Here the leaders endeavored to strengthen their cause by giving it the sanction of religion. The Archbishop of Mantinea was induced to take an active part in encouraging the rebels, if indeed he was not originally one of the chief conspirators. Not only did he sprinkle the band with consecrated water, and administer to them the oath of fidelity to one another, but he was so bold as to deliver a sermon or address full of comfort to those who had espoused the desperate cause. Only a few months had elapsed since this prelate had revealed his true character indifferently well. An agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society visiting Arcadia, had felt the liveliest pity for the poor prisoners confined in the jail of Tripolitza, and destitute of religious instruction, as well as of anything to counteract the debasing influence of vicious associates. He therefore distributed among the prisoners a number of Bibles and New Testaments in the modern Greek. On hearing of this benevolent donation, the Archbishop of Mantinea, instead of testifying satisfaction at so Christian an act, exercised his authority as diocesan, and caused the Word of God to be taken away from these poor souls who were famishing for spiritual food. This

heathenish course was violently criticised by thinking men, but it received no notice from the government, which soon after discovered this prelate's unworthiness, as evinced in his abetting the rebellion. But whether the insurgents did not meet in Tripolitza with the support they anticipated, or whether the position was too exposed to be deemed tenable, certain it is that they were compelled, after seizing upon the public treasury, to evacuate the town and retreat in the direction of Sparta and Messenia. Not long after, finding their efforts fruitless, and their number diminished by desertions, they sent for one of the national officers of a village near which they were, and after voluntarily surrendering to him the public property they had seized, quietly dispersed and returned to their homes.

The first military movements of the royal forces seem not to have been attended with much success. A considerable body of infantry and artillery, drawn together from various points, was concentrated near Corinth, and hurried forward to the narrow pass of Dervenakia, where the road from Corinth to the Argolic plain finds its way through the mountain range which further to the east spreads over the entire Argolic peninsula. It was the possession of this difficult pass which in 1822 enabled the Greek patriots to overwhelm the numerous army of Drami Ali Pasha. The royal generals were consequently anxious to become masters of it, and in this attempt they were successful. The Argive to whom the insurgents had intrusted the task of organizing a band and defending the pass proved a coward, and hid himself in a neighboring vineyard, whence he was drawn out and imprisoned by the Nauplians. But on pressing forward the royal army fell into an ambuscade in the immediate vicinity of the ruins of ancient Tiryns. The prospect of the sea-shore is here cut off from the main road by a growth of reeds and other marsh plants. Under cover of these the insurgents had placed floating batteries in a position to command the road; and scarcely had the royal troops made their appearance before the vegetation disappeared, as if by magic, and a murderous fire opened on their flank. The loss of the army from this unexpected attack was reported by the government organs to be two killed and twelve wounded. It was subsequently shown that it ought to have been stated at more than one hundred.

A few weeks elapsed, embracing the latter part of the month of February, during which the operations before Nauplia were unimportant. Indications of feeling unfavorable to the government appeared at Athens, where disturbances took place at the university and the gymnasia, and a number of shopkeepers suddenly closed their shops, alleging that as no business was done it was useless for them to keep them open. The shopkeepers were forced by the police, who saw in the steps adopted some secret design, to reopen their establishments, even if they sold nothing. And the students were punished by the promulgation of an order from the minister of public instruction, suspending the exercises of the institutions for a period of several months, an arrangement by which all but the most industrious were delayed fully one year in their studies. Within a few weeks the gymnasium of Patras was likewise closed, apparently for the same cause. Evidently the government looked with suspicion on the body of students gathered in these institutions, perhaps fearing lest in the bosom of this excitable and enthusiastic class there might arise some more significant movement, giving to the revolution a definite aim and a more lasting impulse. The Athenians were forbidden their customary carnival festivities, for the disguises so essential to the unrestricted license of this season were altogether prohibited. Nor were more than two persons allowed to walk the streets in company. At the same time the influence of the clergy was invoked to restore quiet throughout the land. The "Holy Synod" published an encyclic letter, in which both clergy and laity were enjoined to give due submission and obedience to the king and to the laws of the state.

Meanwhile the rebel leaders, although disappointed at finding that their cause was espoused by few outside of the walls of Nauplia, prepared to make a vigorous resistance to the royal troops, now encamped in the immediate neighborhood, while continuing to kindle the flame of revolt elsewhere. For this purpose they had, at the very commencement of their struggle, addressed to their countrymen a proclamation, now for the first time published by the loyal papers of the realm. The glories attaching to the 25th of March, the anniversary of the outbreak of the revolution which emancipated Greece from Turkish rule, were rehearsed and contrasted with those that belonged

to the 3d of September, 1843, which beheld the establishment of constitutional government. But neither of these critical days was more deserving of everlasting remembrance than the 1st of February, when the country was saved from the suffocating embrace of "a system whose emblem was lawlessness and treason, a system of slavery and degradation." "Heroic Nauplia," added the document in enthusiastic language, "under the leadership of heroes, in conjunction with its brave garrison, and with the full concurrence of the citizens, first seized its arms, and first struck a fatal blow at that system, unfurling the standard of freedom, on which appear, inscribed in golden letters, these three principles capable of saving the nation: 1. The fall of the system hitherto observed, and the proclamation of a new system assuring the freedom of the people, and the application of the two following principles. 2. The dissolution of the present council (Chamber of Deputies) established by violent measures. 3. The convocation of a national convention promising the recovery by the nation of its liberties, which have been trodden under foot, and the fulfillment of all our noble and national longings." This declaration of the objects contemplated by the revolution was signed by eleven of the most prominent leaders, among whom were Zapheiropoulos and Peter Mauromichales. A document accompanied it, in which the authorities of the city of Nauplia indorsed the action of the army, and boasted that the maintenance of good order had been undisturbed, while private rights and property were amply respected.

On the other hand King Otho, on the 17th of February, (March 1, New Style,) made a solemn address to the Greek people. After deploring the treachery of men for whom the sacredness of an oath and the unsullied honor of a soldier ought to have been pledges of fidelity, but who had invited to their native land the most hateful of all anarchy, military license, the Greek monarch states that the needful steps have been taken to bring the revolt to a speedy conclusion. In the midst of such mournful circumstances, nothing could be more consoling than the universal reprobation with which the tidings of rebellion had been met at the hands of all classes of the population. As the king of such a nation, he must express his gratitude and pride. He reminds his subjects that he has identified his fortunes with theirs, since their future is also his

own. It was for their sakes that he left his own land, his parents and other relatives, a quiet and undisturbed life; for he had from the beginning recognized the fact that a noble future was in reserve for Greece. By their conduct the Greeks had shown that, duly estimating these sacrifices, they sought the prosperity of their country only in the exercise of justice and the operation of the Constitution of the realm. He therefore exhorted them to remain steadfast in that mutual confidence in and love of the throne, to which they were indissolubly bound by the oaths of 1833 and 1844. To the address were appended, below the signature of Otho, the names of all the members of the cabinet: Coundouriotes, Botsares, Simos, Botles, and Christopoulos. It was everywhere read, and by some its assurances of solicitude for the common welfare were welcomed. The greater number of readers, however, we may well suppose, were not disposed to rate very highly the sacrifices which an unappanaged younger son of the king of Bavaria had made in consenting to accept the regal crown of Greece, and thought perhaps that the profuse expenditures of the palace, when viewed in connection with the neglect of public improvements, failed to confirm that extreme devotion to the national weal of which an exhibition was so ostentatiously made. Others, if disposed to be more censorious, suggested that the repeated reference to civic and military oaths was scarcely seemly in the mouth of a monarch whose entire policy had been an undisguised hostility toward the form of government he had solemnly sworn to uphold.

A royal ordinance, published two days before the address, promised amnesty to all soldiers who, previous to the commencement of the actual bombardment of Nauplia, should lay down their arms. It was also extended to non-commissioned officers who could prove that their participation in the revolt had been compulsory or the result of no premeditation. What was the effect of the proclamation does not appear. Indeed, the universal complaint of the press was that the public was kept in ignorance of events that were transpiring in and around Nauplia.

At length, everything having been made ready for an assault on the positions held by the rebels, a general attack was made on the 1st of March, just one month after the outbreak of the rebellion. On all points the attack was successful, although

the advantage was not gained without great effusion of blood. First the little hamlet of Areia was carried, a position two miles eastward of Nauplia, on the same rocky ridge, the possession of which was of great importance, as it contains the springs whence the water is brought by an aqueduct to the city. A height crowned by a mill known as that of Tambacopoulos was taken about the same time. Next the assailants directed their efforts against the suburb of Pronia, close to the gates of the city. Here a more determined resistance was experienced, but before the close of the day Pronia was added to the positions that remained in the hands of the royal troops. In these several engagements a considerable number of prisoners were taken, among whom were several officers, Lieut. Gourgoures, Coronæus, and others. Six cannon and some ammunition also fell into the hands of the royalists. But the victory was purchased at a costly sacrifice of life. Five or six hundred were counted among the fallen. The attack had been skillfully planned and faithfully executed by the commanding general, Chan. This prominent philhellene, a Swiss by birth, who after serving in the revolution had settled in Greece, and risen to the rank of major-general in the Greek army, had been ordered by Otho to undertake the suppression of the rebellion. At first he declined the odious task, alleging that it was for no such purposes that he had come to the land of his adoption. But the king assumed the responsibility, and reminded him of that subordination which is the first of military virtues. With great reluctance the general yielded; but at the conclusion of the campaign he retired from a country where he had been made the unwilling instrument of the shedding of the blood of citizens by citizens, and betook himself once more to his native hills.

Notwithstanding this great success, but little progress had been made toward the reduction of Nauplia. It is true that it was now invested both by land and sea; but the fortress was almost impregnable, and, what was of more consequence, the insurgents had an abundance of artillery and ammunition, while the royalists were altogether unprovided with siege pieces, all that the government owned having fallen into the possession of the rebels, together with the arsenal. It was evident that Nauplia could be gained for the royal cause only by a long and tedious blockade or by surrender on advantageous terms. A

truce for five days was agreed upon between the garrison of Nauplia and the besieging force, and this was the end of active operations. At the termination of this truce a new truce followed, and then a series of armistices were entered into.

Meanwhile another insurrection, or rather another part of the same general plan of revolt which had been disconcerted by the premature disclosure of the plot and outbreak at Nauplia, revealed itself among the Cyclades. The small garrison of Syra or Hermoupolis, the most important commercial port of Greece, raised the standard of the revolution about the first day of March, (Old Style.) The local government indorsed the movement, but afterward disowned its action, as having been the result of constraint. The soldiers, numbering about one hundred and fifty men, seized one of the best vessels belonging to the Greek steamship company, and steamed first to the island of Tenos, where, after a delay which eventually proved fatal to their cause, they took on board another small detachment of troops animated by the same sentiments. They were under the command of a skillful officer, Leoutzakos by name, who in 1854 had been governor of Lamia, and had twice defeated the Turks in the plains of Thessaly. It was his plan, after gathering all the troops whom he could muster on the islands of the Ægean, to sail to Chalcis, on the island of Eubœa. Having released all the prisoners in the public prison, and thus swelled his force, he was to cross the bridge to the mainland and march through Bœotia, or transport himself and his followers to Marathon and take a more direct route to Athens, where his confederates awaited him, ready to take up arms at his approach. But the want of readiness of the Teniots delayed the steamer so long that scarcely had it reached the island of Cythnus, its next stopping place, when the royal corvette "Amalia" made its appearance in pursuit. As it arrived Leoutzakos, who had hastily thrown up a breastwork on the shore, and might easily have destroyed the royalists in their open boats, ordered his soldiers not to fire, and made signals of his desire to address the approaching party. He was standing on the breastwork about to speak, when Chrysoverges and Tsiros, in command of the royalists, ordered their men to fire. Leoutzakos fell pierced with several balls; many of his followers shared his fate, the rest were made prisoners, and the plan failed. The brutal

Chrysoverges expressed his unwillingness to give the corpse of the fallen officer a place on the Amalia as it returned to Athens. Placed, naked, we believe, in a little open boat, it was trailed after the steamer, while the insolent victors vented upon the dead man their reproaches and contumely. The commandant had even the hardihood to boast at Athens of the exploit, and nearly paid the price of his audacity; for a relative of Leoutsakos attempted to avenge his murder, and was only hindered by the interference of other persons who happened to be present. And even after the flames of civil war had been extinguished, when Chrysoverges had occasion to land at Nauplia, for the purpose of visiting friends at Argos, he was met at the wharf by an indignant crowd of three thousand persons, who hissed and cursed him as a murderer, and pelted him with the most disgusting substances. Not a carriage driver would consent to carry him to Argos; with difficulty could he find a seat in a rough cart.

The time for an accommodation was now evidently drawing nigh. On the one hand, the insurgents had beheld the failure of their attempts to elicit the co-operation of the other portions of Greece. A new effort might be crowned with success, if carefully planned and executed simultaneously throughout the country; but the failure of the present undertaking was inevitable. On the other hand, the government had no means for the reduction of Nauplia, and could afford to purchase the submission of the rebels at the cost of a few concessions. The terms of the proclamation of amnesty were gradually extended by announcements issued during the latter part of the month of March. Many of the families of Nauplia were allowed by both parties to leave the rebel lines. Finally the insurgents consented to surrender the place on condition that the amnesty should be extended to all excepting certain leaders, a list of whose names was made; and the government pledged itself to the foreign embassadors to carry into effect those reforms which the Nauplians had demanded in their programme. On this basis an agreement was made; and on Easter Sunday, April 8, Old Style, (20th, New Style,) 1862, the rebellion, which had lasted nearly seventy days, was terminated. The leaders, and many of their followers, embarked on an English and a French steamer that lay waiting for them in the Argolic gulf, and soon

reached Smyrna. Three of their number, among them the coward who had been appointed to guard the pass of Dervenakia, being in disagreement with their comrades, proceeded from Smyrna to Italy. The royal troops re-entered Nauplia through those ancient and curious gates on whose portals is yet to be seen the winged lion of St. Mark's, the emblem of the former supremacy of the Venetian republic. The blockade of the Argolic gulf was removed. The tidings of the restoration of peace were carried to every part of Europe on the telegraphic wires, and the congratulations of the Lord Commissioner of the Ionian Isles and of other rulers came back in quick response.

A wise monarch and cabinet would have viewed such an opportunity as that now presented as one of those critical junctures which, if improved, may lead to firm and solid peace, but which, neglected, are forever irretrievably lost. The rebellion had made a clear and unmistakable revelation of the extent of the prevailing discontent. No class of the population were free from dissatisfaction. Even the soldiery, upon whom Otho had reposed unquestioning confidence, had proved disaffected. They had been ringleaders in the revolt. Nor were the causes which had led to the revolt disguised. The government had been distinctly informed that it was the deliberate ignoring of the people, the attempt to deprive the public of all participation in the affairs of state, the utter disregard of constitutional prescriptions and of the common welfare, which had alienated the great mass of the Greek people. And the lesson which the revolution was intended to communicate ought to have been no less salutary, because of its failure through a want of concert among its originators. It would have been easy for the monarch, by the adoption of wise and sufficiently radical reforms, to have precluded the possibility of a repetition of the attempt, and to have acquired such a hold upon the affections of his people as might have secured his crown to his successors for several generations. None of his previous derelictions —the sad record of nearly an entire generation—would have dimmed his future glory; so forgiving is the people whom recent favors blind to ancient wrongs. Was this the record of the Bavarian Otho?

The king in his boyhood had been intended for a cardinal of the Roman Church. A casual suggestion, and the election

by the protecting powers of Europe, diverted him from an ecclesiastical career, and he exchanged the prospect of a crimson cap for the reality of a regal crown. But the principles which Jesuit tutors had inculcated he could never forget. It was no intention of his to fulfill the promises of reform which he had made; and the proofs of this were soon to be seen.

The revolution had exhibited the paramount necessity of the organization of a national guard. The legislative bodies were summoned to take this matter into consideration, and after several postponements of the opening of their sessions, they commenced their deliberations. Meanwhile the ministry of Miaoulis fell; and after the portfolio had been offered to Mr. Tricoupis, whose demands the king could not bring himself to admit, Mr. Colocotronis, formerly master of ceremonies, was intrusted with the formation of a new cabinet. How general and how thorough was the detestation in which the outgoing ministers were held, may be inferred from a single incident. The Minister of Justice and Education, Mr. Potles, a person of gentlemanly manners and pleasing address, had been a lawyer before taking his seat in the cabinet. No sooner was his resignation of office tendered, than the Athenian association of lawyers expelled him from their society. Similar marks of disapproval awaited other tools of the king.

In the Chamber of Deputies the law respecting the new National Guard was made the subject of violent discussion. On the one hand, all true patriots endeavored to secure to the members of the guard themselves the selection of all the officers. On the other hand, the party which was headed by both the late and the present ministers proposed to place the unrestricted right of nominating them in the hands of the king. Finally there was a partial compromise adopted, which provided that from four candidates elected by the guard the king should select one. The determination of the government to secure the passage of the bill we cannot but regard as most ill-advised. It convinced the people that Otho was determined to be guided, as heretofore, by a policy dictated by Austria and Bavaria; a policy that denied to the people all control of the military, as well as of the civil administration. For could not the king always count upon finding at least one out of the four candidates entirely subservient to his purposes? "The Cham-

ber of Deputies of Greece," said one journal, "has thus, in open day, granted to the executive a right belonging exclusively to the people. We devoutly pray that this instrument may never be turned against the people itself, from whose hands it has been so dextrously snatched." As a matter of necessity the bill, which had passed the lower House, was hurried through the Senate, composed of the nominees of the king, and in August the law was formally signed by Otho. At that very moment the Minister of Justice, Mr. Eliopoulos, chose to give a new token of his zeal to outdo all previous ministers in devotion to the "system," under which term the Athenians have been wont of late to designate the unconstitutional and retrograde tendencies of the partisans of the court. He gave to the police and other authorities of justice the power of unsealing and reading the private letters sent through the mail, an act expressly forbidden by the Constitution. But this was a draught too bitter even for the Senate, which had so promptly swallowed the law on the National Guard. A violent discussion ensued, and the minister was compelled to admit the illegality of his instructions, with the secret intention, we have no doubt, of nevertheless carrying them more privately into practice, and the Senate entered upon its records this minute: "Whereas the Minister of Justice has publicly acknowledged that the document No. 5,295, of June 30 of the present year, has no official force, and conveys no obligation for its application, the Senate, satisfied with this confession, ceases from all further discussion."

We come now to a fresh scene in the revolutionary drama. Quiet had for months been restored throughout the kingdom. The civil commotions, like angry waves after the tempest has ceased, had gradually subsided, and a season of undisturbed calm seemed about to succeed. So at least thought the court, for the king and queen regarded it as a favorable opportunity for making a pleasure trip, and at the same time conciliating favor by visiting some of the provincial cities. On Wednesday, the 3d of October, Old Style, (15th, New Style,) the royal party left Piræus in the steamer "Amalia," intending to touch at various points on the coast of Peloponnesus, as well as at some of the islands. They carried with them, it is said, not a few ecclesiastical ornaments, intended as presents for the churches they

might visit. They had not been absent many days before important intelligence reached them, as the "Amalia" lay before Calamata in the Messenian gulf. On Monday, the 7th of October, the news of a fresh insurrection was received at Athens. It had broken out in the garrison at Bonitza in Acarnania, a town on the Ambracian gulf, and, therefore, in the extreme west of continental Greece. In rapid succession came telegrams announcing its spread to Missilonghi, and along both shores of the Corinthian gulf. On Wednesday the 10th, (22d, New Style,) it was known by all the initiated that the outbreak was to take place in the capital. But the day passed quietly away, and it was not until an hour before midnight that the signal was given by the firing of a musket. Soon the city was in commotion; bodies of armed citizens appeared in all the streets. They massed in the public squares, especially that in front of the palace, where the garrison of probably about three thousand men were called out to oppose them. At first no symptom of disaffection appeared among the troops; they were only waiting to be convinced that the movement was conducted by competent leaders. Most of the fighting took place in the vicinity of the Polytechnic School, and on the street of Æolus, one of the chief thoroughfares. But few were killed; it is said three of the gendarmes and two of the citizens. The gendarmes were the only troops that remained steadfast. A spectator thus describes the concluding scene, when the troops began to yield to the popular movement: "Almost the entire garrison of Athens was quartered in the square before Mr. ——'s house, and as I was very anxious to be an eye-witness of part of the affair at least, I spent the night at his house, looking down upon the scene below me from one of the windows. It was capital fun to see a portion of the troops scamper off and join the citizens about one o'clock in the morning, which was followed by great cheering in the neighborhood of the royal stables. In half an hour's time after this event there was not a man left on the square; cavalry, infantry, and artillery, all were gone! The gendarmes, seeing that all was over, took refuge in the palace, where they remained till morning, and then surrendered."

The revolution was successful. Country and capital had risen and shaken off the yoke of slavery. Nothing remained

but for the ministry of Colocotronis to resign, which they did the same morning at about two o'clock. Meanwhile the insurgents had not waited for that event, but had at once published the following document:

DECREE.

The sufferings of our native land have ceased. All the provinces and the capital, in union with the army, have put an end to them. As the common determination of the entire Greek nation, it is announced and decreed:

The kingly rule of Otho is annulled. The regency of Amelia is annulled. A provisional government, to govern the realm until the convocation of the National Assembly is established, consisting of the following citizens: Demetrius Boúlgares, President; Constantine Canares and Benizelos Roufos.

A national assembly will be called immediately for the formation of the form of government and the choice of a ruler. Vive the nation! Vive the fatherland!

Done in the year of salvation 1862, the tenth day of October.

This decree was prefaced in the public prints by such editorial expressions as these: "Fellow-citizens! after a thirty years' contest, and after the greatest sacrifices, the Greek nation has arisen against the tyranny of the Bavarian, Otho Witelsbach, and is now free!"

The king and queen, informed of the revolt at Bonitza and of its spread through western Greece, had turned their faces homeward. But the overthrow of the government had been effected before they reached Athens. Finding Piræus in the hands of the people, the "Amalia" dropped down toward Salamis; but on hearing further details regarding the complete success of the revolution, the king gave orders to leave the anchorage. Meanwhile the very officers and sailors of the sole vessel at the king's command had been infected with the prevailing contagion. The firemen had extinguished the fire; the engineers declared the machinery to be out of order. There was no alternative left but surrender, or escape to some friendly ship. Reluctantly the royal family embraced the latter course. "The tyrant and blood-stained Otho, with his abominable wife Amelia, embarked, weeping and wailing like children, in the English steamer Scylla." Such was the language in which the outraged public expressed its long pent-up indignation at the wrongs it had suffered. At nine o'clock in the evening of October 12th,

(24th, New Style,) 1862, the late king, with his consort, was on his way for Trieste, there to resign the crown in favor of his younger brother.

The change had been effected with little bloodshed. It was a providential circumstance that the king and queen were absent on their tour around Peloponnesus; for the plan of the revolution had been formed irrespective of their movements, and had they been in Athens we can well imagine that the issue might have been much more sanguinary. No one had dreamed that the detestation of the people for the late monarch was so general. All joined in the execrations of his memory. The busts and statues which had been so lavishly erected in the squares and gardens were thrown down. The king's crown was destroyed. Even the names of streets and buildings, which recalled his rule, were summarily changed. The *University of Otho* became the *Grecian University*. The palace, it was suggested, must be converted into a great national museum.* The police, the instruments of tyranny, were disbanded, and their places were assumed by a home guard, consisting chiefly or exclusively of students. Their services were needed. Some miscreants, taking advantage of the general confusion, broke into houses during the night of the ensuing Friday. They were caught after a determined resistance, and *eight* were sentenced to be shot at four o'clock on the next day upon the public square of *Concord*, the late square of *Otho*.

The new provisional government was speedily organized, and in the presence of the new metropolitan of Athens swore to consult the interests of the Greek people. It was headed by a man whose antecedents rendered him deserving of the position. Boúlgares was a faithful and consistent friend of liberty, a worthy compeer of the aged Mavrocordatos and of Tricoupes. He had, only a few weeks before, introduced into the Senate,

* Among other tokens of the universal desire of all classes of the population to destroy every trace of their late servitude, not the least amusing was the wish of those unfortunate individuals who had hitherto borne the name of Otho to divest themselves of the unpatriotic appellation. In a note addressed to the editor of a journal of the 3d of November, Mr. Catsoulieres says: "I beg you to insert in your next number, for the information of my friends, that having heretofore borne the name of Otho, I now change it to Odysseus, (Ulysses.) I accordingly announce that I shall allow no one to address me by my former name, which recalls to the heart of every Greek years of base slavery and tyranny."

and spoken in favor of a petition from Greeks of Galatz, in Moldavia, praying for a change in the policy of the government, and after a violent debate had secured its insertion in the records of that branch of the legislature. He selected as his cabinet: T. Manghinas, Th. A. Zaimes, A. Coumoundouros, D. Mavromichales, E. Delegeorges, D. Calliphronas, B. Nicolopoulos, and A. Diamantopoulos; filling respectively the departments of Finance, Interior, Justice, War, Public Instruction, Navy, Ecclesiastical, and Foreign Affairs. These gentlemen followed the example of the provisional government in taking a solemn oath to support the laws of the realm and the provisional government, and conscientiously to fulfill their duties. The selection of ministers was not unexceptionable. It is to be regretted that some of the nominees were men destitute of the requisite attainments; while against Mr. Nicolopoulos, placed at the head of the department of religion, can be urged the unpardonable offense against justice, of having been the presiding judge in the iniquitous trial of Rev. Jonas King, D.D., in 1852. Of one whose entire deportment on that occasion was dictated by fanaticism or worse motives; whose examination of witnesses was by no means impartial; whose verdict was in flagrant defiance of the entire testimony, and who added to all a falsification of the record of the case, it cannot be expected that he will carry liberal sentiments into his new and responsible office.

With the successful establishment of the provisional government, the history of the revolution properly ends. An unworthy monarch, who for nearly thirty years had abused the trust reposed in him by those who elected him to sway the destinies of Greece, who squandered on his own pleasures, or laid up for his future use, the scanty revenues of a nation just emerging from an exhausting war of independence, who not only neglected public improvements, but systematically corrupted all upon whom the court could exert an influence, was at last, after eight or nine unavailing insurrections, driven ignominiously from the land. The mendacious proclamation which he wrote from Salamis, attributing his retirement to Germany to his desire to avoid the effusion of blood, and, in an excess of effrontery, asserting that "abstaining from all display, he had cared only for the true interests of Greece, seeking with all his

power to advance its material and moral development, and giving especial study to the impartial administration of justice," was received with contempt by those who knew that no words could have given a more false description of his whole life.

Meanwhile the entire population of Greece seemed to unite in a common pæan for the triumph of its liberties. The exiled heroes of Nauplia, who had resisted single-handed the generals of Otho, returned from their wanderings, and were received with acclamations by the excitable populace. Coronæus, especially, was the object of a popular ovation. On the other hand, Botzares, Potles, and Simos, members of the Miaoules ministry, which had rendered itself peculiarly obnoxious, were bidden by the government to leave the country; and Spiro-Melios and Colocotrones, of the last ministry, received a similar order. In taking this course, the government merely adopted a measure of necessity in the critical posture of affairs. It was sad that among the names of such "dangerous citizens" should be found that of the unworthy son of that Marco Botzares whom the verses of our own Halleck have immortalized.

The personal effects of the deposed monarch were delivered by the Greeks to the embassador of Bavaria, appointed by Otho to receive them; but they, very properly, refused to allow him to remove the correspondence of that prince, regarding it as an important source of information respecting the means employed for the degradation of Greece. They declined even the proposition to allow it to be placed under seal.

The joy of the inhabitants of Greece was shared in equal measure by all those of the same race in the Ionian Isles, in Turkey, in southern Russia, in Austria, and in western Europe; but the most signal instances of self-denial in behalf of the fatherland were exhibited by the natives of the late kingdom. All classes showed the greatest alacrity in offering a portion of their property to relieve the necessities of the new government. The judges of the Court of Areopagus, the highest tribunal in Greece, the officials connected with the navy department, the professors of the University, and some ecclesiastics, are particularly mentioned as having voluntarily come forward to devote a part (generally the third or quarter) of their income to the support of the country.

But here we must terminate our sketch of the two Greek

revolutions of 1862. The Bavarian dynasty, so inauspicious to the happiness of Greece, has been deposed, never, as we may hope, again to curse that land. Will the experience of the last thirty years satisfy the great powers of Europe of the impracticability of all attempts to impose on the Greeks a monarch of their selection, however badly qualified to perform the most difficult of all tasks, that of elevating a nation long debased by the oppression of tyrannical rulers? Will they suffer the million of Greeks to choose Prince Alfred of England, or the Duke of Leuchtenberg, as they see fit? Or will they once more override the clearly-expressed wishes of a people which ought to be free, if the shedding of torrents of blood in the holy cause of liberty can entitle a nation to that privilege? On the answer of the question depends the future of Greece. God grant that it may not be her sad lot to be subjected to an ignorant, bigoted, illiberal prince, blind to the interests of his subjects, deaf to their remonstrances, insensible to their sufferings, and intent only upon maintaining his power by a series of temporary expedients, and upon the accumulation of private wealth. Then will there be a wide door open for intellectual and moral progress, and Greece may become the instrument in the hand of an all-wise Providence of furthering the advance of pure Christianity in the East.

Art. IV.—ROWLAND HILL.

About nine miles south of Whitchurch, a handsome market town in Shropshire, England, is the beautiful Hawkstone Park, for many years the residence of the ancient and honorable family of the Hills. The mansion is elegant and spacious, and the surroundings are of the most picturesque character, nature and art combining to delight the eye and to gratify the taste. A celebrated foreign traveler regarded it as one of the most attractive places he had visited in all his wanderings. Dr. Johnson was particularly struck with its wild beauty. In his peculiar style he calls it "a region abounding with striking scenes and terrific grandeur." "The ideas which it forces on

the mind are the sublime, the dreadful, and the vast; above is inaccessible altitude, below is horrible profundity."

Great as were the honors bestowed on the illustrious family residing here, a higher dignity was conferred upon it when God commissioned one of its members as a minister of Jesus Christ. The year 1744, memorable in the history of Methodism for the meeting of the first Wesleyan Conference, was that in which, on the 23d of August, Rowland Hill was born. We put these two events together, as they serve to show the long term of years over which Mr. Wesley's labors extended. One, who became an active colaborer in the work of promoting evangelical religion, and at the same time a most violent theological opponent, was not born until the Wesleyan Reformation had so far advanced, that its workers were duly organized as a body of Christian ministers.

Though the parents of Rowland Hill were strictly moral, and regular church goers, they do not seem to have known anything of experimental piety. His first religious impressions were produced by reading Watts's hymns. These were deepened by the admonitions of his brother Richard and his sister Jane; so that at the age of eighteen he experienced the new birth, and entered into his Master's "sweet service," as he frequently termed it. He was at this time a student at Eton, and though surrounded by wild and wicked young men, he hesitated not to make a bold avowal of his faith in Christ. This faithfulness at the beginning of his religious life greatly strengthened his heart, and prepared him to withstand the still fiercer onsets of persecution which he met when, six years later, he entered St. John's College, Cambridge. Here he was so despised for his piety that no one connected with the college gave him a cordial smile, save a few God-fearing students, and the old shoeblack at the gate, who was himself an humble follower of Christ. He united himself with these praying students, and met with them statedly for purposes of devotion. Thus they encouraged each other's hearts amid the depravity around them. This company of faithful ones was similar to the little band which, under the guidance of Mr. Wesley, had met thirty-five years before in Oxford. Mr. Hill tells us of the plan they pursued: "Our custom was to read with each other the Greek Testament and other evangelical publications; these

meetings we always concluded with prayer. The University was almost in total darkness. No wonder, therefore, if for such exercises, and for some other strong symptoms of a *Methodistical bias*, we were specially marked, and had the honor of being pointed at as the curiosities of the day."

It was while Hill was at Cambridge that six young men were expelled from St. Edmund's Hall, Oxford, "for holding Methodistical tenets, and taking upon them to read, pray, and expound the Scriptures, and sing hymns in a private house." The Rev. Dr. Dixon, the principal of the college, used all his influence in favor of these young men, but without success; whereupon he observed, that "as these six young gentlemen were expelled for having too much religion, it would be very proper to inquire into the conduct of some who had too little." We are not told, however, that any such inquiry was instituted. Probably in the estimation of these Oxford pharisees it was a greater sin to sing and pray in an unorthodox, irregular manner, than to be addicted to swearing, drinking, or gambling. Like their prototypes in the days of Christ, they paid "tithe of mint, and anise, and cummin," but "omitted the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith."

This unrighteous act made no little stir, both at Oxford and Cambridge, and called forth the condemnation of all right-minded men. The little band at Cambridge deeply sympathized with their persecuted brethren of Oxford, and wrote letters of encouragement to them in their fiery trial. Newspaper and pamphlet controversies also sprang up, in which Dr. Nowell and Richard Hill were the principal combatants. It was at this time that the latter wrote his "*Pietas Oxoniensis*." Mr. Whitefield likewise addressed a letter to Dr. Durell, Vice-Chancellor of the University, in which he most pertinently inquired "why, if some are expelled for extempore *praying*, are not some others expelled for extempore *swearing!*"

Had the same severity been used at Cambridge, Rowland Hill would have shared a fate similar to that of his Oxford friends, for he was not by any means disposed to hide his light under a bushel. He not only met with his pious fellow-students for devotional exercises, but long before he left college he began preaching in cottages, jails, and work-houses. For this he was violently opposed by his parents, who deemed such

conduct irregular in the extreme. But he could not be disobedient to the plain calls of duty, and so continued preaching wherever the way was opened. He also met with much opposition from the students, and brought upon himself the serious displeasure of the authorities of the college, who threatened to withhold his degree. Under these circumstances, he wrote for advice to Whitefield, who was then in London. Whitefield returned him a kind answer, recounting some of his own persecutions when in a similar situation in Oxford, and exhorting him to steadfastness in the course he had begun. This was the commencement of a warm friendship between the young student and the veteran preacher, which only terminated with the death of the latter, four years after.

Being thus encouraged he continued preaching, bravely withstanding the storm of opposition which was raised against him. But a new difficulty soon arose. He received his degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1769; but when, soon after graduating, he applied for deacon's orders, such was the prejudice against him on the part of the Church dignitaries, by reason of his irregular proceedings, that he was pointedly refused. Six different times did he make application for this formal commission of the Church, meeting only with denial from six different bishops. But these unkind refusals neither damped his ardor nor diminished his zeal. As he could not obtain orders, he determined to continue preaching without them. He felt that he had a divine call to his Master's work, and he gave evidence to the world that he had the anointing of the Spirit, without which, the laying on of hands confers no real power. He began a course of itinerating labors in different parts of the kingdom, preaching often in the great cities with wonderful popularity and marked effect. He was especially popular with Mr. Whitefield's congregations at the Tabernacle and Tottenham Court Chapel. Here immense numbers waited on his ministry, and it was the general wish of the people that he should become the successor of their departed pastor. But he could not see his way clear to comply with this flattering request.

He also traveled extensively through the rural districts. A friendly clergyman presented him with a little Welsh pony, which became his companion in many of his most difficult

journeys. As in the city, so among the hills and vales, Mr. Hill drew crowds of people by the charms of his eloquence. He did not, however, escape the usual fate of the faithful preachers of that day; he was persecuted in every possible way. His services were frequently interrupted by rude men, who made all the noise possible by shouting hideously, beating shovels and pans, blowing horns, and ringing bells. He was pelted with eggs, stoned, lampooned, and burned in effigy. Besides, he often suffered the inconveniences of poverty. He had no resources independent of his father, and such was Sir Rowland's bitter enmity to the course of his son that he allowed him only a small annual pittance, so that the faithful itinerant was often without a shilling in his pocket. But God cared for him, and he found compensation for the loss of parental sympathy in the society of such men as Berridge, Romaine, Venn, Conyers, Fletcher, Toplady, and John Newton, and always found a warm welcome at Bath in the house of Lady Huntingdon, which for some time he made his headquarters.

At length, after four years' patient waiting in the ante-chamber of the Church, the door was opened, and he was duly admitted to the ministry by the Bishop of Bath and Wells, who ordained him deacon in 1773. He never succeeded, however, in obtaining priest's orders. The Bishop of Carlisle promised to bestow them, but the archbishop of the province interfered, and issued an order that Hill should receive no further grade in the Church "on account of his perpetual irregularity." He was thus, by the bigotry of the Church authorities, compelled to halt all through his ministry, "wearing only one ecclesiastical boot."

Upon his ordination he was appointed curate of Kingston, a spot interesting in Methodistic history as the place where Wesley and Coke first met. In one respect, at least, it resembled the "sweet Auburn" of Goldsmith, for the salary of the poor parson was "only forty pounds a year." In addition to this, he was, the same year, appointed chaplain to the Countess of Chesterfield. He remained in Kingston only about a year, during which time his labors were greatly blessed. He then preached for a while near Hawkstone, his native place. But here he met with continued opposition from his parents, so

that he found his own home "a furnace indeed." His mother's opposition to his course was especially violent. Lady Huntingdon, who felt a deep interest in his success, interceded for him, but in vain. Neither Sir Rowland nor Lady Hill answered any of her letters on the subject.

He left Hawkstone and built a house and a chapel, which he called the Tabernacle, in Wotton-under-Edge, one of the most romantic and beautiful spots in Gloucestershire. This became to him what Antioch was to Paul, a starting point for his missionary journeys. He traveled far and wide, preaching in town and in country, accompanied, in many of his journeys, by his beloved wife, to whom he had been married shortly before his ordination, and who was a fit companion for a minister of Christ.

Mr. Hill continued these itinerating labors until 1782, in which year he conceived the plan of erecting a chapel in London. Many of those who had profited by his preaching in the metropolis desired to have him located among them; and some of them, who were men of substance, were willing to contribute liberally to the erection of a house of worship. His choice of a field of labor was characteristic of the man. He sought not to obtain a settlement among the wealthy and the great, though doubtless, had he so desired, his fame as a preacher would have numbered many of that class among his pewholders. But feeling that he had a mission to the poor and the depraved, he located his chapel and his residence among them. He selected the borough of Southwark, at that time one of the most wretched districts of the city. Here, during the fearful anti-popery riots of 1780, he had preached to vast congregations, sometimes numbering nearly twenty thousand. Situated on the south side of the Thames, outside the ancient limits of the city, and for a long time an independent borough, it was for many years a sort of sanctuary for malefactors of every description. The vilest passions that disgrace humanity here found indulgence. One of the old chroniclers of London history tells us that in the reign of Henry the Second "there were two *Beare Gardens*, the Old and New, places wherein were kept Beares, Buls, and other Beasts, to be bayted. As also Mastives, in severall kenels, nourished to baite them. These Beares and other Beasts are then baited in plots of ground, scaffolded

about, for the beholders to stand safe. Next on this Banke, was sometimes the *Bordello* or *Stewes*. . . ."* Abandoned wickedness was handed down through the centuries as an heir-loom, so that the name of "the Borough" became a synonym for utter vileness with all lovers of decency and good morals.

Though before Mr. Hill's time this excessive wickedness had greatly abated, there was enough of outrageous depravity left to make it a desirable mission-field for a fearless and independent laborer in his Master's work. Berridge called it "the very paradise of devils." Here Rowland Hill erected his citadel, and here for many years he labored among the people, bringing souls to Christ. Surrey Chapel was built in an octagonal form, and was one of the largest churches in London, seating three thousand people. Mr. Hill labored there during the winter months, having an understanding with the trustees of the chapel that he should spend the summer at his rural parish of Wotton-under-Edge, which he still retained under his care. He did not, however, confine himself strictly to these two places, but continued to itinerate as extensively as his circumstances permitted. In his own quaint way he styled himself "Rector of Surrey Chapel, Vicar of Wotton-under-Edge, and Curate of all the fields, commons, etc., throughout England and Wales."

A review of Rowland Hill's life during his long ministry of sixty-six years presents to us the picture of a laborious and faithful minister of Christ. During this time he preached more than twenty-three thousand sermons, an average of nearly three hundred and fifty a year. He sometimes preached more than twenty times in a week. At Wotton-under-Edge and in the vicinity he spoke nearly every evening in the week excepting Saturday. This day was not to him, as to many, a time of severe mental toil in preparing for the Sabbath, a toil which often unfits ministers for the labors of the sacred day. He used it as a day of rest for his mind, spending it in gardening and in various mechanical employments, of which he was excessively fond. He repaired clocks, and made cabbage-nets; and not unfrequently this clerical scion of British aristocracy turned cordwainer, and made children's shoes, which he

* Stowe's "Survey of London," 1633.

delighted to present to the young mothers of his parish, who were just as delighted to receive them.

His laborious activity continued even in old age. In his seventy-first year he traveled in one week a hundred miles in a rough, mountainous part of Wales, and preached twenty-one times. When over eighty years old, and so infirm that he was compelled to sit while preaching, he preached regularly twice on the Sabbath; addressed the members of Surrey Chapel on Monday evening, and lectured on Tuesday evening and Friday morning, besides frequently holding special services.

Nor were his labors limited to preaching. His active mind and benevolent heart led him to identify himself with the various charities of the day. On the death of his father in 1783 he obtained a much-needed accession to his fortune, on which he drew largely for charitable purposes. He never saved anything from his annual income, often spending two thirds of it on benevolent objects. He formed soup societies for the hungry, and clothing societies for the naked. He visited convicted law-breakers in prison, and when they were thrown upon the world again at the close of their term of imprisonment he put them in the way of obtaining an honest living. He was among the founders of the Society for Promoting Religious Knowledge among the Poor, the British and Foreign Bible Society, the London Missionary Society, and the Religious Tract Society. All these benevolent institutions found in him a zealous advocate and a liberal contributor.

When, in 1798, Jenner made known his wonderful discovery of vaccination as a preventive of small-pox, no one urged its adoption more ardently than Rowland Hill. Doubtless the staid conservatives of that day, if any such attended his ministry, were shocked to hear him present from the pulpit arguments in favor of vaccination, and urge its practice on its hearers. He went even further than this. He became an amateur operator, and gave public notice to his congregations when and where they might find him ready for the work. For this purpose he traveled extensively in different parts of the country, and vaccinated in all more than eight thousand persons.

His efforts to be useful were also manifested in the interest he took in the Sabbath-school. He was among the first to

co-operate in the great work begun by Robert Raikes, and he helped to originate the Society for the Support and Encouragement of Sunday-Schools. In 1784 he had the honor of organizing, in connection with Surrey Chapel, the first Sabbath-school in the city of London. He was an ardent advocate of the cause at a time when many good men were numbered among its opponents. In 1801 he published "An Apology for Sunday-Schools." Amid all his varied cares and engagements he still found time for frequent visits to this nursery of the Church, spending, when at home, a portion of every Sabbath afternoon with the children. He justly regarded Sabbath-school instruction as a most important auxiliary to the preaching of the word, and by the kindness of his manner, and the interest he threw around his instructions, won to himself the hearts of the little ones. The last address he made was to the Sunday-school teachers of Surrey Chapel, thus keeping the good cause embalmed in his heart to the latest hour of life. At the time of his death there were thirteen Sunday-schools and three thousand scholars connected with his chapel.

In addition to the other benevolent enterprises of his life, he raised funds for the building and maintenance of houses for the destitute poor of his flock. In London he erected near his chapel a neat gothic building, the center of which was appropriated to a school for poor girls, who were clothed and educated by the institution. The wings contained apartments for twenty-four poor women. The only qualifications necessary for admission were "distress and a Christian character." He also built a similar establishment in Wotton-under-Edge. The opening of his London alms-house was suspiciously followed by a revival among some of the destitute old women in the vicinity, who hoped by a profession of piety to obtain a comfortable home. But Mr. Hill, by carefully observing and shrewdly cross-examining the applicants, soon detected the latent hypocrisy, which he hesitated not to rebuke in his severest manner.

As a preacher, Rowland Hill was one of the most popular men of his day. He drew the people toward him by an irresistible charm. His own chapel was always full when he preached, and wherever he went vast crowds waited on his ministry. He preached a number of times to listening thousands

in the celebrated Gwennap Amphitheater, near Redruth in Cornwall, the scene of some of Mr. Wesley's grandest efforts. Here, in full view of the lofty Carn-bre, from whose summit, it is said, the smoke of human sacrifices once ascended, the inquiring multitudes were taught to offer to God the acceptable sacrifice of a broken spirit and a contrite heart. His ministry also attracted even the serious, metaphysical Scotchmen. They were unaccustomed to his peculiar style of preaching, his direct personal appeals, his striking illustrations, and above all, his apt and sometimes amusing anecdotes. One of their preachers states that he never heard an anecdote from a Scotch pulpit until he heard Hill preach. No wonder then that some of them charitably thought that "the poor gentleman was a little cracked." But the masses crowded around him. In Edinburgh he preached in the circus, which had been hired and fitted up by a few zealous men as a place of worship. The audiences soon became larger than the place could hold, and he then went to Calton Hill, where he addressed congregations sometimes estimated at ten thousand, and made up of all classes of society. "Eh, sirs, what will become of us now?" said a good old woman as she observed some soldiers in the crowd, who were one day pressing their way to the hill. "What will this turn to? the very *sodgers* are ganging to hear preaching." That staid and conservative body, the General Assembly, were much excited by the interest created by Mr. Hill's preaching, and they accordingly issued a "Pastoral Admonition," warning the people against countenancing such "irregularities." They might as well have warned them against letting sunshine into their houses whenever it broke through a Scotch mist. The people did as they pleased.

Doubtless much of this popularity was due to the natural advantages possessed by the speaker. The fact that he belonged to a noble family was of itself sufficient to draw many from curiosity. His appearance was also attractive. He was above the average height of men, and of commanding presence, though sometimes unmindful of a due regard to his toilet, if we may credit a story told by Mathews the actor.* His voice

* Mathews says he once saw Rowland Hill "in the Strand, with a red slipper on one foot and a shoe on the other; the knees of his breeches untied, and the strings dangling down his legs."—*Cunningham's London*, vol. i, p. 96.

was one of the clearest and best ever used in preaching the Gospel. Full, sweet, and musical, it could be distinctly heard, even in extreme age, by the largest assemblies. His eccentric friend Berridge, Vicar of Everton, said of him at the beginning of his career: "He is a pretty young spaniel, fit for land or water, and has a wonderful yelp." He once frightened off a party of highwaymen, who attacked his carriage at night. He stood up and raised such a tremendous, unearthly shout, that one of the villains cried out, "We have stopped the devil by mistake, and had better be off." And off they went.

But it was not these natural advantages alone that made him popular. Had he possessed no other nobility than that of voice, appearance, and family connections, his fame, though brilliant as a meteor, would have passed as soon away. Nor can we find the secret of his popularity in the mere matter of his discourses. There were other preachers in his time whose sermons were just as evangelical, and prepared with far more attention to the rigid requirements of rhetorical rules, who were scarcely known beyond the limits of their own congregations. He seems to have had that indescribable, magnetic power, possessed by some gifted men, which throws a spell around an audience, giving the speaker as complete control over the passions of his hearers as the skillful musician has over the instrument whose chords vibrate music at his gentlest touch.

There was also an earnest and hearty sincerity which commended him to the attention and the affection of his hearers. His views of the ministerial office were of the most practical character. He regarded his congregation, not as an audience waiting to be amused, though perchance some had come for that purpose, but as a company of immortal souls, who were to be faithfully warned, earnestly exhorted, and kindly encouraged. His sermons abounded with clear presentations of the doctrines of the Gospel, accompanied by sudden bursts of vivid, sublime, and often singular illustrations. He felt the need of a ministry adapted to the people; not only to their tastes, but to their real wants. Hence the great stirring truths of man's fall and redemption were those on which he delighted to dwell. He was sometimes blamed by high doctrinalists for not preaching to the elect only. His answer on one such occasion was,

"I don't know them, or I would preach to them. Have the goodness to mark them with a bit of chalk, and then I'll talk to them. If it is not right to preach to sinners, to whom am I to preach? for all have sinned and come short of the glory of God."

Rowland Hill was never noted as a hard student. Indeed, how could he closely apply himself to study when demands were made for his assistance from all parts of the country, keeping him constantly engaged in preaching? His library, though small, was choice. In preparing for the pulpit his first effort was to find, by a critical examination of the original text, the simple, primary meaning of the Holy Spirit. He composed but little, and always preached extempore, being strongly opposed to reading sermons. His discourses were chiefly expository, and were full of illustrations, some of them quaint, and many of them drawn from surrounding circumstances. He possessed, in a larger measure than most ministers, the faculty of adapting his illustrations to the capacities and peculiarities of his audience. The Rev. William Jay, in Mr. Hill's funeral sermon, remarks that his preaching "consisted in pleasing and striking sentiments and sentences. I never heard him in my life without hearing something solemn and pathetic; and when simile has not been followed by example, just as the sunshine succeeds an April shower." "He brought down argument and thought to the reach of the plainest capacity, and then, by some familiar, or shrewd, or striking allusion, furnished it with a handle by which his hearers could take it away."*

At one time, having gone to preach in a manufacturing town on a week-day, while walking in company with the pastor of the Church through the streets to the place of worship, he stopped at almost every shop to examine the different articles manufactured. His good friend the pastor was somewhat annoyed by this, fearing that the preacher's attention would be so diverted by passing scenes that the congregation would have a poor sermon. But Mr. Hill had not preached long ere the pastor discovered that what had so troubled him was only a part of the preacher's preparation for his work. He illustrated the truths he enforced on his delighted audience by reference to the various objects with which their daily

* Christian Observer, vol. xxxiii, p. 350.

employment made them familiar, even making the smoke which curled from their towering chimneys a dark background on which he pictured truth to their minds. He showed in this that he had been a diligent disciple at the feet of the Great Teacher, who, when he addressed the people, brought to his service the lilies, the birds, the precious pearls, and the fruitful seeds, and even despised not such humble things as the leaven and the besom of the housewife, the net of the fisherman, or the old garment, threadbare and torn.

He could seldom preach well unless his feelings were excited, and hence, like most men of his temperament—ay, and may we not say, like men of all temperaments—he occasionally had "a hard time." His mind under such circumstances refused to act freely, and though he labored hard he seemed to spend his strength for nought. But he never allowed himself to get embarrassed by this want of success. Cool and collected, when all other means had been tried and failed, he opened several safety-valves which he always kept within convenient reach for such extreme cases. He first gave a lecture to masters and mistresses on the duties they owed to their servants. If, by the time he finished this, his mind worked clearly, he resumed the subject of his discourse; but if the difficulty continued, he proceeded to berate the Antinomians and Socinians. By this time the hour of service would be nearly gone, and looking at the clock he would say, "I see your time does not permit me to go through the subject; perhaps we may resume it on the next Sabbath." One day, while preaching from the text, "My heart is fixed, O God, my heart is fixed," and failing to make much headway, he exclaimed, after a momentary pause, "O, my dear brethren, it is a good thing to have the heart well fixed on the *doctrines* of the Gospel." Here was an inexhaustible source of relief, and he did not fail to improve it. He explained justification, and then noticed some other doctrines, the time all the while gliding away, and at last he looked up at the clock, and remarking that the time did not permit him to finish, he sat down relieved.

This tact and coolness in presence of an audience were often of great service to him. In the early part of his ministry he attempted one day to preach in a seaport town to a crowd of sailors. He spoke in the open air, and seated on horseback.

He was, however, frequently interrupted by the rudeness of his unruly congregation. They hooted and hissed, and occasionally threw various missiles at the speaker. Finding it useless to proceed further he stopped preaching, and turning to some of the noisiest, asked them to give in turn an account of their travels and adventures on the sea. This novel proposal excited much merriment, and when good-humor was restored and their attention drawn to him, he told them what he had intended to say had they listened, and thus succeeded in preaching his sermon to them in spite of their opposition. The rough tars listened with tokens of interest and approbation, and at the close gave him three hearty English cheers, and asked him to come again.

He once, by a little shrewd management, completely outwitted his excellent brother Richard, whom his father sent to him on business of a somewhat delicate nature. As we have already noticed, his father entirely disapproved of his irregularities in the ministerial work. Learning that Rowland was preaching in the streets of Bristol, he sent Richard to admonish his young brother, and if possible to induce him to desist. When Richard reached the city he ascertained that his brother had gone to Kingwood to preach to the colliers. He immediately followed him there and heard him preach. He saw the effects of this preaching on the poor colliers, noticed their profound attention, and witnessed the deep emotion of their rough natures as the tears made channels down their blackened cheeks. Rowland saw Richard in the crowd, and surmising his errand, told the audience that "he had no doubt his brother, Richard Hill, Esq., whom he was happy to see among them, would speak to them the following day on the great truths of the Gospel." Richard had been a lay preacher, but at the earnest solicitation of his father had a few months before this desisted from the work. He was entirely taken by surprise at Rowland's bold announcement, but having been deeply moved by the scene he witnessed, he dared not, as a good man, decline, and on the next day actually did the very thing for which his father had sent him to censure his brother. It is said, however, that when he reached home, and thought of the "irregularity" of the proceeding, he deeply regretted what he had done.

Many were attracted to Rowland Hill's ministry by his eccentricities. To many of the present generation, who know him only as belonging to the past, the bare mention of his name is suggestive of a pulpit joke. Many are the singular stories concerning him which have found their way into the jest books and newspapers, some of them gross exaggerations of facts, and others having no foundation whatever in truth. In his latter days, when the mellowness of advancing years had somewhat chastened his native humor, Mr. Hill was very much annoyed by these spurious anecdotes. One in particular gave him extreme pain, since it represented him as wanting in proper respect for his wife, by administering to her a public reproof on occasion of her appearing in Surrey Chapel with a new bonnet. When he saw this story in print he was greatly grieved. "Sir," said he to a friend, "I hope that the Christian minister, if not the gentleman, always prevented me from making my wife a laughing-stock for the amusement of the vulgar." Doubtless many of the facetious stories of eminent men which serve to fill the columns of magazines and newspapers have as little basis in truth as this. But if men will be odd, as well as eminent, they must not wonder if some unscrupulous story-maker should use their names to give point and interest to his false narratives.

Rowland Hill never *affected* eccentricity as many do, seeking to cater to a vitiated taste, and making the house of God a place for Sunday amusements. Whatever oddities he had were natural. We do not make this a plea for justifying all his whimsicalities, since it is not always safe or right to indulge our natural propensities: they should rather be chastened and subdued. We simply state the fact. He was cheerful and witty from a boy, and always had a taste for the ludicrous. One who knew him intimately asserts, "Had not God changed his heart, he would probably have made one of the first comedians of his day." This natural proclivity to mirthfulness was indulged rather than restrained. It is not improbable that his intercourse and intimacy with Berridge exercised an unconscious influence over him in this respect. Berridge was himself noted for oddity, and Hill became acquainted with him at a time when his own habits were forming, and when, perhaps, a friend and adviser of another stamp would have led him to modify and

temper his mirthful propensity instead of indulging it. But the two were drawn together by a common feeling of zeal and earnestness in the cause of God, and this gave Berridge a strong influence over the young student. Hill, however, would undoubtedly have been odd had he never seen the eccentric old vicar of Everton; and the blessing which the good old man was made to the persecuted student more than counterbalanced any additional singularities of which his example may have been the innocent cause.

Mr. Hill's eccentricities were in manner only, and not in matter. He made no effort to dazzle his hearers with brilliant theories, and had no desire to mystify them with metaphysical speculations. He never cared to wander comet-like from the great central sun of truth into the dark and unknown regions of error, but steadily kept in his orbit, pursuing faithfully the path of duty from year to year. He was conscientious also, as well as natural, in the means he used to attract and interest the people. He wished to arrest the attention of the lower orders, who he felt were too much neglected by the clergy of his time. That in endeavoring to accomplish this desirable result he sometimes overstepped the bounds of propriety, and seemed to trifle with serious things, there can be no doubt. Yet Rowland Hill cannot justly be called a trifler. He felt that he had a serious duty to discharge in calling sinners to repentance, and whatever was eccentric in his manner he endeavored to make subordinate to this one great end. Nor did he indulge in witticisms in every sermon. There were times when he held his audience spellbound and in tears from the commencement of the discourse to its close.

But while Mr. Hill honestly thought that he might make use of his humorous power to attract the careless hearer to God's house, he was also keenly alive to the fact that he sometimes went too far in this direction. This excess of drollery in the pulpit was then followed by tears and lamentations in private. According to his own confession, many of the bitterest moments of his life were thus occasioned. At one time he preached a sermon at Brighton, a portion of which produced much laughter among the congregation, though he closed his discourse with an awful appeal to their consciences, which brought tears to all eyes. After he had retired for the night,

at the house where he was visiting, a friend hearing a noise in the passage way stepped out to inquire the cause, and found Mr. Hill pacing the hall in the deepest agony of mind, mourning over the ill-timed mirthfulness in which he had indulged while preaching.

Mr. Hill seems to have succeeded better as a preacher than as a controversialist. He early became a famous pamphleteer, but he so often indulged in vituperative language and in gross personalities that he alienated from himself some of his best friends. Notwithstanding the so-called irregularity of his course as a minister, he enjoyed the favor and friendship of many of the clergymen of the Church of England until the appearance of his "Spiritual Characteristics." This work contained many severe and caustic remarks against irreligious and inconsistent ministers, and excited strong prejudices against him by its extreme harshness. His friends were grieved by the style of the book, and his enemies were exasperated and made worse. After this publication he only received occasional invitations to preach in the churches of the Establishment, and then chiefly in country places. His controversy with the Scotch divines on occasion of the "Pastoral Admonition" of the General Assembly, already referred to, was conducted in a similar style of bitterness.

In his dispute with Mr. Wesley on their doctrinal differences he pursued the same course, notwithstanding Mr. Wesley was forty years his senior. He openly accused him of "forgeries" and of "falsehood," and styled him "an empiric or quack doctor." Mr. Wesley says of him: "For forty or fifty years have I been a little acquainted with controversial writers, some of the Romish persuasion, some of our own Church, some dissenters of various denominations. And I have found many among them as *angry* as he, but one so *bitter* I have not found."* It is due to the memory of Mr. Hill to say that he regretted in later years the spirit he manifested in this controversy.

It was this same spirit which occasioned the alienation of feeling between himself and Lady Huntingdon. At the commencement of his ministry he often preached in her chapel to delighted crowds, and among them some of the noblest families

* "Some Remarks on Mr. Hill's Review."—*Works*, vol. vi, p. 145, Am. ed.

in the land. But his views of Church polity differed somewhat from hers. In truth he never relished the idea of women ruling in the Church, and he seems to have thought her too fond of authority. This she could have endured; but when he carried his opposition so far as to make her and her followers the subjects of some of his ill-timed pulpit jokes, taking them "all up into the pulpit as his merry-andrews," her womanly spirit was roused. She never fully forgave him this ridicule, though she afterward spoke well of his labors, and contributed to the erection of Surrey Chapel. But she resolutely refused to permit him to preach in any of her chapels, uttering her refusals with an emphasis and an authority which made them irrevocable.

Mr. Hill was to the last devotedly attached to the Church of England, though he deeply deplored her defects. He had no sympathy with the exclusive notions of some churchmen, but opened his pulpit to ministers of all evangelical denominations, and frequently exchanged with them. When some of the rigid ones declared that such union with dissenters was "riding upon the back of order and decorum," his reply was, "Happy should I be to ride upon the back of *such* order and decorum till I had ridden them to death." In token of his utter contempt for such High Church notions, he actually named one of his carriage horses "Order," and the other "Decorum!"

He loved the liturgy of the Church, and used it every Sabbath in his chapel. But in Church government he was neither Episcopal nor Congregational, but combined the two. Said he, in speaking on this subject, "I am, all things considered, for a reduced episcopacy, a reformed liturgy, and the election of the minister by the suffrages of the people." He thus occupied an independent position, having no formal connection with the establishment, nor with any other ecclesiastical organization. He formed a religious society peculiarly his own, having as its standard of doctrine the Articles of the Church of England.

In spite of his defects, Rowland Hill was a faithful and successful minister of Jesus Christ. He early sacrificed worldly position and ecclesiastical preferment in deference to his own convictions of duty. He chose to share the poverty, contumely,

and labors of a faithful living ministry, rather than bask in the sunshine of paternal favor, or recline at ease upon the fat livings of the Church. His love of souls led him especially among those who, by reason of their poverty or their crimes, were neglected by the fastidious and slothful wearers of the surplice, who sneeringly styled his self-denying labors "irregularities." The busy streets of the metropolis, the quiet retreats of the rural districts, the mountains and the mines, the river-side and the sea-shore, were all the scenes of his toils and his trials, as they were frequently the witnesses of his joys and his triumphs.

His robust English constitution endured these labors far beyond the period at which men ordinarily cease to toil. He continued preaching long after the growing infirmities of age reminded him that the "silver cord" of life was loosening; and when he became too weak to stand in his accustomed place before the people, he addressed them in a sitting posture. His last sermon was preached in Surrey Chapel, from 1 Cor. ii, 7, 8, on the last day of March, 1833. Eleven days afterward his Master called him from labor to reward.

Art. V.—ÆSCHINES AND ELOQUENCE.

The question of precedence among the Attic orators was long since decided by the acclamations of the Athenians, and their verdict has been unanimously approved by more than sixty generations of men who have lived since Demosthenes descended from the bema. There were once sturdy contestants who struggled long and bravely for the throne of eloquence on which the Pæanian now sits apart from other men, as Jupiter sat on the highest peak of Olympus apart from the other gods. Foremost among those who fought for that high seat was Æschines, the celebrated champion of the political opposition to Demosthenes. It is extremely unfortunate for Æschines that his truly great oratorical abilities are never regarded independently in their own light, but are always viewed in the dazzling resplendence of his antagonist. Thus the Grecian

Mercury, like the Mercury of our planetary system, is doomed to a perpetual eclipse by excess of light.

This orator was born B. C. 389, and was four years older than Demosthenes. They were both nurtured amid the civil wars which were rocking Greece into ruins—wars instigated by Persian intrigue and royal gold to destroy the unity of the Hellenic nationality. At that time the *ἡγεμονία* of the Greek confederacy was passing in quick succession from Athens to Sparta, from Sparta to Thebes, and from Thebes to Philip, never more to return to gild those little republics with its evanescent splendors. It is a favorite theory with some, that as a compensation for the wide material desolations of war, there is always an impetus given to mind; that amid the earthquake of human passion the stone is rolled away from the sepulchre, and genius has a glorious resurrection.

Of the early history of Æschines we know little, except what has been preserved in the speeches of his great opponent. Hence we must make allowance for the influence of prejudice and bitter enmity. In the last oration of Demosthenes there is preserved, like a fly embalmed in amber, a sneer at his antagonist because he was the son of a schoolmaster, and assisted his father in the care of the school-house—a disgrace which the people of these northern states, and those who sympathize with their notions of the dignity of labor, are incapable of appreciating. Æschines next appears as an actor in the Athenian theater, in the days when the Dionysian orchestra sustained to Grecian eloquence and literature the relation which the London stage, in the age of Shakspeare, sustained to English oratory and letters. Demosthenes ridicules his performances as complete failures—a statement which seems hardly compatible with his subsequent brilliant career as a popular orator. It is probable that a degree of success attended the young tragedian, and that the stage was to him what it was to Sheridan, a school of oratorical discipline stimulating to elocutionary culture, and imparting confidence in the presence of vast audiences. It must be remembered that the theater in the age of Sophocles was not a mere play-house, a center of attraction for the idle and dissolute, a mart where the cyprian could make merchandise of her beauty; but it was a dignified, municipal institution for the education of the public

in the absence of the university, the library, the lyceum lecture, and the newspaper. Æschines next appears to good advantage on the battle-field, where his valor is commended by his general, and he is honored with the announcement of the victory. What elements his military life contributed to his oratory we cannot point out; but his known bravery in the face of death gave him a decided advantage over Demosthenes in their last struggle, in which Æschines repeatedly hurls at him the charge of cowardice. But the occupation in which he next engaged, more than anything else, laid the foundation of his future eminence in statesmanship and eloquence. He became clerk of the *ἐκκλησία*, the legislative assembly of the Athenian democracy. Here he became thoroughly versed in the laws and polity of the government.

In a healthy democracy, which is preserved from oligarchy on the one hand, and from ochlocracy on the other, only by the safeguard of the statutes, there must always be great reverence for constitutional principles and legal enactments. The political orator must be able to appeal to this popular reverence, by presenting himself as the champion of his country's institutions, and the vindicator of her laws. How skillfully Æschines used the legal knowledge here acquired we shall see when we come to be spectators of his last grapple with the invincible athlete of the Pnyx and the Agora. While patiently performing the drudgery of his humble office, he was, in reality, taking lessons in the greatest school of parliamentary and forensic eloquence ever opened on the earth. Day after day and year after year during that brief but brilliant era the best models stood before him on the bema. Ascending that cubic block of marble, crowned with chaplets of myrtle, symbolizing at once the kingliness of the orator's vocation and the sacredness of his person while exercising his divine faculty, those monarchs of mind ruled, each his hour, with more than regal scepter. That scepter the grave and pithy Phocion now sheaths his sword to wield, and now the weighty and elaborate Lycurgus waves that symbol of dominion over those tumultuous freemen; and now Callistratus takes up that rod of power, and, smiting the soul of the lad Demosthenes, opens a perennial fountain of eloquence; anon the dashing, facetious Demades grasps that staff of empire, and makes even the

prince of orators bow before the spontaneous outbursts of his native eloquence. Here also the argumentative and far-seeing Hyperides proposes to the trembling fugitives from Chæronea, the *dernier* resort of the tottering republic, "emancipate and arm the slaves." And here, when afterward indicted for his abolitionism, he made his memorable defense: "What do ye reproach me with? Proposing to give slaves their liberty? I did so to save freemen from becoming slaves." Alas! Athens heeded not the voice of her savior; but in the insane attempt to save both slavery and freedom she went down into that grave which knows no resurrection.

Such are some of the brighter stars in that constellation of eloquence which daily culminated over the Athenian assembly. To that galaxy must be added a name outshining all others. For Demosthenes, in contrasting the dignity of his own history with the humble life of Æschines, though his junior, utters the proud boast, "you were scribe of the ecclesia, I harangued the people." Association with orators is an incentive to the study of the art. Eloquence in men is as much a mimetic art as talking is in children. Not only are the outward expression and the marshaling of words into sentences in all speakers an unconscious reproduction of the patterns by which they have been surrounded, but the very spirit of oratory is contagious. A genuine orator surrounds himself with an atmosphere pervaded by the subtle electricity of thought and feeling; and all within his sphere receive the inspiration of his genius, as the unelectrified conductor becomes inductively excited by the mere vicinity of the battery, or as common iron becomes magnetic by long contact with loadstones.

Having alluded to the influences which conspired to mould this orator, we now turn to his orations. Of the many speeches which such a leading statesman must have made, but three remain. These have been styled the three Graces. All who read them are struck with the fitness of this appellation. They were all spoken directly or indirectly against Demosthenes. This may account for their preservation, while those not interlinked with the orations of his illustrious rival have failed to partake of his immortality. The limits of this paper forbid a review of the three. We will, therefore, examine that one which is the crowning grace of the triad, the Oration on the Crown. This

last effort of Æschines comprises the substance of all his previous speeches in that long struggle, which ended at last in his personal defeat and exile. The same may be said of Demosthenes' defense; it is a recapitulation of all his former orations, for such was his singleness of aim through all his life, that all his speeches are capable of compression into one magnificent whole, without violating the rhetorical canon of unity. The brilliancy and power of both the orations *De Corona*, unprecedented in the annals of ancient eloquence, in melancholy contrast with the waning grandeur of Greece, and the speedy extinction of the Athenian state, remind us of the fabled sweetness of the swan's last song as she floats down the river charming away the fear of death with her own melody. These orations may be regarded as the funeral eulogies of Attic eloquence. To appreciate the arguments on both sides, we must understand the political constitution of Greece and her history during that period; a study eminently appropriate for Americans in the present crisis of our institutions, and especially for those who look for peace in a cowardly acquiescence in the destruction of the federal principle underlying our republic. Fifteen independent sovereignties in the Peloponnesus and in Hellas proper, with the numerous islands of the Archipelago, and the Greek colonies of Asia Minor, and of Magna Græcia, Southern Italy, constituted the οἱ Ἕλληνες. This confederacy was an assembly of kindred states in treaty relations, retaining and frequently exercising the right of seceding and of warring against each other in genuine Carolinian style. Moreover, every city claimed the right of autonomy and a *quasi* independence of its own state. The idea of a grand, representative, federal government for all the Greeks, while each state retained a modified sovereignty over its internal affairs—the conception of a consolidated republic, *E Pluribus Unum*, was beyond the grasp of Grecian statesmanship. This ill-compacted league, with no executive head, save the state which was victorious in the last battle, with no federal legislature, and no supreme court, except a politico-religious body exercising some judicial functions, styled the Amphictyonic Council, was no match for the ambitious autocrat of Macedonia. Philip observing from his northern watch-tower the dissolution of the Grecian empire by chronic jealousies and intermittent civil wars,

resolved to put a brilliant in his diadem by the conquest and annexation of that country which was the center of civilization and the intellectual sensorium of the world. He was a statesman devoid of moral scruples, regarding his oath only while it was for his advantage. He freely scattered bribes in the countries against which he had hostile designs, and he always found palms open to receive the wages of treason. His maxim was, that any citadel could be taken into which there was a door large enough to admit an ass laden with gold. He has no congressional committees to pry into his purposes; he keeps his own secrets and moves steadily to his object. The Athenian allied cities on his borders are embroiled in war, and fall into his hands, thus obtaining the same Mediterranean seacoast which the Russian czar has so long coveted. A sacred war for the vindication of the temple at Delphi arises in Greece, and Philip piously espouses the cause of the insulted Apollo, chastises the sacrilegious Phocians, procures their expulsion from the Amphyctionic Council, secures the admission of barbaric Macedon and his own election to the presidency. Under the pretext of piety he has taken a long stride toward his coveted prize. Thermopylæ, the key of Greece, is in his hand, and in every city there is a strong party in his interest, through the combined influence of religious superstition and Macedonian gold. He has control of the Delphic Oracle, and henceforth the Pythia will philipize. For tyrants in every age, whether they wield the scepter, the crosier, or the plantation whip, instinctively poison the fountains of religion. Thus with noiseless footfall the enemy of democracy steals into slumbering Greece. But there is one sleepless eye intent on the wily foe, one tongue rings out a ceaseless alarm, one person is ubiquitous in journeyings and embassies, checkmating Philip at every point. The name of Demosthenes becomes the synonym of union and war. The principal obstacle to his patriotic endeavors is the Macedonian party which he everywhere encounters. Under the guise of peace men, deprecating the cost and the horrors of war, they constituted a formidable opposition to Demosthenes, and an auxiliary invaluable to Philip. Æschines was the leader of this faction, into which some men of incorruptible integrity and unquestionable patriotism had been unwarily drawn. This fact rendered the work

of the Athenian patriot more difficult, and greatly strengthened the hands of his opponent. To amuse the people with plausible excuses for the mysterious movements of his Macedonian master, was the work of the one; to strip off the disguise which enrobed traitors, and to arouse the Greeks from their fatal stupor, and to hurl them in one solid battalion against the destroyer of their liberties, was the work of the other. To us who study this great contest in the light of subsequent events, and to whom the policy of Philip is clearly disclosed by history, the argument may seem to be all on one side. But to the Athenians unable to divine the secret purposes of the Macedonian, and incapable of attributing to a second rate barbarian power a scheme of conquest so ambitious, and sorrowfully experienced in the ruin and hazards of war, there were two sides to the question. The result of the great debate was doubtful. But while the scales were thus evenly poised, Philip drops his mask and makes a bold move, menacing Bœotia and Attica. The seizure of Elatea caused an uprising of the Greeks like that which occurred when the beacons, blazing from Land's End to Margate, announced to infuriated Englishmen the approach of the Spanish armada, or like that sublime mustering of half a million of brave Americans when the many-tongued telegraph whispered in every city and village the story of America's dishonor in the tragic fall of Sumter. The Grecian party are now in the ascendant, Æschines hides his head, and the star of Demosthenes mounts to the meridian. Swayed by his eloquence, and by the logic of events, the states unite and march to repel the invader, and are totally vanquished at Chæronea. Demosthenes is in the panic-stricken mob in their flight from that great disaster. Now the tables are suddenly turned in Athenian politics. The patriotic orator whose prophetic vision of victory has been dispelled by the rude shock of arms, and whose portraiture of Philip's ferocity has been falsified by his politic lenity toward Athens, now conceals himself from the unexpected reaction in the public opinion of his countrymen. He dares not appear on his former throne of power, the bema, and no vote is allowed to be proposed in the name of the humbled champion of liberty. The name of Philip, once uttered in the Pnyx with execration, is now pronounced with adulation. To check the huzzas of the

Macedonian party, and to shield the fallen statesman from the insolence of his enemies, a formal popular ovation is planned by his friends, and it is resolved that Ctesiphon propose in the assembly his public coronation for virtue and patriotism. Unfortunately the proposition contravened certain laws of the state. After its passage through the Senate, Æschines arrests the proposed vote, by prosecuting the mover for bringing forward an illegal decree. Demosthenes is retained ostensibly to defend Ctesiphon, but really to vindicate himself. It would seem that the delays of the law are a vexation of no recent origin. For eight years this important suit is postponed; and for eight years these vengeful demi-gods collect their thunders. During this time Philip falls by the hand of the assassin, and Demosthenes excites an abortive revolt against the youthful Alexander, which occasions the complete annihilation of Thebes. Still more recently the restless patriot had encouraged Sparta and several other Peloponnesian states to a disastrous insurrection against Antipater, the Macedonian viceroy. These recent failures had added to the odium against Demosthenes, and had furnished his merciless enemies with new weapons for his destruction. Probably Æschines had deferred the prosecution of the indictment, fearing the result. For if he should fail to receive one fifth of the votes of the dicasts, his suit would be pronounced malicious, and he would be subjected to a heavy fine. But after long watching the currents of public opinion he now sees the tide of Macedonian influence at its flood, and he resolves to press the indictment. His malice overshoots its mark, and his arrow rebounds and wounds his own head. Not satisfied with the negative victory over his rival by a continual postponement of the trial and preventing of the crowning, eager for a positive triumph over his hated rival, he risks and loses all. At length the day is fixed for the last conflict of these intellectual gladiators, a day which shall witness the exaltation of one and the downfall of the other on the bloodless arena. [Public expectation, so long excited, now stands on tiptoe, and from every part of Greece, politicians and students of oratory, the old and the young, throng the highways to Athens, to gaze upon the *finale* of that exciting struggle which had extended through almost a score of years.] The intellectual banquet was worth the longest journey made to

enjoy it. The court, probably for the better accommodation of the vast concourse, was held *sub divo* in the *agora*, the identical place where, three hundred and eighty-three years afterward, the gospel of Christ and Grecian philosophy had their first collision in the persons of St. Paul, and the Epicureans, and the Stoics. Demosthenes, though strong in conscious rectitude, and in the justice of his cause, might well tremble in view of the proverbial ingratitude of his country to her sons illustrious for their virtues and their services. Dark, indeed, was the record of that nation which had dethroned the placable Thymætes, impeached the heroic Miltiades, banished the politic Themistocles, pronounced the death sentence upon the monotheistic Anaxagoras, ostracised the incorruptible Cimon, maddened to suicide the soldierly Paches, in one day rewarded with death six victorious commodores, exiled Aristides the Just, and poisoned Socrates the Saint. Might not the annals of Athens' shame be brought to a fitting close with the recorded immolation, upon the altar of her caprices, of that immortal orator who had laid his splendid gifts a holocaust upon the altar of her liberties?

In his exordium Æschines accomplishes the purpose at which, according to Quintilian, the speaker should aim, *reddere auditores benevolos, attentos, dociles.* By insinuation he disparages his opponent, commends himself, and compliments his judges. The ancient rhetoricians studied the arts of conciliation much more carefully than the modern. In the words of Cicero, they made "all the vestibule and, if I may so say, the avenue to their cause brilliant." The apostle to the Gentiles evinces this kind of rhetorical training, making the approach to his cause brilliant, now quoting their favorite prophets to the Jews, or speaking that tongue which was music in their ears, now lighting up the avenue of the gospel to dark Athenian hearts by commending their religious veneration, and by adorning his speech with gems from their classic poets, and now ingratiating himself with Felix and Festus by praising their candor and experience. In the exordium of Demosthenes the good-will of the dicasts is conciliated in a manner perfectly consonant with his bold and vigorous style. At the first opening of his lips, he enwraps the whole assembly with a feeling of deep religious awe, by vividly setting before them the whole

array of Olympian deities gazing upon them from their lofty thrones. After his workmanlike introduction, Æschines proceeds in a straightforward, logical, lawyer-like argument, adroitly classifying himself with Solon, the Washington of the republic, and assuming that it is his special mission to guard the sanctity of the laws enacted by the father of his country, and wantonly violated by the defendants in the suit. The word *Δημοκρατία* is perpetually on his lips. We are struck with the similarity which there is between the Grecian and the American abuse of this popular term. A philipizing sycophant, guilty of the loss of his country's independence, ringing changes on democracy and claiming its exclusive guardianship, is a sight no more disgusting than an American oligarch, with his foot on the neck of a prostrate race, prating of the people's liberties, while mustering armies for the destruction of all their safeguards. Æschines clearly and unanswerably proves two points of illegality: that Demosthenes, being accountable for his public offices, was not a proper person to be crowned; and secondly, that the place of the proposed crowning was contrary to existing laws. Had he been satisfied to let his prosecution rest on these points, he must have been victorious; but by endeavoring to prove too much, he rears up some structures on sandy foundations, against which his antagonist's impetuous eloquence dashes, and, converting them to drift-wood, by this means sweeps away in the general ruin even the rock-based edifices constructed with so much skill and toil. Hence a caution may be inferred by disputants, not to multiply arguments, but to confine themselves to a few which cannot be successfully controverted. The untenable position which the speaker attempts to maintain is, that the character and administration of his opponent are undeserving a crown. He was not competent to discuss this point at all under the *παρανόμων γραφή*, for there was no law against the expression of a mistaken opinion in a legislative resolve. This would have been an intolerable restriction of free speech, and repugnant to the Athenian constitution. But the prosecutor so ardently desires to strike the character and policy of his great enemy, that he descends to the trick of perverting the meaning of a law against smuggling counterfeit laws into the archives, and he applies this statute to the insertion of errors in a proposition for legislative action.

But with the legal fallacy we are not at present concerned. The logical or rhetorical blunder of associating one inconclusive argument with two valid ones, thus giving his opponent the advantage of seeming to demolish the sound reasons in his annihilation of the unsound one, was fatal to Æschines. In vain does he attempt to avert the consequences of his folly, by beseeching the judges to prescribe for Demosthenes such an order of topics as to compel him to answer the two valid counts in the indictment before he should take up the point in which the chief strength of his adversary lay. Had the judges been so unjust as to interfere with the arrangement of his arguments, either to retrieve the error or to gratify the malice of the prosecutor, it is probable that Demosthenes, thus driven to the wall, and forced to defend untenable positions, before a dispassionate jury would have been overwhelmed in defeat. But the dicasts prescribed no order of reply, and the defendant, by a movement declared by Lord Brougham as masterly as that of Napoleon at Wagram, selects his own ground for fighting the battle, and renders his enemy's strong intrenchments entirely useless. The thing above all others which Æschines should have avoided, both in the structure of his indictment and of his plea, was affording to Demosthenes any occasion for discussing the general affairs of Greece and his own political relation to them; for here his record was not only spotless, but glorious. On this theme, so congenial to his own sanguine nature and vehement eloquence, he was sure to sweep away the dry legal points made against him, as the hurricane brushes away the gossamer webs of the spider. But Æschines permitted himself to be as completely outgeneraled as did Lord Howe, when he committed the military blunder of leaving Dorchester Heights to be seized by Washington: a fault which the crestfallen Briton expiated by evacuating Boston with a cloud on his fame and a stain on England's arms.

But though Æschines made a great mistake in opening a political discussion with his antagonist, nevertheless his rhetorical power shines forth here in great splendor. His periods are flowing, yet concise and lucid. His Greek, the student who has mastered Demosthenes will find to be easy. At every step his style reminds us of the transparency, purity, and grace of Plato's diction. It is probable that this resemblance to the

prince of philosophers has given rise to the tradition that Æschines was once his pupil; for the lips of Plato dropped not only the sweets of philosophy but the honey of eloquence. Says Cicero: "I confess that I have been made an orator, (if indeed I am one at all,) or such as I am, not by the workshops of the rhetoricians, but by the walks of the Academy." He infers from the letters of Demosthenes that he was likewise a constant student of Plato.

We know of no writer who excels Æschines in brilliancy of imagination. His descriptive powers surpass even Demosthenes. The one paints, the other apostrophizes; the one pleases, the other storms; you admire the style of the one, you see nothing but the glowing thought of the other. In his assault upon the character of his opponent there is a passage which has attracted the notice of many rhetoricians, ancient and modern. The author of the Tusculan Questions becomes enthusiastic in his exclamations of delight. "*At quam rhetorice! quam copiose! quas sententias colligit! quæ verba contorquet!*" Junius—*stat umbra*—that mightiest and wickedest master of the English language, in his flagitious attack on the Duke of Bedford for engaging in public business in the days of mourning for his only son, has only imitated a portion of this celebrated piece of acrimonious vituperation. No translation can import into English the full measure of gall with which it is brimming. But the passage is too long to be inserted in the Greek text.

And yet, Athenians, this enormous flatterer, having heard from the emissaries of Charidemus of the death of Philip, but pretending to have had it revealed to him in a vision from the gods, as if he had learned the event, not from Charidemus, but from Jupiter and Minerva, who as he says appeared to him in the night and foretold it to him—to him in the night! they whom he perjures himself by in the daytime!—this monstrous flatterer, I say, on the one hand came before you with a lie in his mouth, and on the other, only seven days after the death of his daughter, before he had mourned and performed the usual rites to the dead, came forth in public, crowned with a garland, and dressed in white to sacrifice; he, the wretch, who had lost the only one and the first one who had ever called him father. I say not this to upbraid him with his affliction, but I scrutinize his character. For the unnatural and bad father cannot be a good citizen, nor will he who has no affection for those who are nearest and most closely allied to him value you above foreigners; nor could it be possible for him who is base in private

to become virtuous in public; nor could he who was not virtuous in public at home become honest and upright in the embassy in Macedonia, for he changed not his character, but only his place.

The last clause contains the most splendid paronomasia which we have met with in any writer except Isaiah. "Οὐ γὰρ τὸν τρόπον, ἀλλὰ τὸν τόπον μόνον μετήλλαξεν." The charming assonance of the contrasted words in this concise, well balanced, and stinging antithesis, must have delighted the itching ears of the excitable Athenians. There is no doubt that Horace had this passage in view when he penned that admired verse in one of his epistles,

Cœlum, non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt.

The passage containing the most pungent sarcasm is that which portrays Demosthenes standing on the tombs of those slain at Chæronea, pronouncing their funeral eulogium. For immediately after that disastrous battle, he was selected by his fellow-citizens to perform this sad service for their fallen brethren.

Here it is just to call to remembrance those good men whom this fellow sent forth, with ill-omened sacrifices, to manifest destruction; upon whose tombs mounting with those cowardly feet which ran away from their post, he pronounced an encomium upon their bravery! Can you, who are most worthless in all the grave interests of men, but most wonderful in the bravery of words, look into the faces of these judges and say that you ought to be crowned for the disasters of the state?

In showing the absurdity of crowning Demosthenes, the speaker transports the dicasts to the theater, the place proposed for bestowing that honor; and he calls upon them to listen to the proclamation of the herald, and to witness the tears which flow, not for the heroes of the tragedies, but for the folly of the state; tears shed by the kindred of those slain in battle, who now witness the crowning of the slayer of their husbands, brothers, and fathers. He then sets in array the orphans nurtured by the state to the day of their majority, now panoplied to go forth to the duties of life with her blessing upon them, and her voice calling them to the highest office within her gift. Then the skillful orator contrasts this scene, which is such an incentive to valor and virtue, with the public coronation of one who had proved a poltroon on the bloody field, and asks which the judges will set before the youth of the city as an incitement

to high moral excellence. These graphic contrasts are wrought out with great power, and they must have deeply impressed the audience.

In exhibiting the disastrous consequences of his rival's war policy, by which Thebes was incited to revolt against Macedon, he portrays the taking and utter extinction of that city in the liveliest colors, making the whole wretched scene, which the Roman master of oratory has twice imitated, pass before our eyes. We see the doomed city assaulted by the inexorable Alexander, and a few of its citizens escaping to Athens; we witness the digging down of the walls, the destruction of the temples and tombs, the conflagration of the houses, the slaughter of the husbands and sons, the wives and maidens, in sorrowful bands, led away into slavery, the old men and women late in life unlearning the lessons of liberty, and all weeping and lifting up their hands in supplication, indignant, not at their misfortunes, but at him who is their cause, and solemnly adjuring the Athenians not to crown the guilty destroyer of Greece. By the test proposed in the *Ars Poetica*, the description is absolutely faultless; for if every word were a pencil stroke on the canvas, there would be not the least incongruity in this historical painting. The skill with which the pathos excited by this scene is directed against Demosthenes is a master-stroke of oratory. But still more admirable is the skill with which Demosthenes parries this tremendous blow and makes it rebound with fatal effect upon his antagonist, by showing the hypocrisy of his lamentations over Thebes, who had received confiscated Bœotian estates as a reward for his betrayal of Greece. Here we mark another cause of Æschines' failure, *insincerity in his pathetic appeals.*

We cannot review his discussion of the various parts of the administration of his political adversary, the measures adopted and the alliances contracted. This part of the argument he concludes with the assertion that no private citizen nor state ever prospered under the ill-fated counsels of his antagonist. The nail thus driven in is clenched by the following striking illustration containing an acute *à fortiori* argument: "O Athenians, since you have legislated respecting the ferrymen to Salamis that if any one involuntarily upsets his boat in the passage it shall be unlawful for him ever to become a ferryman

again, as a safeguard against trifling with the lives of the Greeks, are you not ashamed to permit a man, who has utterly shipwrecked the state, again to pilot the commonwealth?"

Here we unearth an egregious fallacy which underlies the entire plea of Æschines. Repeatedly does he conclude his processes of reasoning with the declaration that his opponent was ὁ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀλιτήριος, the guilty destroyer of Greece. True it was that the ship of state was wrecked with the hand of the great orator on the helm. But it does not follow that the pilot is culpable for the disaster which he exerted his utmost strength to avert. The blame may rest on a sluggish or an infatuated crew, or the disaster may have been providential. The last theory is that which Demosthenes sets up in reply. Cautious lest he should offend his fellow-citizens by criminating their credulity toward Philip when he was gaining a foothold in Greece, he charges the ill-success of the Grecian arms to Τύχη, the goddess of fortune. The fallacy under consideration is doing its work of falsehood in American politics whenever apologists for slavery, the cause of our national troubles, charge antislavery men with the instigation of the great rebellion. Some logicians would classify this fallacy under the head of *post hoc, ergo propter hoc;* others would more exactly denominate it as a confusion of the *occasion* with the *cause.* Paul's preaching was the occasion of the Ephesian mob, the guild of enraged jewelers was the cause; resistance to the aggressions of slavery was the occasion of the war of secession, but the madness of the blind slavemasters is the cause; the eloquence of Demosthenes was the occasion of the subversion of Grecian liberties, but Philip of Macedon was the responsible cause. But Demosthenes, not satisfied with this negative mode of defense, boldly glories in that unsuccessful resistance which had ended in the overthrow of his cherished country. Appealing to the traditional sentiment of glory and patriotism, he bears his judges, on the wings of his superhuman eloquence, up from the humiliation of defeat and ruin to the heights of exultation and pride, making each heart thrill with noble emotions at the recollection of that glorious struggle in which they had lost all but honor. As loyal Americans we may soon be in need of the very consolation which Demosthenes so elo-

quently imparts to his countrymen in the unfortunate issue of their struggle for national existence. Hear him:

I will even assert something of a paradox; and I beg and pray you not to marvel at its boldness, but kindly to consider what I say. If, then, the results (of the war against Philip) had been foreknown to all, if all had foreseen them, and you, Æschines, had foretold them with clamor and outcry; you who never opened your mouth; not even then should the commonwealth have abandoned her design if she had any regard for glory, ancestry, or futurity. As it is, she appears to have failed in her enterprise, a thing to which all mankind are liable if the Deity so wills it; but then—claiming precedency over others, and afterward abandoning her pretensions—she would have incurred the charge of betraying all to Philip. Why, had we resigned without a struggle that which our ancestors encountered every danger to win, who would not have spit upon you? . . . But never, never can you have made a mistake, O Athenians, in undertaking the battle for the freedom and safety of all! I swear by your forefathers; those that met the peril at Marathon, those that arrayed themselves at Platæa, those in the naval battle at Salamis and those at Artemisium, and many other brave men who repose in the public tombs, *all* of whom alike, as being worthy of the same honor, the country buried, Æschines, not only the successful or victorious! Justly! For the duty of brave men was done by all: their fortune was such as the Deity assigned to each.

Immortal sentiments! golden words! worthy to be inscribed on every American patriot's heart. After the outburst of this irresistible flood of pathos we willingly pardon the withdrawing of Æschines from the tribunal, before Demosthenes had concluded his speech, and his hasty preparation for a returnless exile; and with the judges we unanimously cast our votes for the defendant.

Throughout this entire oration of Æschines there occur instances of his inimitable power of insinuation. As an instance, we adduce an apparently trivial remark made in reference to the young man Ariston, who resided in the family of Demosthenes: *ὅ τι δὲ πράττων ἢ πάσχων ἀμφίβολος ἡ αιτία καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐδαμῶς εὔσχημον ἐμοὶ λέγειν.* By the use of that one word *πάσχων* he wickedly hints at what he dares not assert and cannot prove. This facility of insinuation is a knavish art, but one often employed by unscrupulous men. The English reader will understand the gravamen of the charge thus adroitly insinuated by reference to Rom. i, 27.

On the other hand there are loud and persistent allegations of bribery, and one or two labored documentary proofs specifying names, places, dates, and the amounts of gold received by Demosthenes from foreign princes. We are surprised, in view of the heinousness of this charge against a public man, that there is not the least notice taken of it in the reply — a circumstance which the judges and all succeeding generations have construed into a proof of innocence, on the principle that "the wounded bird always flutters."

There are occasionally witty hits at Demosthenes. He is compared to a bugle, from which, if the mouthpiece be taken away, there is nothing left; and his coronation is burlesqued by being likened to the imaginary crowning of Thersites, the Homeric clown, amid the hissing of the Greeks. But the ridicule of Æschines generally fails because it is directed toward the wrong object. There are men who dwell in regions too high to be reached by the shafts of derision, men of unbending moral purpose and heroic sacrifice. No man ever triumphed by the use of this weapon against Washington, though there were not wanting fools who hurled this missile at the father of his country. Men of crooked antecedents and glaring inconsistencies of conduct are exposed to this species of warfare. The venal orator finds only two foibles in the character of his opponent. The first is his "dealing in the marvelous," his pretense of intimacy with the gods for the purpose of securing an influence over the people. But this was not the most appropriate subject for ridicule in a city whose inhabitants were pronounced by St. Paul to be *δεισιδαιμονεστέρους*. The other alleged foible was cowardice, based upon his conduct in the battle of Chæronea. This is repeated by Æschines with every variation possible to a malicious ingenuity. Perhaps the persistence with which this scoffer stings his rival for his flight from the field, has given rise to the prevalent opinion that the orator and the soldier are incompatible characters — an opinion contradicted on almost every page of history, and also on the last page of the annals of America, where in letters of blood is penned the disaster of Ball's Bluff, and the death of the golden-mouthed orator of Oregon. The conduct of Demosthenes in yielding to the invincible Macedonian veterans, after a most desperate struggle, is no more dishonorable than the retreat of

Charles XII. from the lost field of Pultowa, or of Washington from the battle of Germantown, or of Napoleon from Waterloo. Probably many of the judges before whom Æschines was pleading were implicated in the same charge, if it is cowardice to survive a defeat. Here we mark another cause of failure, *misapplied ridicule.*

He is exceedingly unfortunate also in his peroration. It is overstrained and pretentious, and justly called down the scathing derision of his opponent. It is a good illustration of the art of sinking; for the period immediately preceding is the most remarkable in the whole oration, mounting to the very summit of eloquence. With the art of a master he throws upon the canvas an imaginary picture. We see standing on the bema the revered national fathers and benefactors, Solon, whose oath was upon the lips of the judges, and Aristides, trusted by all the Greeks to assess their taxes, earnestly protesting against such a dishonorable act as the placing of a golden crown on the head of one who has enriched himself by the taking of bribes; and we hear Themistocles and the martyrs of Marathon and Platæa, and the very tombs of the forefathers, groaning over the degeneracy of that generation which should bestow a crown upon the man who had plotted with barbarians against the Grecian State.

We have already pointed out some causes of the signal defeat of Æschines in this celebrated contest. We call attention to another. His failure is attributable to his *lack of a noble purpose.* True persuasion must be the outgushing of a soul full of generous impulses, the communication to another of that fire first enkindled in the speaker's own breast. Aristotle enumerates three qualities which the speaker must possess in order to impress the minds of hearers favorably: good principle, good sense, and good will. These must constitute the ἦθος τοῦ λέγοντος. Æschines made a capital failure in the first principle, for his *animus* is manifestly an intense hatred of his great political enemy, whom he strives to smite and to destroy. To accomplish this he must imbue the dicasts with the feeling which rankles in his own bosom. He must set in array and magnify his rival's misdeeds; he must lay bare his villainy, and shower scorn upon his meanness. But if the denunciation is plainly undeserved, a sense of injured justice is awakened in

the hearer in behalf of the object of the wrong, and the philippic, overcharged with acrimony, defeats its own purpose, as an overdose of poison is ejected by its victim. The malignity of Æschines leads him to exaggerate the faults of his opponent to such a point that there is a reaction in the minds of his readers, as there probably was, in a greater degree, in the minds of his hearers. On the other hand, Demosthenes, inspired by devotion to the "good principles" of patriotism and love of liberty, appeals to similar sentiments in his judges, without danger of any damaging rebound of the excess of emotion which he may excite. We do not assert that the victorious advocate in this trial does not exhibit strong animosity toward his assailant, nor do we deny that his thunderbolts were sped to their mark by the impetus of wrath—for even the pious Luther confesses that he was the most eloquent when most angry—but we claim that his triumph resulted from an appeal to the nobler sensibilities of his judges. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that both of these orators blot their speeches with disgusting scurrility. Æschines vilifies his antagonist, who repays him in his own coin.

Art. VI.—COLENSO ON THE PENTATEUCH.

The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua Critically Examined. By the Right Rev. John William Colenso, D. D., Bishop of Natal. 12mo., pp. 229. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1863.*

The author of this work, it will be perceived, is a colonial or missionary prelate of the Church of England, in charge of one of the South African sees. He began his literary career by the publication of several mathematical treatises, which were well received by the English public. He also put forth some four or five smaller devotional works, and more recently a new translation and exposition of the Epistle to the Romans, written "from a missionary point of view;" which evinces a wide

* Our own strictures upon this work were written before the appearance of Prof. Mahan's *answer* to it, which forcibly—though sarcastically—exposes its fallacious point of view, but mostly leaves to other hands the task of refuting its errors in detail.

departure from the orthodox views on the subject of Christian justification, little calculated, one would think, to promote the conversion of heathen. The bishop will also be remembered as having ventured some time since a strange opinion, that pagan polygamists on embracing Christianity are not under obligation to renounce any of their wives. The present volume, which is Part One of a proposed series on the Old (and apparently also the New) Testament in the same spirit of "critical examination," gives similar unmistakable evidence of an attempt to accommodate at once the objections of English neology and Zulu unbelief. The author, in his preface and introduction, (which occupy about one sixth of the entire work, in matters almost exclusively personal,) *naively* tells us how he has come to be involved in these critical difficulties, which have at length brought him to the bold step of committing himself to the public avowal of his belief in "THE UNHISTORICAL CHARACTER" of the Mosaic narrative. By this assertion, however, which he does not definitely explain, it would seem (see note on page 16) that he does not wish to charge upon "the writer of the story of the Exodus, from the ancient legends of his people," any "*conscious dishonesty* or *intention* to deceive;" but whether the writer in question was himself so thoroughly convinced of the fabulous character of his materials as to take it for granted that his readers would be equally able to perceive their "unhistorical character," (how woefully in that case was he mistaken!) or by what other piece of casuistry he contrived to justify himself in this pious fraud, Dr. Colenso does not deign nor trouble himself to inform us, or even to conjecture. That this writer, quietly assumed to be unknown, was nevertheless not Moses, appears quite plain to the author; and it is worth while to observe, as indicating the *animus* that lies behind the present "critical examination," the manner in which he anticipates (pages 30–32) the argument for the authenticity of the Mosaic history, drawn from its citation *as such* in the New Testament; for example, John vi, 46, 47; Luke xx, 37; xvi, 29, 31; where our Saviour explicitly declares that Moses wrote the account of the incidents referred to. Bishop Colenso thinks he obviates this impeachment of our Lord's veracity by replying in substance thus: First, the narrative in question was not really part of the Pentateuch as written by Moses.

Second, its acknowledgment as an integral portion of Moses's writings by our Lord was merely an expression of the universal belief of those times. Third, our Lord had no definite knowledge on the subject whatever. We despair of framing logic like this into a regular syllogism, so as to show whether the fallacy lies in the major or minor premiss, or in the deduction: the nearest parallel we remember to have heard to such reasoning was the answer of the boy, who, upon being charged with breaking his fellow's knife, rejoined, "Why, I never had it; besides, it was broken when I borrowed it; and more than that, it was whole when I gave it back."

As to his attack upon the credibility of the Mosaic narrative, we feel under no apprehension for the issue, whatever temporary alarm he may occasion in good minds, or damage he may do to the unstable. The Bible as a whole, and in all its parts, has survived too many onsets of secret as well as open foes, to be in any serious danger from objectors at this late day. Many of the difficulties adduced by Colenso are old ones raked together from German sources, and have been answered time and again. He is especially fond of mathematical problems, and harps greatly upon the alleged exaggerated numbers presented in the biblical history. These large sums (occurring not only in the Pentateuch, but in later books) have by no means been observed now for the first time; they have been pointed out and explained more or less by nearly every critic and expositor of ancient or modern times.* The Jews were not unaware of them, but the Masorites were too conscientiously scrupulous of the integrity of the text to attempt to remove them. A large proportion of such are evidently simply *clerical errors* that cannot now be corrected except conjecturally, inasmuch as the original sources of information have long since perished; others of these alleged statistical discrepancies are purely imaginary, being represented as such merely through the captiousness, ignorance, or want of investigation of the objector himself. Nothing is easier than to raise difficult questions in connection with events and documents of so great antiquity as the biblical records; the wonder is, not that so many points remain obscure and unexplained, but that so many collateral

*See especially Winer's *Biblisches Real-wörterbuch*, s. v. Zahlen. Colenso has paraded most of the examples of this sort on page 207 of his work.

evidences are still extant to vouch for the truthfulness of the history, and that every year brings fresh light upon the dark passages. The friends of the Bible do not shrink in the least from the closest scrutiny and comparison of its statements which the present or any other work may challenge. We believe that a reasonable solution can be offered of every one of the difficulties hitherto advanced. But even should we not be able to present an immediate and satisfactory answer to every hard question, however frivolous it may seem to us to be, which this or that Momus may see fit to propound, we do not thereby feel our confidence disturbed, but should yet consider it the height of rashness to fly to the alternative of rejecting the historical character of these venerable documents. We now address ourselves cheerfully to the task of divesting, so far as space will allow, the way of the sacred student of these bugbears that have been raised by the pious researches of Bishop Colenso and his colleagues. We take them up in the order in which he adduces them.*

1. *Hezron and Hamul, the sons of Pharez, and grandsons of Judah, could not have been among the seventy members of Jacob's family born in Canaan, who went down with him into Egypt,* (Genesis xlvi, 12;) *because Judah himself was at that time only forty-two years old,* (Genesis xli, 46, compared with xxix, 35; xxx, 24–26; xxxi, 41.)† We answer:

(1.) Nevertheless, it is actually possible that such was the case. Many a man has become a grandfather at forty-two years of age, and in Eastern countries we know that persons of both sexes are marriageable very early. It is evident also from the history itself that the series of marriages and births in this case took place in the most rapid succession. Nor is it necessary to

* In a few of the following replies to Bishop Colenso's objections, we shall content ourselves with condensing the explanations given by a writer in the *British Quarterly Review* for January, 1863. An examination of Colenso's book of a very different character appears in the *National Review* (London) for January, 1863, in which the writer flippantly enumerates the difficulties, without attempting their investigation, and merely sneers at the bishop's simplicity in advancing some of them; he then goes on, in a deistical vein, to adduce other "contradictions" in the Mosaic narrative; but they are of too trivial a character to be worth refuting here in detail, as he finally admits, "These are not important inconsistencies; they impair very slightly the value of the narrative."

† Dr. Colenso does not make a point specially of the mode in which this number of descendants is made up, and therefore we also pass it by.

conclude from the order of the narrative (Genesis xxxvii, 2) that Judah was not himself married till he became twenty years old. Supposing he was but fifteen when his third son Shelah was born, (some of them perhaps being twins,) and that Tamar's incest occurred in the latter's fourteenth year, (when his neglect of her would become apparent,) we have still thirteen years left for the birth of the sons of Pharez, (who may also have been twins.) It may be said these are mere suppositions, and not probable ones either. That is not the point. In a discussion like the present, where the dates in detail are not given, we have a right to make any arrangement of them, provided it be barely possible, which will satisfy the conditions of the chronology; nor has any man a right to deny the "historical character" of the narrative, unless he can prove that any such adjustment whatever is utterly impossible. He may deem the circumstances unusual, or even unlikely, and so may style them "certainly incredible," if he pleases; but so would have been many other undoubted facts in daily life, unless the particulars had been afforded.

(2.) It appears that the genealogical list in question was made up at the time of Jacob's death, seventeen years later, (Gen. xlvii, 28,) when there is no difficulty in believing that Judah had grandsons. This is evident to us from the facts (*a*) that in the hurry and confusion of a migration like that of Jacob's family, no minute list of this sort would be likely to be thought of; whereas, upon the patriarch's decease, when perhaps these very members of his lineage were the exact ones gathered to his obsequies, it would be eminently in place; (see Gen. i, 8;) (*b*) that the same names occur in the parallel lists of Exodus i, 1–5; vi, 14, 15; (verses 16–25 are from a different source, showing the personal descent of Moses and Aaron;) Numbers xxvi, 5–49, (except that the sons of Eliab are specified in verse 9 to show the descent of Korah, and that Ohad is accidentally omitted among the sons of Simeon in verse 12, while the descendants of Joseph are detailed in verses 28–37, and those of Benjamin in 38–41,) which all relate to a later date than the removal to Egypt; (*c*) that there is evidence of other great grandsons of Jacob in this list, (Gen. xlvi, 8–27,) some of whom at least could not well have been born prior to the demise of that patriarch, namely, [i] Eliab, the son of Pallu,

(Num. xxvi, 8,) whose name appears to have slipped out of the list of Reuben's family, (on which supposition we avoid the necessity of including Jacob himself among his own posterity in the number seventy,) and [ii] especially among the sons of Benjamin, (verse 21,) we find Gera, and Naaman, and Ard or Addar, who were sons of Bela, (1 Chron. viii, 3, 4,) and Muppim, (namely, Shuppim, or Shuphan, etc.,) and Huppim, (that is, Huphan, Num. xxvi, 39,) the son of Ir, (1 Chron. vii, 12,) that is, perhaps of Becher, (for the name does not appear elsewhere in the lists,) also [iii] Heber and Malchiel, the grandsons of Asher, (verse 17;) finally (*d*) that the list in Genesis cannot be dated very much later than the migration to Egypt, for it does not contain the name of Jochebed, the daughter of Levi, (born in Egypt in her father's old age, however, Num. xxvi, 59,) nor of Zabdi, or Zimri, son of the twin brother of Pharez, (Josh. vii, 1; 1 Chron. ii, 6,) not to mention other great grandsons of Jacob, (Num. xxvi, 29–36.) We thus avoid Colenso's objections to Hengstenberg's solution of the difficulty, namely, that the questionable descendants are spoken of *proleptically*, as being "already in the loins of their father" Jacob at the time of the descent into Egypt; as well as Colenso's question why, on the supposition that the list was made up of such descendants as were family heads, the other great grandsons of Jacob were not included in it: the reason for the insertion of some and the omission of others was not, (as he assumes, page 69,) "plainly because the former are supposed to have been born in the land of Canaan, and the latter not," (for then the sons of Joseph born in Egypt, verse 29, would likewise have been omitted,) but because they were not born at the time the list was originally made. True, the sacred writer, both in Genesis and in Exodus, (i, 1,) uses the expression, "these are the names of the children of Israel, *which came into Egypt;*" but Dr. Colenso, as a professed exegete, ought to know better than to stickle (p. 61) for a nicety of this kind in phraseology, especially when the context itself expressly mentions children that had never journeyed to Egypt at all, but were born there. Indeed, he elsewhere admits (p. 67) that "the narrative lays no stress whatever on the mere fact of their 'coming to' Egypt, in the case of Joseph's sons, as if they had come because their father had come. The fact of

their being born in Egypt, or rather *being* in Egypt, at this time, is all that the writer takes account of." Yet with characteristic captiousness he immediately proceeds to find fault with the sacred writer, that, "though wishing to sum up the seventy souls under one category, he uses (inaccurately, as he himself admits) the same expression, 'came into Egypt.'" The language here is not an admission of *inaccuracy*, but is simply "epexegetical," or explanatory of the writer's own meaning.*

We have entered into the minutiæ of this topic, not because we deem it particularly important to the truthfulness of the Pentateuch in general to prove that this or that name in a list contained in it stands there with mathematical precision; but because it is a case representative of a class of difficulties which we admit to be somewhat (and necessarily so) frequent in the Bible records. Oriental history has always been largely based upon genealogical accounts, that have in many cases been current orally for ages before being reduced to writing. (The Hebrew word for *history*, in fact, is תּוֹלְדוֹת, "generations," that is, pedigree.) Hence, there have unavoidably arisen discrepancies, omissions, or redundancies in the details, which the annalist who employed the materials did not feel called upon in his day to rectify, even if he had possessed (as he frequently did

* In the same carping spirit Dr. Colenso adds: "So he sums up, inaccurately, Jacob himself, as one of the 'seventy souls' among his *children* in verse 8: 'These are the names of the children of Israel, which came into Egypt, *Jacob and his sons.*' And he includes him again among the sons of Leah in verse 15: 'All the souls of his sons and his daughters were thirty and three,' which they would not be without reckoning Jacob, as mentioned in verse 8." How sharp is the ex-tutor of Harrow in grammar as well as in arithmetic! Yet he is not able to see how the words, "Jacob and his sons," in one of the verses in question can be parsed without making the sacred penman guilty of the absurdity of saying that Jacob was one of his own sons, nor to add up the numbers in the other without involving the equal absurdity of calling Jacob one of the sons of Leah. Perhaps it will relieve his love of exactitude in science if we suggest that the obnoxious words in verse 8 may be regarded as parenthetically thrown in to express the fact that Jacob came along with his sons, while our suggestion of the clerical oversight of the name of Eliab, the son of Pallu, among the sons of Reuben, may excuse Jacob from personally standing in place of his missing descendant. Dr. Colenso, in a foot-note, (p. 67,) is about to correct the use of the word "daughters" in the verse last quoted, reminding the writer that Jacob had but one daughter, Dinah; but he suddenly recollects that "the Hebrew idiom allows of [a schoolmaster who raps Moses so unmercifully over the knuckles for faults of style, ought to have been more careful in his own English than to use this superfluity] this" use of language, and he forbears. *Hebrew idiom!* Why did he not say, *common sense?*

not) the means of doing so with certainty. It was sufficient for his purpose that their accuracy, to all the uses and intents had in view, was generally acknowledged by those among whom he lived, and for whose benefit he wrote; for him to have made corrections in them would have really weakened the authority of his annals, while to have introduced discussions of their minute parts would have exhibited a finical pedantry utterly foreign to the spirit of those simple ages. He inserted them just as they had been handed down, without either questioning or vouching for their unessential particulars. How preposterous then is it to expect modern believers in the Bible to ferret out and explain, at this far distant time, the petty inaccuracies which keen-eyed skeptics detect, or fancy they detect, in these documents! If this is the way in which Dr. Colenso intends to proceed through the Holy Scriptures, we warrant him beforehand that he will be able to find plenty of flaws in the numbers, dates, and names with which these writings abound, not only in the Pentateuch and Joshua, but still more copiously in Kings, Chronicles, and even in the genealogies of the New Testament, with which to cram his future volumes. We warn him also that the public will probably reward him at last as Apollo did the critic, who, having dedicated to the god of letters the faults which he had discovered in a poem, was set to the task of culling out all the kernels of wheat from a sack of newly-threshed grain, and was finally presented with the *chaff* for his pains.

2. *The space at "the door of the Tabernacle"* (estimated at eighteen feet wide) *was entirely too small to contain "all the congregation of the children of Israel,"* (supposing only the six hundred thousand males fit for war to be intended,) *who are repeatedly stated to have been gathered there.* (Lev. viii, 1–4; Exod. xii, 6; xxi, 2, 3; Num. xiv, 5; i, 18; Lev. xxiv, 14; Num. xv, 36; xvi, 19, 25, 47; x, 3, 4.) Nor, we venture to assert, can an intelligent Sunday-school child be found who imagines that this mass of persons were ever expected to assemble within this limited compass. Of course as many as possible crowded into the place appointed, and the rest got as near as they could. But the author insists, "As the text says distinctly, 'at the door of the tabernacle,' they must have come *within the court*," which was itself only some ninety feet

broad. Accordingly, he has no difficulty in making out an absolute impossibility in the case.

> Allowing two feet in width for each full-grown man, nine men could just have stood in front of it. Supposing then that "all the congregation" of adult males in the prime of life had given due heed to the divine summons, and had hastened to take their stand side by side, as closely as possible, in front, not merely of the *door*, but of the whole *end* of the tabernacle, in which the door was, they would have reached, allowing eighteen inches between each rank of nine men, for a distance of more than one hundred thousand feet, in fact, nearly *twenty miles!*

He then goes on to show, by means of a similar nice calculation, that neither the entire space within the court in front of the tabernacle, nor, in fine, the whole court itself, could have held any considerable fraction of the people. Of course not; and neither Jehovah, who gave the directions for the assemblages in question, nor Moses, who published them, could have supposed that anybody would so understand the requirement. The multitude would take a common-sense view of the order, and assemble as best they might, just as every reader spontaneously regards the occurrence to have taken place. Does Dr. Colenso deem the writer of the Pentateuch to have been, not only a knave in attempting to palm off an absurdity upon the world, but also a fool in meaning to say that the total populace, or anything like it, was absolutely crowded within these dimensions, or in expecting his readers to believe him if he did? The whole objection is so frivolous and quibbling that we hardly think it worth while to refute it formally; yet, lest we should be charged with remissness, we will examine it a little further. In the first place, then, we observe that out of all the passages which Colenso cites on this point there are but *two* occasions named in which it is expressly stated that *all* the congregation was gathered or required to assemble at the spot in question. In the next place, it was very easy to enlarge the area in front of the tabernacle on such special occasions by removing or spreading apart the curtain-walls of the court inclosing that structure. In the third place, all who were assembled *in view* of the designated place, however far or wide the concourse should extend, might and would properly be said to have met there, or to have complied with the terms of the summons. Finally, it is not necessary to assume that

anything like the whole number summoned were actually present. Those who conveniently could, who chose, or who were able to be first on the ground, gathered there; and as all were invited, they represented the rest. Similar meetings are of constant occurrence, even with us, and are spoken of in precisely similar terms. A town meeting or mass meeting is called in front of some public building, in village or city; and although not a tithe or hundredth part of the inhabitants can get anywhere near the spot, much less reach the entrance, or indeed ever think of attending at all, nevertheless, the proceedings are announced as the public act of the population at large, without counting or considering who took a personal and direct share in them.

The same answer may be given to Colenso's next and analogous objection, that Moses and Joshua could not possibly have spoken or read before all the congregation, including the women, children, and strangers, (Deut. i, 1; v, 1; Josh. viii, 34, 35.) Here, however, there is really no impossibility at all. Moses or Joshua might easily *speak or read before* any conceivable multitude; that is, he might utter the words in their presence. If it had been said that absolutely all these individuals were actually assembled *at one time* within the sound of his *single* voice, then, we grant, the statement would have been incredible and untrue. Dr. Colenso indeed seeks to impose this meaning upon the text;* but it is not in fact there, nor does the language used fairly imply it. The tables are turned upon the objector, and we

* He says: "It may be said, indeed, that only a portion of this great host was really present, though 'all Israel' is spoken of. [Note the vagueness of this expression.] And this might have been allowed [mark the admission] without derogating from the general historical value of the book, [Why then introduce this as one of the grand objections to its "historical character?"] though, of course, not without impeaching the *literal* accuracy of the Scripture narrative, which by some is so strenuously maintained. [It is rather the truthfulness of the *facts* and language, *popularly* understood, that is generally contended for.] But the words above quoted from Joshua are so comprehensive that they will not allow of [*sic*] this. [On the contrary, such appears to us to be their natural and only common-sense interpretation.] We must suppose [for nothing of the kind is directly asserted] that, at least, the great body of the congregation was present, [which may have been true,] and not only present, but able to hear the words of awful moment which Joshua addressed to them, [though none but a madman could have intended to assert this of two millions of persons.] Nor can it be supposed that he read them first to one party and then to another, etc., till 'all the congregation' had heard them." [But the elders may have assisted him in thus repeating the words.]

have a right to demand that one who is so technical and exact in holding others to the explicit terms of passages, shall himself adhere strictly to what is written. But we do not insist upon this. Every attentive and considerate reader will understand these statements of the sacred writer in the sense above vindicated; just as a whole community is often said to have turned out to hear a noted speaker, although comparatively few may be able to get access to the room; or (still more analogously) as a preacher may properly be said to have addressed innumerable multitudes in the open air, when only those within a moderate distance of the stand could have distinguished his words. (Compare Mark ii, 2.) Moreover, Moses and Joshua had the seventy elders at hand, who doubtless contributed materially to the dissemination of what was uttered.

3. *The camp was so great in extent that it must have been impossible for the priests to reach its outskirts in order to carry away the offal of the sacrifices*, (Lev. iv, 11, 12,) *or for the people to perform the daily necessities of life*, (Deut. xxiii, 12–14.) The author estimates that two millions of people closely packed together would cover three square miles, or if less uncomfortably crowded, they would occupy an area of twelve miles square. In either case the priest would be unable to travel daily from the center to the circumference with the entire carcass (flesh, head, limbs, skin, entrails, and all) of the bullocks required to be sacrificed and then burned without the camp as a sin-offering for individual offenses.[1] We opine that it would require an extraordinarily able-bodied man for a priest, if he had to carry such a load but once and for a few rods' distance only. It is wonderful that the idea did not occur to so acute a thinker as Dr. Colenso, that *the priest might employ others to carry it for him!* (The word used is הוֹצִיא, literally, *cause to go forth*, but spoken of bringing out in general, though not necessarily, of course, with one's own hand; see Gen. viii, 17. The priest was at liberty to obtain all the assistance he required or saw fit to deputize.) He certainly would be obliged to do so whether the camp was large or small. The regulation as to the disposal of human ordure obviously applied (as the text itself shows) only to the armed males, and was sufficiently fulfilled by a withdrawal to some retired spot; in a word, it was the usual sanitary order for soldiers and not for families. Our right rev-

erend author's objections are becoming something below the frivolous.

4. "*It is surprising*" *that the number of adult males who paid the poll-tax* (half a shekel, after the shekel of the sanctuary, Exod. xxx, 12–14,) for the construction of the tabernacle and its vessels, (Exod. xxviii, 26,) *should have been identically the same* (603,550) *as it was when the census was taken* after the erection of the tabernacle, (Num. i, 46.) The author has to labor hard in order to make out any great point of difficulty here at all.* We will frame our reply in such a manner as to avoid the objections which he raises to the solutions of Kurtz and others.

(1.) It would have been still more surprising if after so short an interval† the numbers had varied considerably. Dr. Colenso would doubtless in that case have brought precisely this opposite complaint against the sacred writer, that he had contradicted his own statistics.

(2.) *The figures tally because the two events were coincident.* That the number of the tax-payers was taken from the sum in the poll-list is not only obvious from their exact correspondence, but it is also apparent from the facts and phraseology of the narrative. Moses, while on the Mount, was commanded, "*When* thou takest the sum of the children of Israel, *then* shall they give," etc., (Exod. xxx, 12.) Accordingly we read that there was collected "half a shekel for every one *that went to be num-*

* The author criticises Moses for using the phrase "shekel of the sanctuary," before the tabernacle was erected. His exception would be better taken, were he able himself to inform us what difference in value this peculiar epithet made in the coin or weight in question. It is a pure assumption on his part that the term had its origin in the usages of the tabernacle cultus. It may have been a distinction borrowed from the Egyptian temples, where the standards of the priestly caste may naturally have differed from "government weight," like the modern variations of *Troy, avoirdupois, and apothecaries' weight.* (Compare the different lengths of the sacred and common *cubit.*) Or it may have grown out of some unknown observance connected with the Hebrew form of worship already established.

† The hypercritical author is inexact in his own "historical" statements. He asserts that the census took place "half a year after" the half-shekel assessment. The former occurred on the first day of the second month in the second year after the Exodus, (Num. i, 18,) that is, about the first of May; the latter was *ordered* during Moses's first stay of forty days on Sinai, which must have been, not "six or seven months before," but about June or July previous; while of its *completion* no date whatever prior to the census is recorded, for reasons that will presently appear.

bered" of the 603,550 adult males, (Exod. xxxviii, 26.) At what time, then, were they numbered? Evidently at the census spoken of in Num. i, where the same sum total occurs; *nor is any other numbering alluded to.* But was there no list kept of those who paid? Unquestionably there was, and we have it incorporated into the report of the number common to both transactions; for each referred to the same class of persons, the male Israelites above twenty years of age.* Still, how could the silver contributed be used for the construction of the sanctuary, unless the collection had been completed previously? The collection of the money and the fabrication of the tabernacle no doubt went on at the same time, as is always the case in public works; and it was foreseen that the enrollment would at length be required in order to ascertain who were in arrears and enforce payment. Thus the two proceedings naturally came out together, and identical numbers resulted.†

5. *Whence could the Israelites have so suddenly procured tents* (Exod. xvi, 16) *and arms* (Exod. xiii, 18) *for such a vast host?* The author expatiates upon the difficulty of providing accommodations and weapons for an army incomparably less than

* The entire argument of Dr. Colenso really pertinent to this subject is contained in the following sentence, which after all he ventures only to throw into an interrogative or conjectural form: "Is there any reasonable ground for supposing that the number of those who contributed the silver for the building of the sanctuary would not have been noted and remembered as accurately as that of those of whom the census was taken?" His whole fallacy lies in imagining that the transactions were separate in time, independent in connection, and that distinct accounts were kept of each; whereas they were intimately connected throughout, were in fact simultaneous in their final execution, and the records of their results were mutually compared and verified, having doubtless passed through the hands of the same officers.

† As the relative value of the "talent" and half-shekel can only be estimated from the passage in question, (Exod. xxxviii, 25–28,) we have no means of determining whether the silver applied to the construction of the 100 "sockets," and other fixtures of the tabernacle as there related, was derived exclusively from the tax under consideration. We may imagine that coin (supposing this to have been of Egyptian mintage) would not be melted down for this purpose until all the bullion of the profuse popular voluntary offerings (among which silver is expressly mentioned, Exod. xxxv, 5, 24) was exhausted. It would seem that this latter was employed in casting the first 60 sockets for the exterior inclosure of the tabernacle, (Exod. xxxvi, 24–36,) so that but a part (the spontaneous payments) of the tax-fund would be required for the remaining 40 sockets of the interior structure. The balance, when collected at the final census, would replace the bullion contributions with coin for other or future expenses. These minute comparisons show that the sacred narrative will bear the closest inspection.

they are stated to have formed; and we Americans just now know something of the embarrassments to which even government resources are subjected in such emergencies. We suggest, however, several considerations that seem to us to relieve the narrative of incredibility on this score.

(1.) It is not necessary to suppose (for the language of the text does not expressly say this) that every family was furnished with a tent, or every soldier with complete armor; many no doubt, especially at first, were but sorrily equipped. The narrative indeed all along implies that they expected, were willing to undergo, nay, actually experienced many inconveniences, privations, and hardships of this sort. We must by no means measure the accommodations of this nature required by a well-appointed army of our own time and country, with the proverbially scanty stock of furniture and outfit of an ancient Oriental. Especially would a people originally and essentially nomadic (notwithstanding their partial domiciliation in Goshen) find these matters the most trivial obstacles to their removal. In Egypt, where no rain ever falls, persons of all ages and conditions habitually sleep out of doors, and the acclimated Israelites, of course, were prepared to do the same until they should have an opportunity to fit up tents. As to weapons, they were far from being the unarmed slaves which the author holds them to have been; and even if they had been, their Egyptian neighbors were at last but too eager to get rid of them (Exod. xii, 31–36) to withhold from them as many of these as they wished.

(2.) The Hebrews were not only traditionally looking for a return from Egypt during this generation, (Gen. xv, 13, 14; l, 24,) for which they must therefore have been somewhat preparing; but during several preceding weeks they had been earnestly anticipating a release, while Moses was contending with the tyrant for their deliverance. In fact they had been expressly warned some days before to have all their goods packed and everything ready for starting on a given signal, the death of the first-born of their oppressors.

This last named circumstance obviates another of our author's difficulties,* that "the story" allows "one single day,

* Economy of room, as well as logical continuity, requires us to consider under one head cognate objections which Colenso expands, as if for effect, through several (not always consecutive) chapters.

rather *twelve hours*" only for all this immense preparation to be made, and especially for the enormous number of lambs to be dressed and eaten in the individual residences of the Israelites, scattered throughout the entire extent of the land of Goshen, involving likewise the necessity of sundry notices circulated separately to each person. Had the bishop read with a little more attention the narrative which he so harshly judges, he would have perceived that the order communicated through Moses to select the paschal lamb on the *tenth* day of the month, (Exod. xii, 3,) must have been accompanied with such explanations as to what was about to occur on the *fourteenth* and following day as would not only be a sufficient intimation to the elders and people to hold themselves in readiness against the crisis of the wonderful scenes at the time transpiring, but induce them to arrange all the details of the passover and ensuing flight. It is true, the chapter in which this premonition is found comes in after the threat of the final catastrophe to the Egyptians at midnight of the same day on which it was *publicly* denounced; but this is done merely in order not to break the continuity of the account of the plagues by this statement, which would also be thereby severed from its connection with the actual observance of the festival, as related in an orderly manner in verse 21, etc. They thus had four or five days' warning, under circumstances powerfully conducive to their expeditious preparation.

The same reasoning applies to the author's warm protest against the rapid and importune exit and traveling of the motley concourse of men, women, and children, flocks and herds, out into the arid, foodless desert for several consecutive days under all these disadvantages.* That the march was a forced

* "Remembering, as I do, the confusion in my own small household of thirty or forty persons when once we were obliged to fly at dead of night—having been roused from our beds with a false alarm, that an invading Zulu force had entered the colony, had evaded the English troops sent to meet them, and was making its way direct for our station, killing right and left as it came along—I do not hesitate to declare this statement to be utterly incredible and impossible." Calmer readers, however, not troubled with the nightmare recollection of such a fright, have had no hesitation for thousands of years in regarding this whole history as perfectly natural and trustworthy. The bishop himself does not seem to think the two incidents quite parallel; yet, it would appear, his domestic establishment succeeded *on the instant* in making good their escape. His graphic reminiscence tells against his own argument.

one, is manifest on the face of the account; and that it was attended with much confusion and individual annoyance, no one is disposed to deny. That it was possible, however, has been attested by not a few wholesale desertions of home and household comforts by the inhabitants of large districts in ancient and modern times under the pressure of great emergencies. Not to recite the speedy irruption, and as hasty decampment of Oriental hordes spoken of in history, the avalanches of Goths and Huns, the successive surges of crusaders, the invading bevies of Mongols; we may refer to a recent instance in point nearer home—the expeditious stampede of the citizens of Beaufort *en masse* when the "Yankee" gunboats hove in sight. Bishop Colenso and his kindred gentry of Great Britain may possibly be incredulous of the fact that their aristocratic congeners of the South could have vacated the premises thus incontinently, "bag and baggage," at so short a notice; but to us it is a striking illustration of the "incredible" alacrity with which the *servile population* (such he deems them) of Goshen might (*à fortiori*) have poured forth, at the command and providential preparation of Jehovah, toward the land of freedom.

7. *How could the immense flocks and herds of the Israelites have subsisted in the wilderness?* This is Dr. Colenso's constantly recurring objection when all other methods of disproving the Mosaic narrative fail. How numerous these sheep and goats were, the narrative itself, to be sure, does not state; but this eminent arithmetician is never at a loss for figures, and so he computes, on the basis of one male firstling as a paschal lamb for every family of fifteen persons out of the two million souls of the Hebrew population, that they must have had at least two millions of sheep, and cattle in proportion, (that is, we suppose, *ad libitum.*) He then quotes travelers' descriptions of the utter sterility of the region through which the Exodus lay,* and triumphantly declares the impossibility of foddering or watering all these beasts, especially among the bleak mountains of Sinai, where they are represented to have been herded for

* For this purpose he cites canon Stanley in particular, on the presumption that *he* doubtless cannot be suspected of unduly favoring the scriptural account. In this case, however, the bishop is obliged to combat in detail the arguments of one who has been on the ground, and gives the results of personal observation. We are not aware of any traveler or writer familiar with Oriental pasturage who has disputed the narrative on this ground.

nearly a year. Now were we of the author's mathematical turn of belief, we might justly dismiss this whole calculation as being conjectural in its premises, and uncertain in all its steps; but we will simply call attention to two or three other assumptions in it which wholly vitiate its conclusion.

(1.) The lambs in question for the first passover in Goshen may readily have been procured of the Egyptians, and those for the second paschal celebration could have been obtained from the same or other surrounding regions. For,

(2.) It is a fact to which travelers generally allude, that large numbers of sheep are pastured to this day by the Arabs of this and the neighboring countries. Since,

(3.) There are numerous comparatively fertile spots scattered throughout this peninsula, (see Deuteronomy x, 7,) and more would doubtless be discovered were its interior fully explored, although the route usually pursued by travelers is for most of the year represented as generally barren. And,

(4.) It is not to be imagined that these flocks and herds were kept penned up in the immediate proximity of the camp; they were unquestionably dispersed, as is the modern practice in eastern countries, over the face of the whole territory, in charge of shepherds and herdsmen, who roved from place to place in search of pasturage, but kept up communication with the central encampment.*

* A writer in the *London Athenæum*, who has himself traveled in Palestine, meets Colenso's objection in the same way:

The *second point* supposed to "demonstrate" an error in the sacred narrative is the estimated size of the camp in the wilderness: "not much inferior in compass, we must suppose, to London." It is assumed that the whole two millions of people were grouped close together in a camp. This is opposed alike to the whole tenor of the narrative and to common sense. Any one who has had an opportunity of visiting the great Arab tribes of the Syrian desert can see that the bishop's difficulties are here purely imaginary. The Israelites had immense flocks and herds, (Exod. xii, 38;) these, from the necessity of the case, and like the flocks of the modern Bedawin, were scattered far and wide over the peninsula, and probably over the plain northward. On one occasion I rode for two successive days in a straight line through the flocks of a section of the Anazeh tribe, and the encampment of the chief was then at a noted fountain thirty miles distant at right angles to my course; yet the country was swarming with men and women, boys and girls, looking after the cattle. In like manner the great bulk of the Israelites would be scattered over the desert. The camp would thus be a mere nucleus; large, no doubt, but not approaching the exaggerated estimate of Bishop Colenso. Yet, being the headquarters of the nation, containing the tabernacle, the priests and the chiefs, and forming the rallying-point for the warriors, it was the only place with which the sacred historian was concerned. This view, which is natural, scriptural, and in accordance with the universal practice of Oriental nomads, sweeps away a host of difficulties conjured up by the imagination and then supported by the arithmetic of Bishop Colenso.

7. *The number of the immigrants was disproportioned to the extent of the country to be possessed; much less was there any danger of their not being able to hold the wild beasts in check,* (Exod. xxiii, 29.) It is sufficient to reply:

(1.) The grant of territory to the Israelites properly extended from the confines of Egypt to the borders of Asia Minor, and from the Mediterranean to the Euphrates, (Gen. xv, 18; Exod. xxiii, 31; Deut. xi, 24;) and this was the actual extent of the empire under David and Solomon.

(2.) The population of Canaan proper or Palestine appears in later times to have greatly exceeded that of the Canaanites and original Israelites combined; and it is probable that it is capable at the present day of supporting an equal number of inhabitants.

(3.) Nevertheless, we frequently read of the ravages of wild animals in the scriptural history, (for example: 2 Kings ii, 24; Judg. xiv, 5; 2 Sam. xxiii, 20; 1 Kings xiii, 24;) nor are they infrequent at the present day in Palestine, notwithstanding the absence of the forests in which they anciently lurked.

8. *The number of first-born males* (22,273) *among the Israelites* (Num. iii, 43) *is entirely too small for a total population of two millions.* We answer:

(1.) The text containing this isolated statement may have become corrupt, as numbers in the Hebrew copy frequently have, in consequence of their having been originally written by means of letters for figures, which were easily mistaken.

(2.) There may have been some peculiar method of computing or registering these first-borns so as not to exhibit the usual proportion of the population at large. What this peculiarity probably was we shall endeavor to show in the sequel.

9. *The seventy persons of Jacob's family could not have increased in the course of four generations, or* 215 *years, to two millions of souls.* We reply:

(1.) There is really no impossibility in the case even thus stated, as several instances are on record of an equal rate of increase, especially the noted case of the mutineers of the ship Bounty, who settled on Pitcairn's Island, and intermarried with the natives. But there are several circumstances that should lead us to expect an extraordinary increase in the

present case. (*a*) A special blessing was promised the Hebrews in this respect, (Gen. xii, 2; xxv, 23; xxviii, 14, etc.,) which the history informs us was remarkably fulfilled during the interval under consideration, (Gen. xlvii, 27; Exod. i, 7.) (*b*) The fecundity of women in Egypt was proverbial, (as the author allows,)* and the Hebrewesses excelled even the Egyptian mothers in this regard, (Exod. i, 19.) (*c*) Although in general the Exodus was in the fourth generation from the migration to Egypt,† yet in many families there had been a larger number of generations;‡ and it is certain from numerous indications that these successive generations *continued to live simultaneously, and were prolific to an unusual old age.* (*d*) Early marriages have always been the custom in the East, and among the Hebrews in particular a numerous offspring was universally favored. (*e*) Polygamy was undoubtedly practiced to a considerable extent among them, and Egyptian females were at hand (especially those of the lower caste) to serve as concubines or secondary wives to the Israelitish heads of families.

(2.) It is altogether probable that the two millions in question were not exclusively of Hebrew extraction, that is, not strictly the lineal descendants of the seventy individuals composing Jacob's immediate family who migrated to Egypt. It is nowhere expressly stated that they were so: Colenso, indeed, thus interprets the sacred narrative; but we are not bound to look at it through his unfortunate eyes. The accuracy of the six hundred thousand able bodied men who marched out of Egypt, (evidently a proleptical round number taken from the later enumeration,) upon which the estimate of the entire host is based, is vouched for by the exact sum, (603,550,) yielded by the census soon afterward held; and this again is confirmed by the detailed numbers as given under each tribe. This latter mode of registry also proves that all included in it were in some sense accounted as belonging to one or another of the

* Producing in some cases four and even five at a birth. (Aristotle, *Hist Anim.* viii, 5, 1.)

† In substantiating this fact, Colenso has corroborated Gen. xv, 16.

‡ Joshua, however, was not the *tenth* in descent from Ephraim, as apparently stated in 1 Chron. vii, 22–27; for the lineage recommences with Laadan, who was probably another son of Ephraim. (Browne, *Ordo Sæclorum*, p. 306.)

tribal divisions of the people: but it does not necessarily follow that they were all absolutely full blooded or original Israelites; they may in very many instances have been *adopted* members of the Hebrew community, either as proselytes, domestics, relatives, or sympathizers, whose attachment was so strong as to induce them to link their fortunes to that of the fugitives. Nay, the supposition is not all unreasonable that the mass of the Egyptian population of Goshen had become so intertwined in interest, affection, and association with the Israelitish settlers in their midst, during the lapse of more than two centuries of remarkable prosperity and harmonious intercourse, as gradually to have melted in a great measure into one community with them, for it must be borne in mind that the restrictive enactments which created and maintained the invidious distinction of Jew and Gentile did not then exist; and as the Egyptians themselves, according to several ancient authorities, likewise practiced circumcision universally, there was no outward barrier to such an amalgamation. Joseph himself had set the example of intermarriage with the native Egyptians; and the favor of the reigning dynasty, combined with the manifest thrift of the new comers, must have made affinities very popular between the Hebrew and Egyptian families. These accretions, together with the offspring of the home-born servants and tried attendants, many of whom (according to patriarchal usage) would of course accompany or follow the family of Jacob into Egypt, (particularly as the then prevailing famine would leave them no other alternative for subsistence,) while others would be acquired there in still larger numbers; all these additions may readily be deemed to have swelled the Israelitish population in this favored residence to an unwonted growth. We call attention to a few intimations in the scriptural narrative itself, that go to warrant this explanation. (*a*) It is expressly stated (Exod. xii, 38) that, when the Israelites took up their march out of Egypt, "a *mixed multitude* [עֶרֶב רַב, *promiscuous crowd*, that is, of camp followers, Gesenius] went up with them," evidently composed of their Egyptian friends and adherents. True, these are distinguished from the "six hundred thousand on foot that were men, besides children;" but they nevertheless indicate how strong and intimate an attachment had grown up between the Hebrews and their Egyptian neighbors, (a fact also

attested by the readiness of the latter in granting the request* of valuable presents, and attributable especially to the influence which the recent miracles of Moses had secured,) and they give rise to the suspicion that they were themselves mostly the families of a considerable proportion of these very six hundred thousand footmen, in which case we must make a corresponding deduction from the estimated number of proper Israelitish households. The continued presence of these miscellaneous companions will go far toward accounting for the frequent disorders and mutinies that distinguish the subsequent history of the travels through the desert. (*b*) A distinction of this kind between true-born and naturalized Hebrews is revealed by the discrepancy above noticed in the census of the first-born, as compared with the total male population. These semi-Jews, although admitted (as was Hobab) to all the privileges of citizens in the newly formed migratory colony, (as befitted their former internal relations, and especially their present alliance,) and classified along with the clans into which they had become affiliated, or with which they chose to fraternize as portions of the general tribal *corps d'armée*, were nevertheless of necessity segregated by the strict canvass of primogeniture, in which, as so much hereditary privilege of a personal, social, national, and religious character depended upon it, not even the sons of concubine wives, much less other more loosely formed connections, could be allowed to enter, although for general purposes, whether political or ecclesiastical, the distinction was not observed. We are persuaded, therefore, that the census of the first-born, as given in Num. iii, 43, that is, twenty-two thousand two hundred and seventy-three, is the true index of the pure Hebrew population at the time.

This discovery of the large proportion of merely nominal Israelites among the huge migrating host in fact solves fundamentally and at once most of the difficulties advanced by Colenso; for it will be perceived that they are nearly all based upon the theory of *numbers* which he applies to each question. Thus, when the number of strictly Israelitish households is so greatly reduced, we have no occasion for the hundred thousand lambs for Paschal meals, and consequently are not obliged to

* Not *loan*, for the original term is שָׁאַל, *to ask*, improperly rendered "borrowed" and "lent" in Exod. i, 35, 36.

provide sustenance for the innumerable flocks and herds imagined to have existed in the train of the migration. The details of the march itself are also prodigiously facilitated as to the preparation and accommodation of the families; for a comparatively small caravan of genuine Hebrews may then be conceived as starting under conduct of Moses and Aaron, which is joined on its way by motley assemblages of the Hebræo-Egyptian population, bringing with them the remainder of the personal effects of the refugees. It was apparently this unexpected magnitude of the Exodus that induced in the king and his cabinet such vehement regret at having consented to their departure.

Our limits allow us to notice but in the briefest manner the author's remaining objections. He regards the rate of increase among the adult males of Dan (not quite three per cent.) and the total males of Levi (not quite five per cent.) during the thirty-eight years in the wilderness (Num. i–iii, and xxvi) as so exceedingly small, especially in comparison with that among the other tribes, (for example, Manasseh, which increased over sixty per cent.,) as to render it "sufficiently plain that the account of these numbers is of no historical value whatever." Had he cited the remaining tribes, however, they would not have been so apposite for his purpose, since we should have seen that none of the rest increased very largely, while several actually diminished, as indeed did the sum total. Why Manasseh alone experienced so large a growth, we, of course, cannot now tell;* but we know that similar variations at present occur in adjoining towns and counties.

The author once more objects to the duties of the priests as being excessively arduous, in fact, intolerable, especially at the passover in the wilderness, seeing that there were but Aaron and his four (eventually two) sons to offer all these sacrifices! What, pray, were all the other "sons of Levi" about, that they could not aid their sacerdotal brethren? Or is it to be imagined that, upon special emergencies, Moses had no liberty to

* It is obvious that the circumstances of the sojourn in the desert were not favorable to an increase of population. The only real difficulty (though incorrectly stated by Colenso) is this large increment of Manasseh. The only explanation we can suggest, is a possible transfer of some of the floating population of Egyptian extraction to this tribe of the stock of Joseph.

appoint deputies for such offices? Moreover, much of the Levitical code was intended to be fully executed only after the arrival in Canaan, and parts of it were even not instituted till a comparatively late period of the sojourn in the desert. As to the passover in question, if our view of the composition of the Israelitish host is correct, very many families may not have observed that festival at all; indeed, we have positive evidence that great neglect of these ceremonial ordinances, even the most essential, prevailed during the migration through the wilderness. (Josh. v, 7; Amos v, 25.)

Finally, the author *calculates* that the six months between Aaron's death (Num. xxiii, 38) and the farewell of Moses (Deut. i, 3) would have been fully occupied with the mourning for Aaron, the battle with Arad, the incidents of the fiery serpents, the nine encampments adjoining, the conquest of Sihon, the capture of Jaazer, and the reduction of Bashan, (Num. xx, xxi;) leaving no space for the march to the plains of Moab, the narrative of Balaam, the idolatry with the Moabitish females, and the consequent pestilence, the second census, and the war with Midian, (Num. xxii–xxvi,) all which took place before the demise of Moses. Had he set his wits as actively to work to ascertain *how* all this might have transpired, as he has to make out that it could *not* have taken place at all, he might have bethought him that many of these transactions, especially the campaigns, were probably going on at the same time in detachments of troops from the main body stationary at Shittim, where Moses was personally engaged in the concluding scenes of his career.

Bishop Colenso feels greatly shocked (page 210) by the inhuman manner in which the Israelites are said to have treated their Midianite captives, (Num. xxxi;) and he is, if possible, still more scandalized (page 50) at the countenance given by the Mosaic statutes to the system of slavery, (Exod. xxi, 4, 20, 21.) As to the first of these points, we agree with him that war is a dreadful thing under any circumstances, and we in this country are at present well able to appreciate its horrors. But slaughter has in all ages been its inevitable accompaniment, and its rigors have always fallen not only upon the soldiers themselves, but also upon their homes and families, that have thereby been desolated. Yet we are not aware that the

numbers stated in any historical work to have been killed in battle, nor even the atrocities related to have been committed upon prisoners, has ever been made a serious ground of impeaching the "historical character" of the narrative. Such scenes of blood, alas! have been too common on our earth to appear improbable occurrences. The massacre of these Midianites, however, was not only part of Jehovah's general charge to Israel utterly to slay and extirpate the idolatrous aborigines, but it was a special act of retribution for their intrigues in the matter of Baal-peor, and the Midianitish women were justly made to bear the heaviest part of the penalty for their prominent and shameless agency in that infamous transaction. War is stern, but the judgments of the Almighty are even more severe upon the godless! The humanitarian notions of Dr. Colenso may lead him to impeach this act of sovereign justice, even as it induces him to reject the doctrine of the perdition of the wicked, however plainly inculcated in holy writ; but his unbelief cannot make void the righteousness of God. A denial of the punishment of the wicked, whether in this world or the next, will not lessen its certainty in the least, any more than to shut our eyes against the awful scenes of the earthquake, the conflagration, the flood, or the pestilence, will stay their ravages. The bishop has here entered into a controversy, not with man, but with his own Almighty Master, whose ways he thus virtually impugns.

As to the critic's second moral objection, the bearing of the Mosaic law upon human slavery, he is altogether mistaken in his position. The design and the actual effect of those enactments was, not to confirm, much less institute, but to ameliorate, and eventually abolish the usage. For proof of this, if any be needed, we refer our readers to the able discussion of the whole subject of Hebrew slavery, both in its biblical and Rabbinical aspects, by the learned Jew, Dr. M. Mielziner, ("Die Verhältnisse der Sklaven bei den alten Hebräern," Copenhagen, 1859,) which has been translated in the (Gettysburg) *Evangelical Review* for January, 1862. We may add, that we of America could wish that Bishop Colenso's prelatical brethren might so far, at least, share in his "revulsion of feeling" against human chattelship as to cease their aiding and abetting, by every means that they dare to employ, the

cause of a rebellious confederacy whose avowed corner-stone is the "divine right" of slavery!*

His incidental cavils at the universality of the flood, (page 5,) and the account of the arrest of the sun and moon by Joshua, (page 8,) we pass by as having already been amply discussed in treatises expressly prepared on these subjects by competent writers innumerable.

We have thus followed "his lordship" through the driest details of his portentous "critical examination," and found

* We quote part of the language of the *British Quarterly Review* on this point:

"The small space we have left must be assigned to a notice of the difficulty which arose between Dr. Colenso and his native Zulu, and by which the heathen convert appears to have done so much toward converting his instructor. Here it is:

"'If the master [of a Hebrew servant] have given him a wife, and she have borne him sons or daughters, the wife and her children shall be her master's, and he shall go out free by himself.' (Exod. xxi, 4.)

"The wife and children in such a case being placed under the protection of such words as these:

"'If a man smite his servant, or his maid, with a rod, and he die under his hand, he shall be surely punished. Notwithstanding, if he continue a day or two, he shall not be punished: for he is his money.' (Exod. xxi, 20, 21.)

"'I shall never forget the revulsion of feeling with which a very intelligent Christian native, with whose help I was translating these words into the Zulu tongue, first heard them as words said to be uttered by the same great and gracious Being whom I was teaching him to trust in and adore. His whole soul revolted against the notion, that the great and blessed God, the merciful Father of all mankind, would speak of a servant or maid as mere money, and allow a horrible crime to go unpunished, because the victim of the brutal usage had survived a few hours. My own heart and conscience at the time fully sympathized with his.'

"The bishop, however, met the perplexity of the inquirer for the present by suggesting that this thought about the money-value of the bondsman came to the mind of Moses at the time, and that, supposing it to have been divinely given to him, he recorded it. But surely something better than this might have been said upon the case. We English Christians in the middle of the nineteenth century judge it sinful for any man to hold another in bondage. [And yet many of them can lend all their moral influence toward crushing a nation that is struggling to shake off this evil inherited from England!] But is it sufficiently considered how long it has taken to bring men into this way of thinking? Nearly fifteen centuries intervened between the Exodus and the Advent. But in the course of that world-education of which we have spoken, the Augustan age came, and no nation, no community, great or small, had learned to account slaveholding a sin. While Cicero, one of Dr. Colenso's great lights, was pleading at the Roman bar, it was one of the great maxims of Roman law that a slave is *non persona sed res*, not a person but a thing, a commodity; in Dr. Colenso's phrase, "mere money." Even the New Testament does not contain a passage teaching in any direct form that society should know nothing of bondsmen. It lays down great principles, which were to issue in the extinction of such service, and in the extinction of many things like it. But this extinction was left to follow from the slow action of those principles. St. Paul knew that every bondsman in the Roman empire was simply so much money, according to the opinion, feeling, and law of the times; and that if a servant of this order should be injured even to death, there was no law to punish the wrong-doer. Still, that the preachers of the Gospel might not be presented to the mind of that generation as the preachers of a servile war, and the purpose of their special mission be frustrated, slavery, with all its wrongs and barbarities, passes without any direct proscription."—P. 186.

that it evinces everywhere the fault-finding pedagogue, rather than the devout investigator.* Niebuhr, who first applied the incredulous philosophy to the confessed "legends of Livy," doubtless had no idea that his disciples of the "mythical" school would carry it out into the petty process of dissecting statistics. There is no historian, however honest, that is secure from conviction, if put to the rack after this *ex-parte* fashion. Bishop Colenso has succeeded in striking from beneath his own feet the earliest historical basis of revealed religion, and appears to rejoice in having thrown off the "superstitious" faith in which he was reared to his present eminence. Yet he offers us no substitute for the precious records thus degraded below the authority of profane history. He seems unable to "define his own position." We wonder not at this, for it is a most anomalous and unsteady one. We advise all who may feel bewildered by the perusal of these audacious sophisms, so lately conceived by the author himself, and so eagerly promulged, to wait until they shall see the end of his belief; and to his ecclesiastical superiors we recommend, in their future selection of bishops, to heed the apostle's caution, 1 Tim. iii, 6.

Art. VII.—FUNERAL ORATION UPON STEPHEN CURCELLÆUS.

DELIVERED BY ARNOLD POLENBURG.

[PART SECOND.]

CURCELLÆUS IN BELGIUM—DYING TESTIMONY OF HIS WIFE.

Curcellæus, as I have said, took refuge in this our Belgium, as an asylum of truth, an altar of freedom, and an abode of peace; the only refuge for oppressed consciences. Here he hoped to live and die. But before we depart with him from

* It ought to be borne in mind that the narrative of the Exodus purports to be the record of no ordinary scene; but is constantly spoken of in Scripture as a series of events bordering on the miraculous in all their particulars, having been achieved by the "high and mighty hand" of Jehovah. The candid reader is accordingly prepared to find many things in the history not only extraordinary, but unaccountable on the grounds of human calculation.

France, let us not in this place omit mention of his wife, Joanna de Beaulieu le Blanc, whom a certain person, now an enemy of Curcellæus, calls "a noblè and remarkable woman;" who, when from disease she had been for almost a year near death's portal, drew up in the city of Vitriacum a tablet or testamentary letter, which she sent to her brothers, Stephen and Louis de Beaulieu le Blanc, the former pastor of Sylvanectum, the latter of Plesis, and to James and Peter de Beaulieu le Blanc, the former of whom was the secretary of Charles, King of England, the latter was an eminent advocate in the Parliament at Paris. To all of these, whose love toward her husband she deemed too little, she sent this token of her will, in which she bequeathed not estates, nor furnitures, nor funds, but that which she held far more precious than gold or silver, *love*, *concord*, and *peace*, to be fraternally cherished toward her husband, and never to be interrupted by differences of opinion in regard to religious matters. I will here passingly insert a few extracts from the terms of her will, not only because of the weightiness of the sentiments and of their worthiness of perpetuation, but also because of the prudence and piety of that noble matron:

The Testament which I leave to my honored and loved brothers and to my most excellent sister:

SIR, AND MOST HONORED BROTHER,—I send this my letter to you in order to make known what position our affairs have assumed. My affliction is not slight on account of my lingering disease and prostration of strength. Our little ones, thanks to God, are still very well. My only trouble is because my husband, Curcellæus, is often plunged into the deepest grief as he sees me rapidly approaching the end of life. He clings to me with as great love as from the beginning, and for ten long years has shown me as much honor and kindness as any wife could ask or desire from her husband. He kindly and consolingly soothes all my griefs. I believe that in this thing God takes cares of his own. I am often overwhelmed with sorrow when I contemplate the great distance which separates me from you; but Heaven has not left me desolate, who raises and comforts me through the husband whom he has given me. I entreat and beseech you all, in the name of God, that in whatever degree we have lived together in harmony and peace, to the same extent you may be willing to esteem my husband; this is the sum of his prayers, and he loves me and regards you as his own brothers. But I fear lest the difficulty which has arisen between him and his colleagues may produce some estrangement in your feelings on account of the suspicions which some have conceived toward him,

as if he cherished any concealed sentiments in his bosom. I earnestly attest to you that my husband cherishes no opinions except those which any pious and approved Christian might fully entertain. No doctrine ever was adopted or held by him except that alone which Christ gave to his disciples as sufficient for enabling them to convince and instruct mankind unto salvation. I therefore pray and entreat you, by the honor of God and the love I have ever shown toward you, that you regard Curcellæus not as a stranger or a foreigner, but as a most loved brother and an heir of the same promise of eternal life. We by no means ought to adopt an evil opinion of him because on some points of little importance he differs in opinion from us. "Ye shall know them by their fruits," says the Saviour; "a good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, nor a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit." According to the measure of the reason and knowledge which God has been pleased to bestow upon me, I have recognized in my husband no conduct which was not according to holiness. Recently a few individuals have arisen against him, and persuaded themselves that he is destitute of all reason; but they ought to attribute this to his modesty, because he imagines that the ears of many are shut to his reasonings. But I earnestly entreat you and my other brothers to heed the admonition of the apostle, who teaches us not to judge or decide prematurely; but that, proving all things, we should retain that which is good. O that by you all, as well as by me, the disposition of my husband might be clearly understood. Well do I know that you would eagerly seek his acquaintance and friendly conversation. As far as I am able, I commend him, together with my children, to you. I ask you that you may beseech in my name, my most honored friends and relations, that the love of which they have esteemed me worthy they may transfer and bestow upon my husband and my children; and I would also have you declare that it is my constant prayer, that as I have cultivated peace and friendship while God has granted me the possession of this life, so even after my death these may live and flourish among them.

To you all I bid a final adieu: to my most excellent sisters, your wives, to your children; in short, to all my dearly beloved friends. I ask you, my brother, to kindly send a copy of this writing to all my brothers, and preserve this original, written by my own hand for yourself. For I desire that you and they also may order the execution of this small will. You can do this readily upon the first opportunity; for you will perceive that this is drawn up in the style in which wills usually are. I fear you will not receive this letter before my departure from earth. Not with an uninterrupted pen was it dictated by me; but opportunities and intervals were snatched from the debility of my brain occasioned by the paroxysms of fever. You will, therefore, hold it in greater esteem. You will kindly pardon me if this is rude and unpolished; for as it is the work of my own impulse, so is it also my own composition. If I had desired to use the assistance of Curcellæus it would have been presented to you in a more polished style. But that I may put

a conclusion to this document, I am and shall be till the end of life yours, and to you all a most perfectly devoted and faithful sister. Done in Helmauru, February 21, 1625.

JOANNA LE BLANC.

CURCELLÆUS AND EPISCOPIUS—SLANDERS OF MARESIUS.

We have followed in our oration Curcellæus's departure from France into Belgium, and it is now worth our while to know in what manner he conducted himself in these lands, how he supported himself, with what talents he was endowed, what books he wrote, what friendships he cultivated, how powerful was his influence among his superiors in dignity and authority, and, in short, in what way he was led from this sorrowful life unto death, and from death to the heavenly ascension. A certain person* became his enemy because upon his arrival in these lands "*he prostrated himself at the feet of Episcopius.*" Next, he criticised him at great length because he had subscribed to the Canons of Dort; and, finally, he reproached him for working for printers in the correction of books for the press, and by this mechanical labor supporting himself and family. In ignorance, O Maresius, do you reprehend the doings of your foe, or rather your friend, (for it was by your will and not by his that variance occurred,) for what you say is entirely untrue; and the real truth is no disgrace but an honor to your friend. I deny that he acted as a suppliant. Upon his entrance into this audience-room, Episcopius, out of honor, arose and wished to hand over the professor's chair to him, that he might preside over the debate then to be held. Proof this is of the honor in which he was held by the honored Episcopius, and how unnecessary it was to "prostrate himself" as a suppliant before this most accomplished man. But our friend served at the printing-press and was reduced to narrow circumstances! He did this, not induced by any hope of gain, but according to a desire of some of his most noted friends; and by the request of certain of these, especially of the illustrious Hugo Grotius, whose notes upon an edition of the Gospels he cleared of mistakes. He also translated some mathematical works into other languages, which I do not believe his enemy could have done better; and, according to the desire of his friends, wished to do this if he were able. Some geographical delineations which

* Maresius. See p. 326.

Cl. Caspar Barlæus had prepared in his great Blævian work, he adorned and completed. But I confess, (for why should I deny that which is true and right,) I confess that this reverend man was at first coldly received by some on account of that first signing of the canons. I confess that he was involved in embarrassments. But he well foresaw these difficult positions; he willingly cast himself into them, he encountered them with a brave spirit, he nobly gave himself to be tested by these hardships, and he forced all to acknowledge that nothing was done by him falsely or hypocritically, and proved himself to be fully prepared to encounter every difficulty, that he might preserve an undisturbed and inviolate peace of conscience. Was it not then imprudent, shall I not say senseless, in this critic to reprehend what was worthy of praise, and to depress as an enemy the man whom he should extol as a friend? Is not he a firm believer in God who would permit his worldly circumstances to become reduced to the utmost that he might bring his conscience, fettered by the narrow limits and restrictions of Dort, into the just liberty of the sons of God? But who drove him into these difficulties but the slaves of the despotism of Dort? In which if any sin is committed it is not his who bore the suffering, but his who inflicted. He is deservedly adjudged to have inflicted the suffering who approves its infliction, who is prepared to inflict, and who acknowledges for brethren the authors of the infliction.

In illustration I adduce an incident at the time occurring. When the debate which I have mentioned above was held before Episcopius as theological professor, in the presence of Curcellæus, a disquisition was read concerning the sense and fulfillment of our Lord's promise found in the nineteenth chapter of Matthew, that *whoever has left home, and brothers, and sisters, etc., on account of my name*, shall receive a hundredfold and shall obtain the heirship of eternal life. Episcopius answered that this promise was frequently unfulfilled in this life; but its fulfillment might be confidently expected in the life to come. Nevertheless, God, in the course of our present life, does none the less confer this reward upon *some* with a most eminent liberality, so that they can acquiesce in their own lot; he also sometimes demonstrates the truthfulness of his promise by the full performance itself, as if for the purpose of a decisive example

for the confirmation of others, lest they should be plunged into utter discouragement. At the same time, in an exulting temper, he said, "Take, for instance, this our Curcellæus and myself, in whom you may recognize the express signs of the fulfilled promise. I, as an exile from Holland, voluntarily took refuge in France; he, as an exile from France, took refuge in Holland. Homes, brothers, and sisters, we abandoned; but our God has not deserted us, but abundantly cares for us, for our fortunes, and our friends whom we hold dearer than earthly possessions."

CURCELLÆUS AS THEOLOGICAL PROFESSOR AT AMSTERDAM.

Not a very long time did our deceased friend remain in these embarrassments, since he has ever been honored by our adherence; and after Episcopius departed from this earthly habitation to the better world, by the unanimous vote of our community Curcellæus was raised into the position of the deceased; together with those noted men, Charles Niellius, who now lives with God among the glorified, and Bartholomew Prævostius, who is now a survivor and here present, and has entered his seventy-first year, having long since obtained an honorable withdrawal from labors. In addition to these at length was Albert Hutten, formerly Professor of Sacred Literature at Sedan, who thence departed to take charge of his native Church at Nevinagus. After he had been raised to this position he alone, and with his venerable colleagues, clung to his work with diligence and the greatest assiduity, so that neither indeed at home nor abroad, in his auditory nor out of it, did he wish us to be destitute of his counsel or his aid. For I remember that when I came into this state for the sake of my studies that he, reclining in his bed, not without great danger, carried on our uninterrupted discussions at his own house. But he carried the studious youths, as was agreed upon among us, in no one separate part of learning; but for a long time, like an Atlas, he carried us through all the languages which conduced to an acquirement of the sciences, through all the sciences which prepare the mind for theology, and finally he sustained upon his own shoulders the very arduous task of theology. He alone presided at the declamations which were held each week; he alone taught Greek literature as far as was allowable. He taught us the discipline of manners, the knowledge of natural

philosophy, the science of things human and divine. He promoted us at first to the study of mathematics, and prepared for us a certain clear method of learning astronomy, and a little while after embraced it, so far as conduced to theological purposes, in a small compendium. And finally he seated himself like a leader and a prince, or like a most noted artisan, in building and adorning this citadel of theology as his own appropriate work. He delivered many lectures, dictated many treatises, and trained the students as if in a palestra or laboratory furnished with all the proper apparatus, not only by discussion, but also by instituting examinations. But why pursue the details? He was for some time like a sole dictator among us. At first he dictated to his scholars a small commentary upon the Catholic Epistle of Jude, which, nevertheless, he did not complete. He taught us theology by leading topics, and this he ever applied to the practice of morals, of which he completed nearly the whole treatment. Besides, he dispensed a certain new course of discussions after almost the same train of topics as he had followed in his lectures, except that many things which were omitted in his lectures he here accumulated as a mass, and all of them were written with such a strength of argument and beauty of order, and with such a perspicuity of style, that I hesitate not to say that no one could have composed anything of this kind more accurately or elegantly; and so, although these things could not be brought to a finish on account of his disease and death, nevertheless they are most worthy of the earliest publication possible.

HIS THEOLOGICAL PUBLICATIONS.

He published not a few works which he has left as a clear testimony of his learning, humanity, and moderation. During the controversy on predestination, when a new discussion arose between Moses Amyraldus and Peter Molinæus, he, like a Palæmon, interposed as an arbiter by the publication of a French work which he titled, "*Advis d'un personage disinteresse*," etc. In this small work he declares what he approves and disapproves on either side. He decided that Amyraldus spoke rightly but thought wrongly when he declared that although God wished all to be saved, and Christ suffered death for all, without exception, yet that the number of men absc-

lutely elected or absolutely rejected was limited by God. But that Molinæus, neither in word nor sense, agreed with Scripture, since he denied what Scripture affirms, that God wished all mankind to be saved, and declares that reprobates are not called to a participation of salvation; whom nevertheless God, by his ministers, invited to the marriage feast. (Matt. xxii.)

He published another book against the professor of theology at Saumur, in which he defends the opinions held by Arminius and himself concerning the right of God over his creatures; opposing especially the error of those who believe that God is able to torment by hellish and eternal woes the innocent little souls of helpless infants; and some, with Calvin, even contend that he really torments the infants of the Gentiles, although they deny that they are innocent, and shamefully take refuge under the imputation of original sin. Besides, he published in the next year the New Testament, corrected from the most ancient manuscripts, and illustrated by a very great variety of readings, and most accurately printed in a most beautiful type. At the latest moments of his life he published a learned work upon *The Eating of Blood*, in which, with many other reasons being adduced, he strove to prove that both hereafter and now, according to the command of God delivered to Noah, and the prescription of the apostles, which they sent abroad and promulgated to all the Churches of the Gentiles, that all Christians should abstain from the eating of blood.

A few years afterward he undertook the defense of David Blondell against the criminations of Maresius, shamefully heaped upon a deceased friend; which defense he prefixed as a preface to a dissertation of D. Blondell, in which preface he demonstrates that the vulgar history of a Popess Joan ought to be rejected as fabulous. Finally, the defense of this defense is in press, and about to see the light for which it aspires, a book most complete in every kind of learning, wherein he gives his opinion explained and confirmed: *Concerning the words Person and Trinity, etc. Concerning Original Sin. Concerning the Necessity of a Knowledge of Christ. Concerning the Justification of Man before God*, and other sublime subjects of Christian faith. In this treatise may be seen the injustice of the contempt expressed by the man who, once his friend now his enemy, even attempted to make it a matter of reproach that

Curcellæus had from age become blind both in body and in mind. Such a man would have reproached the patriarch Isaac for the failure of his eyes, and would have ridiculed the baldness of the prophet Elisha with the boys of Bethel. But let him beware lest the destroyers be upon him, as happened to the boys insulting the holy old man. Sophocles, the celebrated poet among the Greeks, when his sons sought to exclude him from the family property because on account of his old age he seemed to have lost his intellect, having produced and read his recently composed tragedy of Electra, so overcame and confounded his sons that they could not utter a single word against him. So this book, composed in Curcellæus's last moments, abundantly proves his power of mind. Even if he were from old age blind, for what reason should he be so earnestly despised and insulted. I am no more ashamed of my blind master than was Jerome, who has left it recorded in his Chronicles that his teacher, Didymus Alexandrinus, was blind from the fifth year of his birth.

I do not forget that a certain doctor of the Reformed, especially celebrated among our adversaries, when he was asked by Curcellæus whether he thought so unfriendly a man, belching forth so atrociously so many harsh and malignant rebukes, ought to be answered, said, "Let the coarse beast alone." I know that this was the judgment of other noted men; nor is it wonderful, since no other kind of vindication is more worthy a grave and Christian man, nor can the darts of calumny be in any other way better blunted or broken, than by slighting their loquacity by a firm, deep silence. For what end will there be of quarrels if we wrangle with wranglers, and if we respond endlessly to barkers? Yet because men are elate over others, from others silence proclaim their victory and are appeased by the empty pretense of a triumph, our sage judged it would be for his interest and for his fame after death, and for the advancement of divine truth, that such atrocious charges should not fall unpunished and without castigation from the mouths of men. And just as nature in many things exerts her utmost strength for a final attempt when she finds herself failing, and as the sun when it is nearest its setting pours forth more rays than usual upon the earth and casts into our eyes more light than we need, so this venerable man as he labored in his last

moments, and by his labor added strength to his somewhat failing system, and collected all the energies and industry of his mind, and so conquered himself; and as he approached the light above, so did he emit from himself the more glorious rays. I here omit many learned prefaces which he prefixed to the published writings of other learned men, among which, very eminent in value, is that prefatory character of Episcopius which will be found inserted as an Introduction to his Theological Institutes. I omit also his letters of many and different kinds of argument which have not yet been published. Among these the one written to the illustrious Hugo Grotius concerning Antichrist; the one to Sorberius concerning the abuses or errors of the Romish Church; and that to Adrian Pætsius, most skilled in theology among jurists, concerning Popish idolatry as being enormous, and therefore worthy of condemnation, are the most excellent.

THE PRIMARY AIM OF REMONSTRANTISM — CHRISTIAN TOLERATION.

It may be desirable to note the object this illustrious man had in view, in all his words, writings, and deeds. For we cannot believe that so many and great undertakings could be made by so wise a man, unless he had some well-defined object in view. This will be clearly seen from the very first by those candidly examining his works. He first of all directed his mind to a search after divine TRUTH; for he thought that this treasure, descending from heaven, should be preferred to all other acquirements. Next, he had all the thoughts of his mind directed to INTEGRITY; because he believed that not even truth could be of benefit to us, unless it brought some strikingly advantageous aid to our piety. Finally, this especially he wished, and for this peculiarly he labored, to unite the Christian body, torn into many and terrible schisms; to compose and conciliate the separate, distracted feelings of various minds; and to teach that not all the doctrines which were alleged as a pretext for causing or cherishing a schism were vital for salvation, and at the same time to show that those things which had not the weight of necessity by no means sufficed for dividing the Church of Christ. To this all things were to be referred which he meditated, uttered, or performed; for this he refused to sub-

scribe to the famous canons of the synod, because we, whose opinions ought not to be, were condemned; for this he abandoned his loved country, France, and endured many hardships for the sake of mutual toleration; and for this he determined to contest, as if for some divine palladium. He conceded to others as much as he thought should be equally granted to him; demanded that nothing should be conceded to himself from others, except what justice and right reason and the sacred writings require should be admitted. What is more holy than this proposition, what more salutary, what more necessary for the times? For many contend concerning the truth, and so contend, that they never obtain truth but lose charity. Hence the many disputes in Christendom on slight causes. But what is more disgraceful to us as members of Christ, what more ignominious to Christ as our Head and Leader, than that his seamless coat, and his body, which ought to be united by the closest ties of love, should be torn into a thousand fragments? *This indeed is the distinction of Remonstrantism; this our crown of glory, because we neither caused this schism, nor consented to any other*, nor cherished nor approved any; but we invite and exhort all who love Christ and adhere to his Gospel alone to enter this communion of peace. For who is so blind or so unwise that he does not desire this method of inaugurating peace should be embraced in every possible way? Who does not think that this school of TOLERANCE is to be studiously attended as a training-place of charity, and so of all the virtues? For where there is Christian charity there is a bond of all the virtues. Who would not regard such a man, who subordinated all other things to this divine cause and discipline, and for this was pre-eminent, worthy after death to be gratefully esteemed and commemorated?

HOW HE BECAME A TOLERATIONIST.

But whereas this reverend man descended from such an ancestry at Geneva, was educated at the Genevese Stoa, and was taught by such masters that he would seem by his very nativity to be trained and imbued by no desire of mutual toleration, but for applying force and persecution to dissenters, this may be a matter of inquiry with us, how he, so enslaved, could aspire to a hope of liberty, and be animated by so unexpected

a preference for toleration and peace? In the first place, it must be acknowledged, and never in any way dissembled, that God, the Father of lights, does not deign to bestow the same gifts and endowments upon all, but grants a greater measure to some, a less to others. For although to every one he gives such an amount as suffices in proportion to the strength, yet he bestows talents with a great inequality of shares. But that mildness of character which oftentimes suggests moderate counsels, although it might sometimes seem innate, should be regarded as a gift from God. As those who for a long time have been in war and among warriors, stained with the blood of the enemy, most earnestly desire peace, because they are especially averse to slaughter and blood, so some, while they are associated with persecutors, and contemplate the pyres erected to the destruction of erring souls, are moved with pity, and with a sense of our common frailty, and shrink from the harsh fierceness of those persecutors. To this may be also added great power of domestic influences and instruction, especially if there happen to one not an unsuitable but an approved and prudent instructor, endowed with that authority that we feel the rightfulness of obedience to his admonitions. All these great advantages, by the divine benignity, fell to the lot of our Curcellæus.

It is now proper to make mention of other circumstances, showing the genius of the man which the grace of God bestowed upon him, and which were of influence in forming within him a mild spirit.

A TOLERATIONIST EVEN AT GENEVA. CHARLES PERROTTE.

I have not yet mentioned what ought not to be omitted in this place; that soon after his birth he lost his father, and was immediately delivered over for training and education to his nearest kinsman, Charles Perrottus, pastor of the Church at Geneva, and then the theological professor. We owe much to this Perrottus for the zeal which he manifested in the cause of religious liberty. For after having scattered the densest shades of popish superstition, when the ardent love of persecution animated all, he attempted to restrain their ardor, and existed in his day as indeed a counselor of mutual toleration. It was from his teaching that the learned and scholarly Utenbogardus emerged as a herald of peace; for when he was about to

return from Geneva into Holland, Perrottus earnestly counseled him, immediately upon his entrance into the sacred ministry, to abstain from all bitterness of counsels either in defending or spreading religion; not to condemn others for a slight difference of opinion, but using all lenity, to exert all his powers for the unity of Christendom, which it was a great cause for sorrow should be so sadly rent. He also added that some in the Reformed Church had gone further than was justifiable, who presented and urged their opinions with too great zeal; in the enumeration of which he did not hesitate to mention some of his own colleagues who then were filling the first positions at Geneva. And lest his counsel should be forgotten by Utenbogardus, in the latter's album he wrote his name, and under it that divine saying of Christ, "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God." To Thomas Tilius, who, at first abbot of St. Bernard, abandoned the Papacy, and was installed pastor of the Church at Delphi, he addressed similar language: "Many of the Reformed Church imitate the example of Uzzah, by rashly placing their hand, in a manner threatening ruin, upon the ark of God." Would that his testimony, "Concerning the Avoidance of Extreme Opinions in Matters of Religion," which no doubt would be very effective in the preservation of peace, was now in existence! Mention was made of it in some catalogues of the Synod of Orleans, in the following language: "'Concerning the Avoidance of Extreme Opinions in Matters of Religion;' a book of Charles Perrottus, not yet, to my knowledge, published." It never was published, but, according to report, was suppressed by the Genevans on account of its opposition to their doctrines condemnatory of moderation.

A great part of the happiness of Curcellæus certainly it was, that in earliest boyhood he was inducted into the family and patronage of this learned and pious man. When Curcellæus venerated Calvin, and preferred Beza to all others, Perrottus, on the other hand, in the presence of not a few learned men, in a very powerful oration, inveighed against the dogmas of those doctors, especially when they condemned or attempted to oppress dissenters. Our Curcellæus at first wondered at the speech of this learned man, because thus far he had regarded a dissent from the opinions of these masters as a sort of inexpiable

crime. Yet because he gave great weight to the venerable wisdom of this man, and because the learned men sitting around did not oppose him, and because the mild discourse by its own beauty commended itself to a temper not very severe, he determined that what had entered into his mind before he would now do with the greatest care; namely, that, led by no one's authority, but persuaded by truth alone, he would adopt opinions on religious matters as they were formed in his own mind. The result was that whereas he often consulted with his foster-father and relatives on reforming certain errors, he hated schisms and oppressions and the offering of violence to the consciences of others with the greatest intensity; and finally he desired that a Church of this kind might be granted to him, in which should prevail not only toleration in bearing some errors, but a public *profession* of toleration.

DEATH OF ARMINIUS.

Celebrated at this time was JAMES ARMINIUS, a professor of theology in the Academy at Leyden, the fame of whose name and moderation was diffused upon the lips of men throughout the neighboring regions. And so our Curcellæus, moved by the reputation of Arminius, yet not without other reasons, determined to visit and consult foreign theologians. But when he came as far as Heidelberg, a sad message was brought, announcing the death of Arminius, which not a little afflicted the mind of Curcellæus, for he had taken a long journey especially to see and hear that eminent man. Thus deprived of his object, he turned back again to his own country, and thereupon, as we have said, was induced to enter upon the orders of the Church. He afterward lived on terms of friendship with Tilenus, Utenbogardus, Corvinus, and other eminent divines of the Church during their exile in France, from whose conversation, breathing and inspiring forbearance, he was enabled to make no contemptible progress in the study of toleration, as he often joyfully confessed. Nor when he departed from the intercourse and communion of these men did those sacred principles of toleration expire in his mind, but daily they attained an auspicious increase, and acquired that maturity in which, by the grace of God, we know that he firmly stood, flourished, and died.

PLEASING PICTURE OF HONORED MATURITY.

During his life he followed this path of love, that he might abundantly receive the grace of God and the favor of especially approved men. For why should he not be pleasing and acceptable to God, who so justly, piously, and earnestly advanced his kingdom in these lands, especially when there were so many other traits subsidiary to this virtue? For so great was his piety, that he would utter or think nothing concerning God, unless with an earnest devotedness and humility of spirit. So great was his temperance, that he was never known to indulge in ebriety, or to be allured by the snares of impurity. What need I say of his well-continued zeal, his prudence, humanity, affability, and singular gravity, all of which shone in his words, countenance, and every action? It was by reason of these things that he was constantly surrounded by the favor of good men. Hence he formed many abiding and most faithful friendships. A distance of places often destroys many intimacies with others: it is well known that this was never the case with our deceased friend. Not even in France did those friends, whose cause and doctrines he had repudiated, desert him. I call Rivetus* to witness, who always is accustomed to speak highly of him in his published books and letters. I appeal to Blondellus,† who desired to honor and embrace him as a brother. I also attest Dallæus,‡ who publicly lamented that he ever by any harsh words had grieved the most generous and friendly Curcellæus. Finally, I call to witness that eloquent old man Agnetus, who at Vitriacum was a colleague of our sage, and who remained with him and consoled him in his last afflicted moments.

Even those who cherished enmities toward Curcellæus have boasted that they did not hate him, but esteemed him as a friend. Molinæus may be cited as an example, who, although not accused, yet excuses himself that he contributed nothing to his condemnation, nor was he a prosecutor or judge in this cause. And Sam-

* Andrew Rivet, a celebrated Dutch divine and controversialist. He assailed the mild Calvinism of Amyraldus and the philosophy of Descartes.

† David Blondel, a Protestant minister of Chalons, born in 1591 and died in 1655. He was author of "Eclaircissement sur l'Eucharistie," and of an "Apologia per Sententia Sancti Hieronomi de Presbyteris et Episcopis."

‡ John Dailee, author of the well-known work on the Usage of the Fathers.

uel Maresius,* hostile as he was to our theology, claims to have cherished his friendship. I might cite others to this testimony who held him in veneration: the Petiti, the Voscii, consuls and men of consular rank, senators and men of senatorial rank; the Hasselarii, the Bassii, the Coccii, who never passed his door without pausing to enjoy conversation with him, and never allowed him undetained to pass their own. To him many were accustomed to resort, as if to the treasure-house of learning, the oracle of the state, the guardian of wisdom and humanity. If any weighty question perplexed the troubled minds of his disciples, he was ready to untie the difficult knot. If any one was to be commended or raised to a literary position, his opinion alone had more weight than that of many others. He alone was the representative of all. When he praised D. Blondell as a congenial friend, and meritedly illustrious for his learning, he uttered the sentence that caused the authorities of the institution to raise him to the high position of Professor of Ecclesiastical History. It was for this influence that the authorities of the state, as we have heard, esteemed him worthy of an honor never before bestowed, of the right of citizenship, conferred not by purchase, but by gift; not by petition, but by free-will. Although he was surrounded and assailed by the plots of many who were anxious to deprive him of life or bring him to trial, yet these noblemen, fathers of their country, guardians of innocence, determined to guard and defend him by their own protection and by the privileges of citizenship. If, then, strangers (although who could be a stranger who so greatly favors him, and by him favors us?) who were separated from us in external communion, cherished this man with such honor, with what love ought we to embrace him, who enjoyed by daily intercourse his learning, and experienced so often his kindnesses? If others ought to grieve at his decease, how much more his dearest son and most beloved daughter?

* Samuel Maresius (Des Marets) was a leading Calvinistic divine of the seventeenth century. He was a Picard, born in 1599, studied at Saumur under Gomarus and Capellus. He became Professor of Divinity at Sedan, and was afterward Professor at Gronigen. He was a very fierce disputant. Bayle celebrates the warmth and persistency of his debate with Voetius, as well as the heat but brevity of his warfare with Dailee. His bitterness toward Curcellæus, therefore, was only a part of a system or permanent habit. He might be called the Toplady of his day.

DECLINING YEARS AND EXULTING EXIT.

Yet so sad was his affliction, so severe and lasting were his pains, that he sought consolation in the hope of approaching death. But let us congratulate ourselves that he was enabled to endure even for ten years an ulcer upon the bladder, and so endure that physicians and surgeons declared that nothing less than death could be expected. There was a certain one in France at this time, who, upon the reception of the news of his decease, insulted and persecuted him with a funeral song. For not as a deceased man did he honor him with any heraldry of respect, but he composed this funeral dirge, as if he would tear to pieces his manes and bones, ferociously insulting him as a dead lion, especially because he had not written concerning the law of God to his creatures as illimitably and vaguely as they wished; for which reason this poetaster did not fear to adjudge him to hell. Truly our God was above medical skill, and a despiser of calumnies and calumniators, who restored him to health, and raising him as if from the dead, quickly silenced the song of that wicked man, and showed that nothing had been done contrary to the law of God, but that all his thoughts and arguments had been to God's glory in the denial that God was able or willing to cast the helpless souls of innocent children into hell. As the phenix, according to report, revives fresher from its own ashes, so Curcellæus, struggling from the shadow of death, entirely regained a new life, and for his advanced years obtained well-established health. He also produced from that time a fruitful progeny of pupils, so that he strengthened and adorned the greater part of the Churches with a new generation of offspring and supporters.

His seventieth year being passed, he perceived his strength diminishing, and felt his incompetency for performing his former great labors. Tossed like a light bark on those rocks of disease near which had been his former danger, a year had almost elapsed since the time when, in letters to our venerable synod, he explained the state of his health, and asked that measures might be taken by the officiary, the brothers alike to the seminary and himself, concerning a successor and colleague. The greatest share of the subsequent time he passed upon his bed,

under the severest anguish from his bladder, until the twentieth day of this month, when liberated from every affliction, absolved from every trial of pain, he surrendered his soul to the God whence it was derived and given.

I will not in this place deplore the brevity of human life or the sorrowful vicissitudes of our deceased sage; nor will I exclaim, with the most eloquent of orators, "O, fallacious hope, and fragile fortune, and vain contentions of men, which fall, are broken, and overwhelmed in mid career!" For this orator, howsoever eloquent, was not a Christian, nor was he able to appreciate in spirit or mind the extent and firmness of our hope. Moreover, we may learn from the deceased how we ought to be composed and animated; for as he was not free from the experience of pain and anguish, so he bore his sufferings with a calm and patient spirit. Taking occasion from his trials, we may learn the most arduous yet noble virtue of patience; for he dreaded not approaching death, but desired it, and panted that it might come with prayers and supplications, because he knew that from death alone was there repose from labors and anguish, and by that same route his path to eternal life.

First, from a copy of the Psalms of David, whence the full streams of solace flow, he frequently desired selections to be read. Then he turned himself to prayer, in which he was aided by other reverend colleagues, and especially by the reverend Prævostius, with whom also he had maintained extensive conversations concerning the immortality of the soul and the state subsequent to departure. In all this conversation he attested his faith in God and Christ to be immovable, and his hope in every respect unshaken. In his last moments he exclaimed, "My God! My Father!" Then, turning to his surrounding children and friends, "For this hour," said he, "all things are well. I am calmly composed; I am exultant." So therefore this faithful servant of God finished his last contest, completed his course, and attained that faith in Christ, of which the end is the crown of righteousness, the salvation of the soul, and joy eternal. He believed this reward of his labors to be laid up in heaven. That this was his reward we confidently believe and trust; which source of consolation alone surpasses in value every other solace. And that not too sad or lamented should

be the recollection of that day in which he was taken from our eyes, God himself, the God of consolations, has abundantly provided. For upon that day in which we Christians joyfully celebrate with sacred commemoration the glorious ascension of Christ into heaven, did Stephen Curcellæus ascend from the earth. How can that day seem sorrowful or calamitous to us in which Christ, borne into heaven, gloriously triumphed over mortality and death, over superior and inferior powers. Stephen, the proto-martyr, when driven from life, exclaimed on bended knees, "Lord, lay not this sin to their charge." Our Stephen also imitated this prayer in that last dedication which he inscribed to the faithful servants of Christ, to the pastors of the Reformed Church in the Isle of France, in Campagne and Picardy; desired to record for all that he had entirely expunged from his own mind every memory of injury or offense; for whom he offered his prayers to God that they might see the truth and embrace charity. I exhort them, therefore, to receive with magnanimity the last address of this eminent man. I beseech that if they hated him, (although who was able to hate him? nevertheless they did not love him because they did not know him,) that at least they may desist to hate him dead, who while living hated not them, but loved, and left a living testimony of the fact to survive his life. Ever will live that testimony of his forgetfulness of injury in our hearts, nor ever by any forgetfulness of men or injury of time will it be obliterated.

Art. VIII.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

PROTESTANTISM.

GREAT BRITAIN.

The Rationalistic Controversy.—As was to be expected, the bold advocacy of Rationalistic views by Bishop Colenso has not only awakened a new interest in the Rationalistic controversy, but also greatly increased its importance for the future destiny of the Church of England. Although there was at first a general doubt how the Church ought to deal with him, there was also a general expression of opinion among the clergy that something ought to be done to vindicate the orthodoxy of the Church. Several of the bishops early denounced in severe terms the heterodox views of Bishop Colenso, and declared that they would not allow him to officiate in their dioceses. On February 5 a meeting of the bishops belonging to the Convocation of Canterbury took place, at which there was a unanimous condemnation

of Bishop Colenso's book, though a small minority differed from the rest as to the mode in which it was most expedient to act. The prevailing opinion seemed to be that action should be taken through Bishop Colenso's immediate metropolitan, the Bishop of Capetown; but as this prelate is known to belong to the ultra High Church School, the evangelical party expressed some fear of intrusting to him proceedings of so grave importance. On February 10 the Convocation of Canterbury met, and, according to general expectation, took up at once the case of Bishop Colenso. On the second day, February 11, Archdeacon Denison, having obtained the suspension of the standing orders, moved an address to the upper house, praying the upper house "to direct the appointment of a committee to examine a book lately published in London, within the province of Canterbury, entitled 'The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua critically examined,' by the Rt. Rev. John William Colenso, D.D., Bishop of Natal, and to report whether any, and, if any, what opinions heretical or erroneous in doctrine are contained in said book." Mr. Denison quoted two passages from the preface, in which he said the bishop denied the truth of Scripture, and impugned the authority of Jesus Christ. He could not avoid observing that it was impossible for the house to pass by such a matter as this. The motion was seconded by Dr. M'Caul, who considered the book published by Bishop Colenso a great scandal to the Church. Dr. M'Caul said he could tell of one who on going up for priest's orders spoke publicly in a railway carriage of the unanswerableness of the book, and yet he was not deterred from going up to repeat the most solemn act of ordination. Archdeacon Honey believed that the course proposed would be ineffectual for any good purpose, and would only give a larger circulation to the book, and he therefore moved as an amendment, "That it is inexpedient that any steps should be taken in Convocation with a view to revive the power of censuring books or authors." This amendment was supported by the Archdeacon of Stafford, who thought it extremely unwise for the house to establish itself into a court to pass judgment on questions of heresy. The Dean of Canterbury thought the house, by appointing a committee to inquire into this particular book, would become a standing committee to examine into all books, forming as it were an expurgatorial committee. The original motion was, among others, supported by Dr. Jelf. The amendment being put to vote was negatived. Archdeacon Browne then moved the following amendment: "That this house, deeply deploring the scandal on the Church and the danger to the faith of Christ which have arisen from the publication of the Bishop of Natal, but doubting as to the steps it may be desirable to take in order to remove the scandal and counteract the danger, respectfully request his grace the president, and their lordships the bishops of the upper house, to take counsel as to the wisest and most legal mode of proceeding; and this house assures his grace and their lordships the bishops of their readiness to co-operate with them in the course most fitting, and most likely to be fruitful and good." Archdeacon Denison, in opposing this amendment, said that a refusal of the house to inquire into the very worst case that had happened in the Church for the last two hundred years, would ruin the convocation in the eyes of the public more than any other course that could be pursued. The amendment of Archdeacon Browne was then negatived, and the original motion adopted. On February 13 the resolution of the lower house, desiring the appointment of a committee to examine the book of Bishop Colenso, came up in the upper house, when the Bishops of London and St. David's opposed the appointment of a committee, which measure was on the other hand advocated by the Bishops of Llandaff and Lincoln, and finally adopted by the house. The lower house, on the same, appointed the committee of investigation. The most decided opponent of the measure is the Bishop of London, who some time before, in a pastoral charge, expressly deprecated all resort to legal prosecutions, except in extreme cases, to repress free thought, reminding his clergy that "after all we are Protestants," and who openly avowed that he would relax rather than tighten the terms of subscription. The new Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Longley, who is regarded as belonging to or, at all events, leaning toward the High Church School, in reply to the address of the clergy of the rural deanery of Chesterfield had declared: "No effort shall be wanting on

my part, nor, I trust, on the part of my right reverend brethren, to vindicate the faith of the Church in this instance, as far as it is in our powsr to do so."

On December 15 the judgment of the Court of Arches in the matter of the *Essays and Reviews* was pronounced. Dr. Williams and Mr. Wilson were pronounced to have departed from the teaching of the Thirty-nine Articles, on the subject of Holy Scripture being the written word of God, on the atonement and on justification, and they were therefore subjected to the punishment of suspension for one year, with payment of costs. How such suspension, without public acknowledgment of error, is to alter the position of their return to their offices in the Church it is difficult to understand. The question will come next before the Privy Council, but the decision will probably be maintained.

Against another one of the Essayists, Professor Jowett, an action has been commenced in the Chancellor's Court, Oxford, by Dr. Pusey, Dr. Heurtley, and Dr. Ogilvie. Some time before a case had been submitted to the Queen's Advocate, Sir Robert Phillmore, whether Professor Jowett had so distinctly contravened the doctrine of the Church of England that a court of law would pronounce him guilty. The Queen's Advocate had pointed out various passages in the professor's work which in his opinion were at variance with the doctrines of the Church of England. The proceedings against Professor Jowett created great interest in Oxford.

AFRICA.

THE PROTESTANT MISSION IN MADAGASCAR.—The territory of Protestantism in Africa, which now comprises the English possessions, the Republic of Liberia, the Protestants of Algeria, and a number of missionary congregations among various Pagan tribes, is likely to receive soon a large and important addition by the advancing Christianization of the island of Madagascar. Madagascar exceeds in extent France, having an area of about 240,000 square miles, with a population of about 3,000,000 inhabitants. Protestant missions were first established under King Radama I., who ascended the throne in 1808. The missionaries of the London Missionary Society (since 1818) reduced the native language to writing, translated and prepared the Bible, taught in the course of about ten years about 15,000 of the natives to read, and converted a large number to Christianity. The death of Radama, in 1828, put, however, a stop to the progress of the Protestant missions. The widow and successor of the King, Ranavalona, closed the schools, drove the missionaries from the island in 1836, prohibited the profession of Christianity, and tried to exterminate the Christian congregations. In 1846 the queen's son, Radama, then seventeen years old, embraced Christianity, which through his influence began again to spread, although the Christians continued to suffer persecution at the hands of the queen. The death of the latter in 1861, and the accession to the throne of her Christian son, Radama II., opened again the whole island to the preaching of Christianity. The London Missionary Society made at once preparations for reoccupying the field, and Rev. Mr. Ellis, whose former missionary labors in the island had made him fully familiar with the native Christians and the character of the entire people, was sent back to Madagascar. He arrived at Antananarivo, the capital, about the middle of June, and was received with great cordiality and joy by the king and the officers of the government. When Mr. Ellis mentioned the number and the specific objects of the several missionaries on their way to Madagascar, with the supply of books, school materials, and printing apparatus which they would bring, both king and queen thanked him for the communication, and requested him to assure their friends that it was peculiarly gratifying to them. The prime minister, the commander-in-chief, the first officer of the palace, and other high authorities, some of them apparently most earnest Christians, were equally cordial in their welcomes. Mr. Ellis has been requested by the king to attend him daily for two hours to read with him. They read together out of a large Bible, presented, in 1821, by the London Missionary Society to King Radama I. Besides, he began at once to instruct daily at his house eleven or twelve sons of the chief nobles and officers, and this class was soon joined by the adopted son of the queen. Mr. Ellis was well pleased with the religious feeling among the native congregations, and he found that the Christians were still numerous. According to a report made

by the native pastors, their number amounts to about 7,000. Mr. Ellis says that their piety and fortitude were making a great impression upon the rest of the population, who crowd to hear the Gospel proclaimed. He has asked the London Missionary Society for £10,000 to build spacious places of worship on the spots consecrated by the martyrdoms and tortures of the native converts. The king has with alacrity appropriated the sites; he and his Christian people will do what they can toward raising the required buildings, but they will be unable to finish the work without aid from abroad.

THE EASTERN CHURCHES.

RUSSIA.

INTERCOMMUNION BETWEEN THE ANGLICAN CHURCHES AND THE RUSSIAN CHURCH.—For several years members of the High Church Party of the Church of England and of the Protestant Episcopal Church of this country have tried to open negotiations with members of the Eastern Churches, and in particular the Russian State Church, with a view of preparing the way for an ultimate union of all the Eastern and the Anglican Churches. Of late this movement has assumed large dimensions, and there is already a great probability that ere long it may become one of the great ecclesiastical events of the nineteenth century. The General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church of this country, held last year in the city of New York, appointed a committee to consider the question of "establishing intercommunion with the Russo-Greek Church." The debate on this subject awakened a particular interest among the friends of this movement in England, and called forth a letter from the Rev. George Williams, of King's College, Cambridge, who has had for some time close relations with many prelates and members of the Eastern Churches, and who on that account offers his services to the American committee. Mr. Williams, in 1860, published, in concert with his friend, Dr. Wolff, proposals for the establishment of a hostel for members of the Orthodox Greek Church in the University of Cambridge; and also, in the same year, went to Russia, to explain to the higher ecclesiastics the principles on which they proposed to conduct the hostel. He conversed with many of their eminent religious men, and ascertained their disposition toward the Anglican Church. Previously Mr. Williams had resided there for eighteen months, and gained a good knowledge of the Russian Church and people. Mr. Williams expresses the opinion that any advance toward the establishment of relations of amity with the Russo-Greek Church would have a much better prospect of success if made by the two Churches in concert than by either alone, and he therefore suggests to the American committee the desirableness of applying to the English Convocation, and inviting them to appoint a committee to correspond and co-operate with the American committee in this business, in order that all that may be done may be the joint action of the two Churches.

In order to show the views of the bishops of England respecting this matter, Mr. Williams further states, that on the occasion of his visiting Russia in 1860, not only did his own diocesan, the Bishop of Lincoln, and the Bishop of Oxford give him letters commendatory of the most formal character to the Metropolitans of Russia, and to the Holy Governing Synod, as well as to the patriarchs and others of the Eastern Churches; but others of the English bishops, including the present Archbishop of Canterbury, expressed their hearty interest in the matter, and gave him less formal letters of amity to the same Churches. Besides these he had letters from Bishop Potter, of Pennsylvania, and from several of the Colonial bishops. These letters, he thinks, produced a most favorable impression in Russia, and a record of the fact of their presentation, with the names of the bishops whose signatures they bore, was entered on the Minutes of the Synod.

Mr. Williams also states that he has already taken some action in the matter upon his own responsibility. He wrote to an intimate Russian friend, a count, who has close relations with many learned and influential members of his own Church, ecclesiastics and others, to ask him if he could offer any suggestions as to the best method of proceeding in this delicate business. The answer of the count, which is dated Jan. 4, (16,) 1863, expresses the opinion that the present time is more favorable than those selected for former attempts were, but that it would be better to prepare the

minds of the Russian people for such advances before actually making them. The count promises to use the religious press of Russia to this end, and to communicate with the confessor of the emperor and one of the Russian metropolitans. As to the best manner to make the advances, he thinks that it would be best to send some properly accredited deputy to the Holy Synod, with a letter containing the proposals which it is desired to make.

The Convocation of Canterbury, which met on February 10, 1863, had also a discussion on the subject of opening communication with the Russian Church, and the lower house declared itself unanimously in favor of it.

TURKEY.

THE BULGARIANS — THE UNITED BULGARIAN CHURCH.— If we may believe the Roman Catholic organs, the movement among the Bulgarians for a union with Rome is again making great progress. It is asserted that the first bishop of the Church, Sokolski, who had been consecrated by the pope himself, had never left the Church again, but had been carried off against his will by the Russians, and was now retained by them in a Russian convent. The pope is said, in an energetic note, to have recently demanded his release. The United Bulgarian Church has now a patriarch at Constantinople and an archbishop at Philipopolis. They have been recognized by the Turkish government as a political community, but they cannot take over with them to the new Church the edifices in which they formerly worshiped. These remain to the Greek Church, and the United Bulgarians have to build new chapels. They have a journal in Constantinople, called *Bulgaria*, which for some time was suspended, but has now been revived, and exercises a considerable influence, because the literature of the Bulgarians, which is of very recent origin, has as yet but very few periodicals. Toward the close of the year 1862 the Roman Catholic papers announced that a Bulgarian archbishop had made his submission to the pope; but later this news was modified, to the effect that the Archbishop of Sophia, on December 9, 1862, applied for admission to the communion of the Roman Catholic Church, and that the same application was made a few days after by the assistant Bishop of Adrianople, but that it was found out that both applications had been made from purely mercenary motives, and that they were therefore refused. The two bishops succeeded in inducing five or six young Bulgarians, who were on the point of going to Rome to make their theological studies in the Propaganda, to return with them to the Greek Church. The United Bulgarians are especially numerous in the province of Adrianople, where their total number in April, 1862, was stated to be 2,612 families. More recently the movement is said to be particularly strong in the diocese of Tirnóvo, and Roman Catholic papers already announce the "conversion" of the whole diocese. This is undoubtedly an exaggeration, but the actual transition of a number of clergymen and families rests on good authority. In the town of Tirnóvo about one hundred families have joined the United Church, and are about to build a chapel.

Very little has been heard during the past year of the national party among the Bulgarians which is opposed to a union with Rome. Since March, 1862, Bishop Parthenios has been at the head of this party, whose prospects are said to have suffered by the accession to the throne of the present sultan. The Bulgarians have somewhat changed their programme, and now demand only a national clergy, the use of the Bulgarian language at the mass, Bulgarian schools, and a thorough reformation of the abuses in the administration of the Church. As regards the supreme ecclesiastical government, they are willing to remain under the patriarch of Constantinople, if six bishops (just one half) of the Holy Governing Synod be taken from their nation.

PROGRESS OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN SYRIA.—It is said that numerous congregations of the Greek Church in the Plain of Damascus and in the country between Lebanon and Balbeck, are joining the Church of Rome. As the main cause of this movement, the liberal donations are regarded which are received from France for the support of the Christian population of Syria. At the head of the Romanizing movement is the former Greek bishop of the town of Holms. He has solemnly joined the Roman Catholic Church, and as he is a man of great influence in Syria, it is believed that many will follow his example. A particular zeal for the interests

of the Roman Catholic Church in Syria is displayed by the Paris "Association for Establishing Christian Schools in the East," in which not only zealous Roman Catholics, but also, from political motives, many prominent French statesmen take an active part. The bulletin of this society claims that more than four thousand "schismatics," among whom were several priests, have already joined the communion of Rome, and that many others are on the point of following them. Rome has a number of able agents in Syria, none of whom has done more for the Church than Patriarch Valerga of Jerusalem, who has been laboring in these regions for his Church since 1840, and has been recently appointed by the pope delegate for Syria. Since he has occupied the patriarchal see of Jerusalem he has established a seminary for the training of a native clergy at Beitehalla, and a new hospital at Jerusalem; has introduced communities of nuns, for the education of female children and the nursing of the sick, into Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Jaffa, St. Jean d'Acre, Caiffa, and Chef-Amar, and obtained the restoration to the Roman Catholics of a number of places in Palestine which formerly belonged to them.

INDIA.

IMPORTANT MOVEMENT IN THE SYRIAN CHURCH OF INDIA.—Among the least known branches of the Eastern Churches belong the Syrian Church in Travancore, India, often called the Christians of Saint Thomas. When the Portuguese, in the fifteenth century, established themselves on the coast of India, they tried to compel the members of this ancient Church to submit to the pope. A large portion of the Church complied, while another portion retained its independence. The latter are estimated at some seventy thousand, while the former counted about one hundred and fifty thousand, of whom ninety-six thousand, the United Syrian Church, with ninety-seven Churches, still followed the ancient rite of their Church, while the others have entirely identified themselves with the Latin rite. In the United Syrian Church (which had adopted the faith of Rome, but preserved its ancient rite) of late a remarkable movement is said to have taken place. The missionaries of the Church Missionary Society of England report that a deputation has been sent by this Church to the Jacobites of Mesopotamia, and that one of the delegates was consecrated a bishop, who on his return to Travancore declared for a separation from Rome. With scarcely any exception, writes a missionary, all the Syro-Romanists gave in their adherence to the new bishop, and the Romish bishop was left with not more than ten or twelve parishes.

ART. IX.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

ENGLAND.

Dr. ETHERIDGE, author of the life of Adam Clarke and a biography of Coke, has just published a *Translation of the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan Ben Uzziel;* with fragments from the Jerusalem Targum; from the Chaldee. The present volume cover Genesis and Exodus. The *London* (Wesleyan) *Quarterly* says:

It is superfluous to say that Dr. Etheridge makes his Aramaic speak as good English as Aramaic can, and that his renderings put the reader in possession both of the spirit and form of the original texts. Prefixed to the translation is an introductory chapter on the origin, history, and character of the Targums; and what greatly heightens the value of this part of the work, two brief but elaborate episodes are wrought into it, in which the author discusses the great questions of the teaching of the paraphrasts respecting the Divine Logos, and the testimony which they bear to the Scripture doctrine of the Messiah. Those who are acquainted with Dr. Etheridge's previous writings will not need to be told, that the learning which these prolegomena exhibit is large and trustworthy, and that the value of the information they contain is equaled only by the manly modesty, the well-disciplined judgment, and the tender yet noble Christian feeling which pervade and adorn every production of his pen.

A pamphlet of some sixty-eight pages has been published by Mason, consisting of "*Two Lectures on the Wesleyan Hymn*

Book, by the Rev. Joseph Heaton." The first lecture is devoted to biographical sketches of the authors of the hymns. The second is a dissertation on the hymns themselves. The lectures are eulogized very highly.

The theological agitations of the day in England have induced Trübner to publish "*Spinoza's Critical Inquiry in the Hebrew Scriptures.*" It was originally written in Latin; but the destructives conceive that it is time to bring its views within the reach of the multitudes who read English alone. *The Westminster Review* says:

He treats first of prophecy and the prophets; he considers the form of Hebrew prophecy in its more remarkable characteristics to be due to an excitement of the "imagination," its end and scope to concern moral and spiritual truths. In his chapter on law, divine and human, he distinguishes between the law of eternal and universal truth and verity, and the law of precept and application; and he says of the Mosaic laws that they were apprehended by the Hebrew legislator not as universal truths, but as particular institutes. We should be glad for English readers who have only heard of Spinoza as an anti-Christian and an atheist, to remark what follows: "From this point of view are those prophets to be regarded who have uttered laws in the name of God. But Christ is an exception to this rule. Of him I hold we are to opine that he perceived things immediately, adequately, truly; for Christ, though he also appears to have enunciated laws in the name of God, was not so much a prophet as he was the mouth of God. When we say that God revealed himself immediately to Christ, (that is, to the mind of Christ,) and not mediately as to the prophets by words and signs, nothing more is to be understood than that Christ perceived revealed things truly, adequately, and in themselves, or that he comprehended them; for then is a thing really comprehended when it is perceived by the mind itself without the intervention of signs. Christ, therefore, perceived revealed things in themselves and adequately; so that if he ever prescribed them as rules or laws, it was because of the ignorance and obstinacy of the people he addressed. Standing as the substitute of God, he accommodated himself to the capacity of the vulgar, and spoke more clearly than the prophets generally had done, though still somewhat obscurely, often teaching by parables, especially when he was addressing those to whom it was not yet given to understand celestial things."—Pp. 97, 98.

Spinoza's doctrine as to the value of the biblical histories is, that they do not of themselves form part of the divine revelation, and do not all of them, or necessarily in all cases, contribute to make men better or more spiritual, but are only of use so far as they do this, and in reference to the moral doctrines they contain: by reason, however, of their containing and illustrating these moral doctrines more fully than other histories, the Bible histories are superior to all others. Then follows a most able chapter on Miracles, the sum of which may be gathered from the ensuing definition of the word: "From these premises, therefore, namely, that nothing happens in nature which does not follow from its laws; that these laws extend to all which enters into the divine mind; and lastly, that nature proceeds in a fixed and changeless course; it follows most obviously that the word miracle can only be understood in relation to the opinions of mankind, and signifies nothing more than an event, a phenomenon, the cause of which cannot be explained by another familiar instance, or in any case which the narrator is unable to explain."—P. 124.

A London rector of the Established Church, said to occupy an important position, has published a work entitled "*Forgiveness after Death; does the Bible or the Church of England affirm it to be impossible?*" He maintains that in spite of the equivocal terms "everlasting fire" in the Athanasian Creed, and "everlasting death" in the Catechism, the literal eternity of the misery of the damned is not an obligatory Church belief. The Church standards, he avers, contain nothing like those words of the Scotch Presbyterian Church, defining the penalty of the wicked to be "everlasting separation from the comfortable presence of God, and most grievous torments in soul and body, without intermission, in hell-fire forever." In regard to the *intentional exclusion* of the doctrine of endless misery from the standards of the Church of England, this rector gives the following remarkable statement:

But what proves beyond the possibility of doubt that the silence of our own Church was deliberate and intentional, is the fact that in the Articles adopted in the year 1552, there was one relating to this very subject which afterward was simply omitted. This Article, the 42d, and last of that earlier code, was headed, "All men shall not be saved at the length," and ran as follows: "They also are worthy of condemnation who endeavor at this time to restore the dangerous opinion that all men, be they

never so ungodly, shall at length be saved, when they have suffered pains for their sins a certain time appointed by God's justice." The Article was wholly withdrawn in the course of ten years, and the Church of England has virtually pronounced that no dogma on the subject of future punishment shall be binding upon her clergy or her members. —P. 21.

GERMANY.

The highly important collective work on the Lives of the Fathers of the Reformed Church, (*Leben und ausgewählte Schriften der Reformirten Kirche. Elberfeld,*) with selections from their writings, which has been for several years in the course of publication under the superintendence of Professor Hagenbach, has now been completed by the appearance of volume nine, containing the second half of the *Life of Calvin*, by Stähelin, and volume ten, containing the *Life of John Knox*, by F. Brandes. All the theological periodicals of Germany commend the work as one of the very best that has for some time appeared in the department of theological literature. The counterpart of it, which embraces the *Lives and Select Writings of the Fathers of the Lutheran Church*, and is edited by the venerable Dr. Nitzsch, is likewise rapidly approaching completion. Four volumes have hitherto been published, having the following contents: volume one, Melancthon; volume two, Urbanus Rhegius; volume three, J. Brenz; volume four contains P. Speratus, C. Cruciger, N. von Amsdorf, M. Chemnitz, J. Jonas, L. Spengler, P. Eber, Dr. Chytræus. The following four volumes, which will conclude the work, will contain "Luther," in two volumes, "Osiander," and "Bugenhagen."

One of the most important Bible works, when completed, will be that published by Professor Lange, of Bonn, which has, in addition to the matter found in most of the German commentaries, a "*Homiletical Commentary*," pointing out the application which may be made of the matter contained in every chapter or section of a biblical book for sermons. Professor Lange himself has furnished the commentaries to the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and John, and together with a theologian of Holland, Dr. von Oosterzee, that to the Epistles of James. Dr. von Oosterzee has besides written the commentaries to Luke, the Pastoral Epistles, and the Epistle to Philemon. The other volumes, thus far published, contain the Acts, by Dr. G. Lechler and K. Gerok; the Epistles to the Corinthians, by Dr. C. F. Kling; the Epistle of Paul to the Galatians, by Schmoller; the Epistles to the Ephesians, Philippians, and Colossians, by Professor Schenkel; the Epistle to the Hebrews, by Dr. Moll; the Epistles of Peter and the Epistle of Jude, by Dr. Fronmüller.

Of the Bible work of Bunsen the New Testament part has been commenced, to be edited by Professor Holtzmann, of Heidelberg, who has also recently published a work on the Synoptical Gospels, their origin and historical character. (*Die Synoptischen Evangelien, ihr Ursprung und Geschichtlicher Character.* Leipsic, 1863 : pp. 530.)

The professors of the Evangelical Theological Faculty at Strasburg, France, Reuss, Cunitz, and Baum are on the point of publishing *The Complete Works of Calvin*, printed and manuscript. Every year about two volumes will be published, and the whole work will contain about twenty volumes. The price of a volume will be $4.

Friends of German literature will be glad to learn that Mr. Perthes of Gotha, the publisher of a large number of the standard theological works of Germany, has begun to publish, under the name Theological Library, (*Theologische Bibliothek.* Gotha, 1862,) a cheap and uniform edition of the works of Dr. Neander, Dr. Ullmann, Dr. Umbreit, and Dr. Tholuck. The "Library" will contain the "*Apostelgeschichte*," "*Leben Jesu*," *Kirchengeschichte, Heilige Bernhard, Denkwürdigkeiten, Kaiser Julian, Kleine, Abhandlungen*, by Dr. Neander; *Propheten des Alten Bundes, Erbauung aus dem Psalter, Der Römerbrief, die Sünde*, and four other works by Dr. Umbreit; *Lehre von der Sünde, Predigten, Studden der, Andacht, Berg Predigt, Evangelium Johannis, Hebräerbrief, Altes Testament im N. T., Propheten* and four other works by Dr. Tholuck; *Sündlougkeit Jesu, Reformatoren, wesen des Christenthums*, and two other works by Dr. Ullmann. All these works are well known to belong among the classic works of modern German theology.

The celebrated *Codex Sinaiticus*, which Professor Tischendorf, the discoverer, considers to be the most ancient

and important manuscript of the Bible, has now been printed at the expense of the Russian government, in an edition of three hundred copies, all of which were intended by the Russian government for presents. Subsequently the emperor has, however, given to Professor Tischendorf one hundred copies for the book-trade, and they are for sale at $230 a copy. The claim of the Greek Simonides, a well-known literary forger, that the manuscript was written by himself, has not found many believers in the literary world.

Of the long expected work of the Chevalier de Rossi, *Inscriptiones Christianæ Urbis Romanæ septimo sæculo anteriores*, the first volume (price $36) has been recently published. The whole work will embrace more than eleven thousand inscriptions, which in this work are for the first time arranged, explained, and illustrated by accurate facsimiles.

A complete *History of Scholastic Philosophy* has been recently commenced by Dr. W. Kaulich, a young professor of philosophy at the University of Prague. (*Geschichte der Scholastischen Philosophie*, vol. 1. Prague, 1863.) Germany had hitherto done less for the history of philosophy during the middle ages than France, which has produced some excellent works on the subject. As more recently a number of formerly unknown works of the middle ages had been discovered and edited, and new light has been shed on many points by critical editions of the complete works of some of the great medieval scholars, a new work on scholastic philosophy, embodying all the results of recent investigations, had become a great want. The author, who has already made himself known to philosophical scholars by a work on *Scotus Erigena*, has especially tried to show up the connection between the philosophical attempts at the beginning of the scholastic period, and to trace the ideas which underlie the whole speculative moment and the influences which conditioned its development.

One of the greatest philosophical writers of Germany, Professor Heinrich Ritter, of Göttingen, has commenced the publication of an *Encyclopedia of the Philosophical Sciences*. (*Encyclopädie der Philosophischen Wissenschaften*, vol. 1. Göttingen, 1862.) The author intends to examine critically the philosophical systems which have been hitherto brought forward, and tries to find the real results which may be gained from them for a new system. The first volume contains the introduction, and investigations on science in general. Of the two following volumes, which are soon to appear, one will be devoted to natural and one to ethical science.

The distinguished author of the work on Christian Ethics, Professor Richard Rothe, has published, in book form, a series of articles on "Dogmatics," which had appeared in the *Studien und Kritiken*, of which Rothe is now one of the editors. (*Zur Dogmatik*. Heidelberg, 1863.) These articles have called forth a great deal of discussion among the German theologians. Rothe differs widely from the old orthodox school of theologians, and in particular attacks the belief in a verbal inspiration of the Scriptures; on the other hand, however, he strongly advocates the supernatural element of Christianity in particular miracles. The volume contains three articles, the first of which treats of the conception of evangelical doctrines, the second of revelation, and the third of the Holy Scriptures.

A new work on the *Sacrificial Rites of the Old Testament* has been published by the Church historian, J. H. Kurtz. (*Der Alttestamentliche Opfercultus*. Mitau, 1862.) The author divides his work into four parts. The first treats of the general bases of the sacrificial rites of the Old Testament; the second, of the bloody sacrifice, both in its totality and of the different kinds; the third, of the unbloody sacrifice; and the fourth, of the rites customary at particular times and occasions. The author published, as early as 1842, a book on the "Mosaic Sacrifice," (*Das Mosaische Opfer*,) and intended at first to give this in a thoroughly revised edition; but other theological work delayed this project longer than was at first intended, and the lectures which the author had more recently to give on Biblical Archæology, induced him to prepare an entirely new work on the subject.

Dr. Hugo Læmer, formerly lecturer on Protestant Theology at the University of Berlin, and now a Roman Catholic priest, has published a new work on the result of his researches in the libraries of Rome. He assures us that during the first year of his stay in

Rome, until July, 1860, he read through and made extracts from more than one hundred and seventy volumes of historical and theological manuscripts. The most important results of these studies for ecclesiastical history he published, in 1861, in a work entitled *Analectha Romana*. From September, 1860, until his departure from Rome, he worked through two hundred and five other manuscripts, mostly found in the libraries of S. Croce in Jerusalemme, S. Pietro in Vincoli, Angelica, and Corsimana, and his discoveries in these four libraries he has made public in a volume entitled, *Contributions to the Church History of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.* (*Zur Kirchengeschichte des* 16 *und* 17 *Jahrhunderts.* Freiburg, 1863.) The work is designed as a forerunner to a larger work, entitled *Spicilegium Romanum Historico-Ecclesiasticum*, of which the first volume is soon to be issued.

The History of Protestant Theology, (*Frank, Geschichte der Protestantischen Theologie*, vol. 1. Leipzic, 1862. 8vo. xii, 428 pp.,) by Gustav Frank, Professor at Jena, is the first complete work on a subject of great interest for all friends of theological science. The numerous histories of Christian doctrines which modern Germany has produced had created a general demand for a good and comprehensive history of theology, and the theological faculties of nearly all the German universities have commenced to provide for a regular course of lectures on the subject. On some periods we have, moreover, received a series of excellent works, as, on rationalism, the works of Tholuck Rückert, and others on modern theology by Karl Schwarz. But the above work of Frank is the first which embraces within its scope the whole range of Protestant theology, principally, of course, in the land of the author, from Luther down to the present time. The author divides the "History of Protestant Theology" into the following three periods: the first extends from Luther to Gerhard, 1517–1648. It is the period of fermentation, which results in stability. The second, from 1648 to 1750, unfolds the contest between stability and progress, beginning with the Gnosticism of Calixt and concluding with the philosophy of Wolff. The first one, according to our author, in which Protestantism has brought about a legitimate marriage between theology and philosophy. The third period begins, in 1750, with the German enlightenment, and extends to the present time; it is the period of development. The first period, embraced within the first volume, just published, is subdivided by the author into four divisions. The first, from 1517 to 1746, he calls the heroic age of the Church; the second, from 1546 to 1580, the post-classic period; the third, from 1580 to 1600, the period of confessional polemics; and the fourth, from 1600 to 1648, the time of orthodox systematicism.

The keen and immense learning of the late Professor F. C. Baur, the founder and head of the so-called Tübingen school, have been so generally acknowledged that his posthumous work on the Church History of the Nineteenth Century (*Baur, F. C. Geschichte der Christlichen Kirche.* Vol. 5. Tübingen, 1862. xiv, 557 pp.) is sure to find many readers. The work consists of the lectures on Modern Church History, which the late author used to give at the University of Tübingen during every summer since 1850. It is divided into three parts, the first of which contains the time from the beginning of the nineteenth century to the year 1815. The second the time from 1815 to 1830. The third the time from 1830 to 1861. In each period he first traces the history of the Roman Catholic, and next that of the Protestant Church. An introduction to each period describes its political complexion. The work is mostly confined to the history of the Protestant German State Churches; but in the third part treats also of the Protestant Churches of Catholic Germany, of the non-German Protestant Churches, and the sects of modern times.

FRANCE.

The correspondence of a man like Lacordaire will, of course, find many attentive readers. The first installment of it, consisting for the most part of letters addressed by Lacordaire to his former pupils, has been published by Abbé Perreyve. (*Lettres du Reverend Père Lacordaire à des Jeunes Gens.* Paris, 1862.) The celebrated Dominican monk, who remained faithful to the liberal and democratic principles which he professed as representative of the people in the Constituent Assembly of 1848,

was excluded by the French emperor from the pulpits of Paris, and spent the last years of his life as teacher in an educational institute which he had revived at Sorèze. His relation to his pupils was very intimate, and he retained a great influence on all who had once been under his instruction. Shortly before his death he summed up his profession of faith by avowing himself "a penitent Christian and an impenitent liberal." He was one of the great pulpit orators of the age, and the French Academy bore witness to his literary merits by electing him a member, an honor which, for more than one hundred and fifty years, had not been conferred upon another monk.

One of the prominent Christian mystics of the present century was the French philosopher Saint Martin. Chateaubriand calls him a man of great merit, of a noble and independent character, whose ideas (when they were explicable) were of an elevated and superior nature. Madame de Stael, M. de Maistre, the German philosopher Baader, Cousin, and Saint Beuve, studied his works, and tried to initiate the world into his ideas. Saint Martin has recently found a biographer (*Saint Martin, Le Philosopher Inconnu.* Paris, 1862. Pp. 460) in M. Matter, formerly professor at the Protestant Theological Faculty at Strasburg, and well known by his book on Gnosticism, a General Church History, and other works. Mr. Matter avows himself to be an enthusiastic admirer of Saint Martin. He pronounces him to have been a brilliant thinker, a tender soul, the most celebrated of the mystic writers of our age, a perfect sage. Thanks to fortunate discoveries and indefatigable researches, Mr. Matter has been able to be more complete than any of his predecessors, both in narrating the life of Saint Martin and in analyzing his works. His work is, in particular, a rich mine of information for all who wish to study the nature and history of mysticism.

One of the most popular writers of French Protestantism, Felix Bungener, has published his Lectures on Calvin, his Life, his Work, and his Writings. (*Calvin. Sa Vie, Son Oeuvre, et ses Ecrits.* Paris. 1862.) There has been of late, in Geneva itself, a quite lively controversy on the character of Calvin. Julius Barei, Professor of History at the Academy of Geneva, in a series of lectures on the Martyrs of Free Thought, was very severe on Calvin, on account of the part he took in the burning of Servetus, and called him both the denouncer and the executioner of Servetus. Against these attacks Bungener defends the honor of Calvin, finding exculpating arguments in the character of the times, and concluding with the words, "And now, if you are able, cast a stone at him."

German and French periodicals commend highly a new work on the relation of Christianity to civilization, (*Le Genie des Civilisations*, par J. P. Trottet, tom. 1, 2.) The author expresses as the aim of his work to aid in the restoration of a Christian society in a time of decay and despondency. The true spirit of Christianity, and its world-reforming power, shall be comprehended more fully and profoundly by a historical cognition of human society in its center, in its innermost substance, in the principles of the spiritual life of history. Mr. Trottet insists that in order to comprehend fully the facts, the ruins and remains of past ages, we must first of all understand the mental faculties of the nations which gave to them their particular kind of existence, and the impulses of that conscience which worked out their destiny. We must have an intimate knowledge of the process of development of the ages that preceded us, in order to see clearly at what stage in the development of the race we have arrived, and what duties our age demands from us. But the most important question for the historian who holds this view of the development of the human race, is to fix the relation of Christianity to human nature to the history of our age. The history of civilization must be able to show that we have the right to proclaim, in the future as in the past, Christianity as the salvation of the world. It must be made the true science of apologetics for our age. The two volumes published by Mr. Trottet are confined to ancient history, and treat in three sections: 1. Of the ante-historic epoch; 2. Of the progressive civilizations whose principle had a formative power; and, 3. Of Jewish theocracy. The author expected soon to follow up these two volumes by that part of his work which treated of modern civilization, when a sudden death overtook him.

The indefatigable Abbé Migne publishes in the French papers a complete list of the theological works issued from his extensive establishment in Paris. They comprise, among others, a complete edition of the Church Fathers of the Latin Church from the apostolical age to the times of Innocent III.; of those of the Greek Church to Photius; and another series embracing the Greek writers who were or are claimed to have been in favor of a union between the Greek and Roman Churches from the time of Photius to the Council of Florence; a collection of Commentaries on the Old and New Testament; a collection of standard Roman Catholic works on Dogmatics, and another of standard works on Ecclesiastical Law; another of Apologies for Christianity and for the Roman Church; another of Roman Catholic Pulpit Orators; Dictionaries of the Bible, of Sacred Philology, of Liturgy, of Ecclesiastical Law, of Heresies, of Councils, of Religious Orders, of Religions, of Sacred Geography, of Moral and Mystical Theology, etc.; a Church History by Henrion, in 25 volumes; editions of the complete works of a number of distinguished Roman Catholic writers of France. Altogether the list comprises 2,000 volumes, which cost 10,000 francs. A new work has recently been commenced, which, in 16 volumes, is to contain "Historical Researches on the Ancient Nations and their Religious Worship, to serve as an introduction into the fundamental points of Christianity in general and Catholicism in particular." It is edited by Abbé Desroches. (*Recherches Historiques sur les Peuples Anciens.* Paris, 1862.)

Art. X. — SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES, AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Quarterly Reviews.

American Presbyterian and Theological Review, January, 1863. (New York.)—1. Hard Matter. 2. Dörner on the Sinless Perfection of Jesus. 3. Bulgarian Popular Songs. 4. Laboulaye on the United States of America. 5. Baptism for the Dead. 6. Cairnes on the Slave Power. 7. Belief of the Indians in Inferior Spirits. 8. Politics and the Pulpit.

The Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review, January, 1863. (Princeton, N. J.)—1. Hopkins's Moral Science. 2. The Liberties of the Gallican Church. 3. The Skepticism of Science. 4. Training of the Children. 5. Dr. Nicholas Murray. 6. The True Place of Man in Zoology. 7. The War.

The Boston Review, January, 1863. (Boston, Mass.)—1. Atonement. 2. The English Woman at Home. 3. Obligation and Ability. 4. Victor Hugo's "Les Misérables." 5. The Sixth Day of Creation. 6. Mrs. Stowe's Recent Novels. 7. Richard de Bury. 8. Short Sermons.

The Evangelical Quarterly Review, January, 1863. (Gettysburg, Pa.)—1. The Miraculous Triumphs of the Early Church. 2. Why did Jesus Pray? 3. Rationalism and Supranaturalism. 4. The Union of Christ and Believers. 5. Exposition of Mark ix, 49. 6. Christianity and Politics. 7. Life and Correspondence of John A. Quitman. 8. An Efficient Ministry. 9. The Dignity of the Ministerial Office. 10. Reminiscences of Deceased Lutheran Ministers.

The New Englander, January, 1863. (New Haven, Conn.)—1. Goethe's "Faust." 2. The Legal Rights of Married Women. 3. A Chapter on Character Writing. 4. Financial Aspects of the Rebellion. 5. Doubt, Faith, and Reason. 6. Religious Liberty since the Reformation.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA AND BIBLICAL REPOSITORY, January, 1863. (Andover, Mass.)—1. The German Reformed Church. 2. English Lexicography. 3. The Moral and Religious Value of our National Union. 4. Athens; or, Æsthetic Culture and the Art of Expression. 5. The Doctrine of the Annihilation of the Wicked.

The article on the German Reformed Church in America is a blending of theology and history. It possesses a degree of interest as a history of a Church which for a while began to expand in this country with the Christian spirit of the age, but has latterly undergone a subjection to a very thorough conservatism. The result does and will, we think, appear in a consequent inefficiency in extending its evangelical power, and in winning a world to Christ. The Foreign Literary Intelligence, from the pen of W. F. W., promises to be interesting and valuable. We hold that the first quarterly for our ministry to take is the Methodist; the next is the Bibliotheca Sacra.

DANVILLE REVIEW, December, 1862. (Danville, Ky.)—1. Imputation and Original Sin. 2. Mental Science. 3. De Ethice. 4. Politics and the Church. 5. Studies on the Bible: No. 3, The Wonders in Egypt. 6. Negro Slavery and the Civil War.

The article on Imputation is the conclusion of a series by Rev. R. W. Landis, displaying a great mastery of the erudition of the subject, and dealing with Dr. Hodge with much force and some severity. Dr. Breckenridge has an extended plea against the President's Proclamation of Freedom. It is not by any means written in the spirit of senators Davis and Powell. Our reply to it would be brief. *A restoration of the Union without the cessation of slavery would be but an armistice pregnant with future war.* Abolition is the sole path, short and sure, to peace; and the sooner it is taken, the shorter, surer, and happier.

English Reviews.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, January, 1863. (London.)—1. Readjustment of Christianity. 2. Hippolytus's Homily against Noetus. 3. The Philosophy of the Unconditioned Examined. 4. Theories of the Lord's Day, Dominical and Sabbatarian. 5. The Greek Testament of Webster and Wilkinson. 6. The Revision of the Prayer Book. 7. The Literature of Pascal's Thoughts. 8. The Matter of Prophecy. 9. Mr. Russell's Letter to the Bishop of Oxford. 10. Dr. Cunningham's Historical Theology.

THE CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER, January, 1863. (London.)—1. Brizeux's Life and Works. 2. The Relation of Calvinism to Modern Doubt. 3. Arthur Hugh Clough. 4. Saisset on Pantheism. 5. Christopher North. 6. The American Church in the Disruption. 7. The Past and Present of the Mormons. 8. The Clergy Relief Bill. 9. Scotch Liturgical Matters. 10. Recent Latitudinarianism.

THE BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1863. (London.)—1. Thiers's Romance of the Campaign of 1815. 2. The Legal Status of the Anglo-Catholic. 3. Sir Philip Sidney, his Life and Writings. 4. Mr. Herbert Spencer's First Principles. 5. "Les Misérables." 6. Bishop Colenso on the Pentateuch. 7. The State of Greece.

JOURNAL OF SACRED LITERATURE AND BIBLICAL RECORD, January, 1863. (London.)—1. Bishop Colenso and the Pentateuch: the Criticism of Arithmetic. 2. The Protestant Clergy in Bohemia. 3. Reuss's "History of Christian Theology." 4. The Dublin Codex Rescriptus. 5. Exegesis of Difficult Texts. 6. Marcus Antoninus a Persecutor. 7. The Interpretation of Scripture. 8. The Egyptian Dynasties of Manetho. 9. Notes on Bishop Colenso's New Book.

THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1863. (New York: reprint.)—1. Peru. 2. Institutes for Working Men. 3. Constitutional Government in Russia. 4. New Testament. 5. The Ticket-of-Leave System. 6. South Kensington Museum and Loan Exhibition. 7. Life of John Wilson. 8. The Stanhope Miscellanies. 9. Four Years of a Reforming Administration.

THE LONDON REVIEW, (Wesleyan,) January, 1863. (London.)—1. Davidson on the Old Testament. 2. The Pictures in the late Exhibition. 3. St. Clement's Eve. 4. The British Association at Cambridge. 5. The Revolution of 1848. 6. Ten Years of Imperialism in France. 7. Apostolic Theology. 8. Nova Scotia and her Resources. 9. Greek Testament Literature. 10. The Established Church: Defects and Remedies.

THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW, January, 1863. (New York: reprint.)—1. English Convicts: What should be Done with them. 2. The Literature of Bohemia. 3. Bishop Colenso on the Pentateuch. 4. Les Misérables, by Victor Hugo. 5. Indian Annexations: British Treatment of Native Princes. 6. The Microscope and its Revelations. 7. Greece and the Greeks. 8. M. Rattazzi and his Administration.

THE NATIONAL REVIEW, January, 1863. (London.)—1. Bishop Colenso on the Pentateuch. 2. Orley Farm. 3. The Crisis in Prussia. 4. Shelley's Poetical Mysticism. 5. Eternal Punishment. 6. The Law of Maritime Capture and Blockade. 7. Home Life in Denmark and Norway. 8. The Flavian Cesars. 9. Learning in the Church of England. 10. Lancashire in 1862.

The article on Eternal Punishment is earnest and trenchant. It claims that that doctrine underlies the great body of the skepticism of the present day; that the Church of England, if irrevocably committed, must fall; but that the Church of England is not in fact so committed.

German Reviews.

DORPATER ZEITSCHRIFT FUR THEOLOGIE UND KIRCHE. (Dorpat Journal for Theology and Church. Edited by the Professors of the Theological Faculty at Dorpat, Russia. Fourth Number. 1863.)—1. Dr. VON ENGELHARDT, The Religious and Moral Life of Paganism: India and Greece. 2. Dr. VON OETTINGEN, Regeneration through Infant Baptism. 3. WILLIGERODE, A Visit in Hermannsburg. 4. CARLBLOM, Review of the Lutheran Dogmatics of Dr. Kahnis.

Germany has of late produced a considerable number of able works on the pagan religions; both on the nature and history of paganism

in general, and on the religions of several countries in particular. Many of these works have greatly enlarged our knowledge of the religious systems of paganism, especially those of Asia, the information on which has been largely derived from sources formerly entirely unknown. Some of the chief results of these modern investigations with regard to Greece and India form the subject of the first article in the Dorpat Review, which has been prepared by the Professor of Church History at Dorpat. The article is chiefly based on Nägelsbach's Homeric Theology and the Post-Hómeric Theology of the Popular Greek Faith, Köppen's Religion of Buddha and its Origin, Leo's Lectures on the History of the German people, the Works of Roth and Weber on India, and those of Wuttke and Döllinger on Paganism. At the conclusion of his able and very interesting article the author infers, as clearly proved by the history of Greek and Indian paganism, first, That the human race did not proceed as it now is from the hand of the Creator, since in that case men in their helplessness, in their sin without redemption, in their hunger and thirst without satisfaction, would be condemned to everlasting torments and the Sisyphian labor of an eternal and fruitless search after God; and second, that Christianity is not the natural fruit of human development, but rests on the revelation of God through his Son.

ZEITSCHRIFT FUR WISSENSCHAFTLICHE THEOLOGIE. (Journal for Scientific Theology. Edited by A. Hilgenfeld, Professor at Jena. 1863. First number.)—1. HILGENFELD, The Theology of the Nineteenth Century, and its Relation to Religion and Christianity, with Particular Reference to the Work of Dr. Baur. 2. MERX, a Critical Investigation of the Sacrificial Laws, Lev. i–vii. 3. DAVID FRIEDRICH STRAUSS, The Lamentation of Jesus over Jerusalem and the Σοφία τοῦ Θεοῦ, Matt. xxiii, 34–39; Luke xi, 49–51; xiii, 34 *et seq.* 4. E. ZELLER, On James i, 12. 5. HILGENFELD, the Johannean Theology.

Dr. Strauss, the author of the "Life of Jesus," was understood to have renounced theological studies forever; but here he appears again in a theological Quarterly of Germany with an original article. The author does not seem to have modified any of his Rationalistic views about the origin of the books of the New Testament. He tries to prove in this article that the words in which Christ prophesied the destruction of Jerusalem were not spoken by him, but taken from a book entitled Σοφία τοῦ Θεοῦ, (Wisdom of God,) which, according to him, was written shortly after the destruction of Jerusalem. The existence of a Jewish book under the title "Wisdom of God," had been, before Strauss, assumed by Ewald and Bleek; yet Ewald considered it to have been written in the fifth century before Christ.

In the first article, Professor Hilgenfeld, of Jena, gives—on the basis of the posthumous work of the late Professor Baur of Tübingen on the Church History of the Nineteenth Century—a brief survey of the development of German theology in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and in particular discusses the influence on it of Kant, Fichte, Hegel, Schelling, and Schleiermacher. The book of Baur is utterly destructive in its character. It condemns the "old faith" of Christianity; it rejects the mediation attempted between the old faith and modern science by Schleiermacher; but it nowhere clearly states what is to take the place of the former faith of the Christian world. It dismisses its readers with the poor advice that every one must try the best he can to settle for himself the irreconcilable contest between the old faith and modern science. Hilgenfeld is less opposed to the theories of Schleiermacher than Baur; but he likewise fails to give us a clear view of what would remain of Christianity if the old Bible Christianity were taken away.

French Reviews.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES.—December 1, 1862.—1. KLACZCO, The Union Movement in Germany. 5. MAZADE, Meditations of a Liberal Priest. 8. BLERZY, Submarine Telegraphs.

December 15.—1. ESQUIROS, England and English Life, (eighteenth article.) 3. DU HAILLY, The Acadians and Nova Scotia. 5. MAZADE, Count André Zamoyski and Marquis Wielopolski. 7. LEMOINNE, The Greek Revolution of 1862.

January 1, 1863.—1. CH. DE REMUSAT, The Mission of Authors. 9. VERDEIL, The Cotton Famine.

In the article entitled Meditations of a Liberal Priest, in the number of December 1, we are made acquainted with some of the recent writings of Father Gratry, one of the leaders of the liberal catholic school in France. Roman Catholicism has never, perhaps, had a school which united so much eminent talent; we need only point to Count Montalembert, Father Lacordaire, Bishop Dupanloup, Prince Broglie, M. de Falloux, Ch. Lenormant, the astronomer Leverrier, all of whom rank among the first scholars of France, and nearly all of whom have been elected members of the French Academy. Their works have given them a world-wide reputation. Their earnest Christianity has been acknowledged by all Protestant writers, and their literary ability is acknowledged by all parties. Father Gratry is the philosopher of the school, and he is generally regarded as one of the best French philosophical writers now living. He has written numerous works, the three most recent of which, Les Sources, a treatise on the education of the spirit and the science of duty; La Paix, historical and religious meditations on

the influence of religion on society; and Commentaire sur l'Evangile Selon Saint Mathieu, are reviewed in the article of the Revue des Deux Mondes, which highly recommends them.

REVUE CHRETIENNE.—November 15, 1862.—1. NAVILLE, The Oriental Studies of M. Franck. 2. KUHN, Essay on Voltaire.
December 1.—ROSSEEUW SAINT-HILAIRE, Calvin according to his most recent Biographers. 2. VULLIEMIN, Louvois, according to the Work of Camille Rousset. 3. MEYLAN, The Origin of Christmas. 4. SCHAEFFER, Saint Martin.

Few of the foreign periodicals contain so interesting a list of articles as the Revue Chretienne. Each of the six articles of the two monthly numbers noticed above will be sure to attract the attention of most of the subscribers of the Review, and each one is sure to rivet the attention of those who have commenced their reading. We have felt a particular interest in the article on Voltaire, which gives a beautiful sketch of the frivolous character of the celebrated French deist, and of the atheistical company of scholars who assembled at the Prussian court, in compliance with an invitation of Frederick II.; also in the biographical sketch of Calvin, by Professor Rosseeuw Saint-Hilaire, one of the most eminent French historians of our age. Like all contributors of the Review, Professor Saint-Hilaire is an admirer of the United States, and regards in particular the relation between Church and State as it exists in our country as a model that ought to be followed by all Europe.

ART. XI.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

The Canon of the Holy Scriptures Examined in the Light of History. By Prof. L. GAUSSEN, of Geneva, Switzerland, Author of "Theopneusty," "Birthday of Creation," etc. Translated from the French, and abridged by Edward N. Kirk, D.D. 12mo., pp. 463. Boston: American Tract Society.

This book, as we noted in a former number, is a portion of a larger work by Gaussen, prepared in opposition to the movement of Scherer. The work on Theopneusty, written by the same author, introduced to our country by the same translator, has had an extensive circulation; and its great influence in sustaining the higher views in regard to inspiration in the United States alone is an ample moral reward to the learned and eloquent author. The present work is superior in execution to the Theopneusty, if not calculated for so palpable an effect. There is a finer finish of style, and fewer adventurous positions and doubtful argumentations.

In what manner and by what authority were the books constituting our present New Testament selected and credited with a divine authority? The skeptic and the Romanist put this question, each with a different purpose: the former to overthrow Christianity, the latter to establish the sole authority of the Church, that is, of the Romish Church. A notion prevails that the selection was made by ecclesiastical councils; and the suspicion is cherished that it was by an arbitrary and unfounded process, leaving out other works quite as well entitled to divine honors as the constituents of the present canon. To this our eloquent author furnishes the full reply. He shows that as the successive books came from their authors, there is satisfactory ground for the conclusion that they were immediately accepted by the body of the Christian Churches with complete unanimity; that their autographs were, some of them, deposited in archives of the particular Churches; that they were accepted and read from Sabbath to Sabbath; that copies were taken and spread broadcast during the apostolic day, and widely scattered through the Churches of Europe, Asia, and Africa, and that they were received without dissent, with a free spontaneous faith, as the authoritative exposition of Christian doctrine, as the canonical Scripture of the New Dispensation. After these canonical books were written an interim of silence appears. Few or no Christian writings are issued. But the moment this silence is broken, a new class of eminent intellects hold the pen, and from them we learn that while the Christian Church forms an immense body throughout the world, eight ninths of our present New Testament are held by her unanimous voice, are installed as the divine charter of her existence, and the infallible standard of her faith, order, and practice. When asked who selected the books of the canon, we might well answer, Nobody selected them; they took their place spontaneously. They formed into a body of themselves, with the unanimous concurrence of the witnessing Church.

And this age, in whose sacred silence the canon was born, was the age of the apostolical martyr Church, governed by regents selected by Christ himself, in full possession of miraculous gifts and the power of the discerning of spirits. Were we to say, then, that the books were singly written by individuals animated by no special inspiration, but by only the ordinary measure of the Spirit then vouchsafed to the eminent and holy men in the Church; that they uttered only in the most truthful spirit the facts of the Gospel narrative, or in the most wise and devout spirit the doctrines and sentiments of Christianity; what then? We nevertheless have a canon every line and word of which is accepted and indorsed as

the rule of faith, the word of history, the doctrine of Christ. Peter erred, and Paul was excited; but the sacred canon depends not on Peter or Paul singly, or upon Matthew or Luke, but additionally upon the concurrent acceptance and ratification of the Pentecostal Church. What was the nature of the individual inspiration of each writer is, then, a question of justifiable and rational curiosity. It is a proper subject of investigation in the light of reason and Scripture; but we doubt whether it is one in which the divine authority of the New Testament or the Old is so deeply involved as is generally supposed. Should a man tell us, "I cannot believe that the words of the New Testament, with all their solecisms, tangled sentences, ambiguities, and incomplete expressions of the thought, are dictated by divine wisdom;" we should reply, "But at any rate those words were *sanctioned* by the charismatic Church as the true expression, in their proper meaning, of the Christian faith."

The present volume is intended as a popular exhibition of the doctrine of the canon, and as such we cannot conceive of anything more admirable. To render such a topic popular is a very difficult task; and yet there are many lay inquirers, young and old, who have their thoughts and their misgivings, to whom books of an infidel character are accessible, who need an antidote like this, which shall attract by its life, clearness, and eloquence, while it instructs and convinces by its argument. And, we may add, there are many of our ministry who will find it a very refreshing and confirming volume.

The Life of our Lord upon Earth; Considered in its Historical, Chronological, and Geographical Relations. By SAMUEL J. ANDREWS. 12mo., pp. 624. New York: Charles Scribner. 1862.

The popular reader will need to consume little time in discerning that Mr. Andrews has prepared for him no light reading, no graceful pictorial narrative, to beguile him into tracing the events of our Lord's life as he would the scenes of a romance. Just as expeditiously the scholar will find that he is dealing with no ordinary master of the erudition of the subject treated, and that deep and serious work is before him in these pages.

Assuming, with a reverent yet free spirit, the authenticity and historical truth of the four Gospels, omitting all discussion of points of theology, exegesis, archæology, or verbal criticism, Mr. Andrews applies his strength to questions of the chronological order, the harmonizing of the different Gospels with each other and with cotemporaneous history, and the geographical localities of the Gospel events. His volume opens with an elaborate discussion of

nearly fifty pages of fine print, of the dates of the Saviour's birth, baptism, and death, The two genealogies are sifted, and the conclusion adopted that while Mary is of the royal line, yet both pedigrees given are Joseph's. The nature of the relationship of the Lord's "brethren" is debated, including the point of the perpetual virginity of the blessed Mother, and the conclusion diffidently attained that the "brethren" were truly uterine half-brothers. The train of discussions through the work, of which these are specimens, is conducted in a spirit of passionless candor, patience, learning, and modesty, which render the work a credit to American scholarship. The best research of Germany, France, England, and America is laid under contribution; but while a due deference is paid to authority, the conclusions are evidently wrought out with much original investigation, and in a spirit of unassuming but manly independence.

Reconstruction of Biblical Theories; or, Biblical Science improved in its History, Chronology, and Interpretation, and relieved from Traditionary Errors and Unwarrantable Hypotheses. By LEICESTER AMBROSE SAWYER, Translator of the Scripture, etc. 12mo., pp. 195. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. New York: James Miller. 1862.

Mr. Sawyer interprets the old Hebrew documents in accordance with the theories of development and a limitless chronology. He accomplishes his object by first resolving the sacred writings into fragments of allegory and tradition; and from this plastic state he can of course "reconstruct" them to any eligible form. Adam is the name of the race in its brutal or semi-brutal stage; Eden is the woodland in which he roamed naked and not ashamed. Language, wherewith he names his inferior beasts, is his first attainment. Eve discovers a fruit which she sees to be tempting and fears to be poisonous, until she sees that it is eaten by the serpent race, or rather, by "a pet serpent" kept by her; and by eating it man attains the age of reason and morality. What sort of fruit this was is doubted. Some think it was the apple; but Mr. Sawyer, though he entertains great respect for the apple, excludes it. Some think it was the fig; but Mr. Sawyer, though he esteems the fig, cannot accept the fig. He finally decides that this fruit, eaten by the serpent and growing on a tree, is—*wheat*, including all the cereals. Man next, attaining the sense of decency, invents garments, first of leaves, and subsequently, by arriving at the art of tannery, of leather. Ages pass, and men emigrate to the highlands of India, which is commemorated under the legend of the Flood; and the ark was simply the dry-goods box in which their effects were packed for traveling. The race was still further improved by the mountain air. Through

countless ages since has it been advancing, until at last it has attained to a true interpretation of its own genetic documents, as it is presented in this book of Mr. Sawyer's. The book, then, at the present moment, is the ultimate point of human attainment.

The Words of the Lord Jesus. By RUDOLPH STIER, D.D., Chief Pastor and Superintendent of Schkenditz. Translated from the revised and enlarged German edition, by the Rev. WILLIAM B. POPE, Manchester, Eng. Revised by JAMES STRONG, S.T.D., and HENRY B. SMITH, D.D., Professor in Union Theological Seminary, New York. 8vo., pp. 144. New York: Ministers' Library Association. N. Tibbals, Agent.

This is the Part First of an American reprint of Pope's translation of Stier, to be issued monthly, at seventy-five cents per number. It is done up in a handsome plain style, in close double columns, and in clear but not large type. It is brought by its cheapness and easy terms of payment within the reach of most preachers and biblical scholars. The reputation of the American revisers, it is unnecessary for us to say, is a pledge for the thorough scholarly character of anything that comes from their hands. It is equally unnecessary for us to restate our high estimate of the richness, depth, and beauty, in the midst of much diffuseness, to be found in Stier's pages. There is little that the evangelical Church generally would desire to expurgate. The peculiarity, which he shares with Müller and perhaps Tholuck, of holding to some mode of reconciliation with God, perhaps in the intermediate state, after death, is the most objectionable point; but that seldom appears, and is never pointedly obtruded. We trust that this brave venture of Mr. Tibbals in these stormy times will prove a success.

The Spiritual Point of View; or, the Glass Reversed. An Answer to Bishop Colenso. By M. MAHAN, D.D., St.-Mark's-in-the-Bowery Professor, etc. 8vo., pp. 114. New York: Appletons. 1863.

This little volume does not profess to be a complete and formal reply to all of Bishop Colenso's objections to "the historical character" of the Pentateuch; it only aims to show the essential infidelity and partisan unfairness of the bishop's method of handling the word of God. This it accomplishes effectually. Chapter XI, on the Character of Scripture History, is a very clear exposition of that subject. We cannot say that we regard Professor Mahan's incidental attempts to clear up the *mystery* of the Scripture numbers as particularly happy. We are decidedly of the opinion that these are to be taken in their literal exactness, except where liable to the suspicion of textual corruption in the process of transcription.

S.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

Manual of Geology: treating of the Principles of the Science, with Special Reference to American Geological History. For the use of Colleges, Academies, and Schools of Science. By JAMES D. DANA, M.A., LL.D., Silliman Professor of Geology and Natural History in Yale College. Illustrated by a Chart of the World, and over One Thousand Figures, mostly from American Sources. 8vo., pp. 814. Philadelphia: Theodore Bliss & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1863. Price, $4.

"There is, perhaps, no part of the world," says the Atlantic Monthly, "certainly none familiar to science, where the early geological periods can be studied with so much ease and precision as in the United States." Availing himself of this important fact, the distinguished Silliman Professor in Yale has, in the goodly volume before us, given a new and interesting phase to the study of Geology in the numerous Academies and Colleges, where it will undoubtedly be adopted as a classic. He has given this science naturalization papers on American soil. Without at all destroying the catholicity of the science, he has Americanized it. Thereby the pupil, in mastering the theory of the science, becomes practically familiar with the geological character of the various sections of his own country.

Professor Dana divides Geology into four general compartments: I. PHYSIOGRAPHIC GEOLOGY, in which are presented the *general features of the earth.* II. LITHOLOGICAL GEOLOGY, which gives us the character of the *rocks*, their elements, method of making, and stratifications. III. HISTORICAL GEOLOGY, or the earth's changes in relation to time, in which *paleontology* discloses her wonders. IV. DYNAMICAL GEOLOGY, or a contemplation of the *forces* by which these changes are transacted. In this beautiful arrangement, every topic which this young science has yet developed finds its own appropriate place.

There are three points of contact between Geology and Theology, of special interest to every thoughtful man; namely, Cosmogony, the Antiquity of the human race, and its Unity. On the last two of these three, Professor Dana takes those higher views which recognize Man as belonging only to the Historical Period, and as forming a sole genus, whose unique qualities of mind indicate relations to a higher sphere than the mere material. Of the five geologic Ages, the last is the Age of Man and Mind. Certainly the man of science, unless he willfully chooses to make a stupid cephalapod of himself, must recognize that in the Age of Man we arrive at a being in whose brain the conception of an all-comprehensive Mind, overspreading and grasping the ages of change, and the conception

of the underlying world, revolving through these changes, have been able to meet. In spite of Sir William Hamilton, man's mind does conceive or at least *receive* the Idea of the Infinite; and between a mind that cannot conceive this Idea and the mind that can, there is a difference in degree which no difference in cranial capacity or magnitude can adequately represent.

The Westminster Review remarks that the post-tertiary age of the earth is now the battle-field on which is fought the question of the antiquity of the human race. Professor Dana concedes the existence of fossil man, and gives an engraving of the Guadaloupe skeleton, the inferences from which are rebutted by quietly mentioning also "the remains of Caribs killed in a fight with a neighboring tribe two centuries ago." He concedes the arrow-heads of Abbeville and other similar discoveries, to which our Quarterly has heretofore adverted, and adds, "The facts appear to place it beyond doubt that man began to exist before the extinction of the post-tertiary races." But he soon as quietly notes that

> Prestwich also remarks that "the evidence" from the occurrence of human relics with the bones of extinct animals, "as it at present stands, does not seem to me to necessitate the carrying of Man back in past time, so much as the bringing forward of the extinct animals toward our own time; my own previous opinion, founded on an independent study of the superficial drift or pleistocene (post-tertiary) deposits, having likewise been certainly in favor of this view."

Professor Dana afterward remarks,

> But until Asia has been fully explored, and found to afford corresponding facts, the term should be regarded as belonging to European history rather than to that of the human race; and so also with all conclusions with regard to the characteristics of the earliest of mankind derived from the forms of bones or skulls. Geology here passes over the continuation of the history of man to Archæology.

We have then an intimation of the Edenic and Human period in the following:

> The observations thus far made appear to accord with the view, already expressed, that in the Terrace epoch there occurred both the decline of the post-tertiary races and the introduction of the modern tribes of mammals, together with the creation of Man. Other animal tribes must have been at the same time replenished, especially those of birds and insects, which are terrestrial. Among fruits and flowers it is not improbable that many kinds were introduced that added both to the beauty and wealth of the finished world.

The whole section entitled "Man of One Species," is full of interest.

In cosmogony, Professor Dana adopts the nebular theory, with the processes of development traced by Guyot. The six Mosaic days of creation, then, being great mundane periods, are divisible into double threes; and these double threes are found traceable in the actual processes of creation. The double threes are nearly the same as we have given from Mr. Rorison in a former number of the

Quarterly; and we are gratified that science here discovers an accordance between the Mosaic and scientific cosmogony.

The account recognizes in creation two great eras of three days each; an *Inorganic* and an *Organic*.

Each of these eras opens with the appearance of light: the *first*, light cosmical; the *second*, light from the sun for the special uses of the earth.

Each era ends in a "day" of two great works; the two shown to be distinct by being severally pronounced "good." On the *third* "day," that closing the Inorganic era, there was first the dividing of the land from the waters, and afterward the creation of vegetation, or the institution of a kingdom of life; a work widely diverse from all preceding it in the era. So on the *sixth* "day," terminating the Organic era, there was first the creation of mammals, and then a second far greater work, totally new in its grandest element, the creation of Man.

The arrangement is, then, as follows:

1. *The Inorganic Era.*

1st Day.—LIGHT, cosmical.
2d Day.—The earth divided from the fluid around it, or individualized.
3d Day.— { 1. Outlining of the land and water.
{ 2. Creation of vegetation.

2. *The Organic Era.*

4th Day.—LIGHT, from the sun.
5th Day.—Creation of the lower orders of animals.
6th Day.— { 1. Creation of mammals.
{ 2. Creation of Man.

In addition, the last day of each era included one work typical of the era, and another related to it in essential points, but also prophetic of the future. Vegetation, while, for physical reasons, a part of the creation of the third day, was also prophetic of the future Organic era, in which the progress of life was the grand characteristic. The record thus accords with the fundamental principle in history that the characteristic of an age has its beginnings within the age preceding. So, again, man, while like other mammals in structure, even to the homologies of every bone and muscle, was endowed with a spiritual nature, which looked forward to another era, that of spiritual existence. The *seventh* "day," the day of rest from the work of creation, is man's period of preparation for that new existence; and it is to promote this special end that, in strict parallelism, the Sabbath follows man's six days of work.

The work is adjusted with the skill of a practical teacher to the objects of academic and collegiate instruction. It is perspicuous in language, lucid in its arrangement, copiously furnished with illustrations, and a brief synopsis is added in the appendix, as a basis for a shorter course of instruction. The work may be recommended both to the use of schools and for the libraries of our literary men and ministers.

The Institutes of Medicine. By THOMAS PAINE, M.D., LL.D., Professor of Medicine and Materia Medica in the University of the City of New York. Seventh Edition. 8vo., pp. 1130. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1862.

The issue of a seventh edition of a professional work evinces to outsiders its standard character. The first publication of this volume was in 1847; since which time it has received the highest sanction from leading organs of the profession in America, and has contributed to win for the author a cluster of European honors.

Medicine, of the regular and orthodox Medical Church, has its polemics and its sects. Of the two great schools, (to say nothing of the class of compromisers intermediate,) namely, the Chemical and the Vital, Dr. Paine is a leader if not the head of the latter. When the science of chemistry began to rise into a brilliant and widely pervading system, Liebig and others proposed to bring materia medica as a subordinate department within its limits. They endeavored to exclude from medical science the consideration of all other forces than the chemical, and to account for the functions and disorders of the system, and assign the remedies, from the laws shown by the laboratory to regulate inorganic matter. From the high character of these theorists, and the plausibility of their pretensions, they seemed for a while with a rush to carry everything before them. Medical science was thus tending to a system of low theoretic materialism. Against this torrent Professor Paine has stood, firm as a column of adamant. He took his stand upon the theory of Vitalism, and predicted, with a wisdom claimed to be verified much sooner than he expected, that the "invasion" of the territory of medicine by chemistry would end in defeat.

Dr. Paine's ground is, that there is a true Vital Principle, inaccessible in itself to the reach of the senses, yet controlling with its powers the functions of the system. Therapeutics must look for its remedies to the laws furnished by observation of the modes of vital action. This assumption shapes his whole system, and decides the character and contents of his whole book of Institutes. First we have Physiology, unfolding first the human structure and its composition, and then the nature and operation of the vital principle, the functions of life, both in themselves and as influenced by age, temperament, race, sex, etc. By this the Pathology is explained and the Therapeutics established. Therapeutically he belongs to the "heroic" school. Calomel and blood-letting form essential parts.

The medical theory of Dr. Paine leads him from the recognition of a vital principle to a recognition of a soul in man, as the seat of thought and source of voluntary action. A demonstration of the soul constitutes an extended chapter of his work. Whatever may be the character of his medical practice, its theory is spiritual and theistic. His style is living, and often belligerent. There is much that is interesting in his work to the general thinker and the theologian.

Dr. Paine is a firm opposer of modern geology. He has a treatise unpublished, in which he maintains that the earth is but a few

thousand years old, and that the creative week of Moses consisted of literal days; and so interpreted, the Mosaic narrative is true. Whatever may be his peculiarities of belief, all parties must bear testimony to his learning, genius, individuality, and pure independence of mind.

History, Biography, and Topography.

Memoirs of Mrs. Joanna Bethune. By her Son, the Rev. GEORGE W. BETHUNE, D.D. With an Appendix, containing Extracts from the Writings of Mrs. Bethune. 12mo., pp. 350. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1863.

Probably no feminine names have been more thoroughly identified with the history of benevolent institutions in the city of New York than those of Mrs. Isabella Graham and her daughter, Mrs. Joanna Bethune. The character of the former, for piety and active benevolence, has been held up for the emulation of all the young women in this part of the religious world; nor is it unknown on the other side of the Atlantic. We have an excellent and widely circulated biography of this lady, which was prepared by her daughter and son-in-law, Mrs. Joanna and Mr. Divie Bethune; and upon the announcement of this memoir we had hoped for a work of corresponding interest: a companion volume. In this, however, we are obliged to acknowledge our disappointment. The "writings" are excellent, in spite of much sameness; but the biography proper is far too brief. True, there may be the best of reasons for this. The most actively benevolent people do not always leave an accurate record of their deeds; and when, as in the present case, the subject has outlived her colaborers by many years, we often find that while her praise may be on every tongue, very few connected details of special interest can be secured.

But further than this, whatever Dr. Bethune's abilities may have been as a "poet, scholar, preacher, and orator," he seems to us to have failed, in the present case, to appreciate the very first principle necessary to a biographical work; namely, to concentrate the main interest of the reader on the subject of the memoir. The various sketches given of the friends and colaborers of Mrs. Bethune, though interesting in themselves, are in some rather aristocratic instances quite irrelevant; while sketches of her nearest relatives, her husband, sisters, and children, are mostly omitted.

It is an interesting thought that while Mrs. Bethune lived to the remarkably advanced age of ninety-two years, her son hastened away almost immediately after her in the prime of manhood, and spent his last moments in erecting this monument to her memory.

J.

Politics, Law, and General Morals.

Political Fallacies; an Examination of the False Assumptions and Refutation of the Sophistical Reasonings which have brought on this Civil War. By GEORGE JUNKIN, D.D., LL.D. 12mo., pp. 382. New York: Charles Scribner. 1863.

Dr. Junkin, whose is a noted name among the Old School Calvinists, has for more than a dozen years been President of Washington College, an institution in Lexington, Va., which was first endowed by the illustrious man whose name it bears. During the discussions of the past years upon the slavery question, he has maintained the position of a mediator, and we may add, of a compromiser. The crisis found him in the full possession of a high social position and a wide popularity. In his firm stand against secession he was twice sustained by an overwhelming majority of Virginia voters. But what could voice and vote do against violence? The brute force of a despotic minority "precipitated" the state from the Union and the unionists from the state. Dr. Junkin's first experience was the erection of a secession banner upon the turrets of his college, in defiance of his authority; his next, the refusal of his faculty to sustain his loyalty; his third, a speedy exodus from the college and the state. Such was the nature of this pro-slavery rebellion; such the destiny of compromise and moderation in dealing with its lawless and bloody despotism. It is the fierce movement of a black oligarchy, asserting, in defiance of law, reason, or human rights, its unsparing supremacy. The strangest part of it all is, that with all his experience of its temper and dealings, and with all his perception of the anarchical character of the doctrines of secessionism, and with all the ability of his exposure, Dr. Junkin still fails to comprehend the enemy he and we are compelled to encounter. He still prattles in some of his pages of the guilt of those who early saw the character and designs of the oligarchy, and stood in firm resistance to its insolence. He does not yet comprehend that but for the foresight and firmness of the class whom he denounces as Northern fanatics, this nation would have bowed beneath the iron sway of that accursed junto, and our republic would have been transformed, first in spirit and then in form, into a despotism. But for those northern fanatics, Dr. Junkin would never have dared to hold his position as a middle man. We can, however, indulge these prejudices and inconsistencies on his part. He has attested the sincerity of his opinions and the heroism of his metal by integrity in the trying hour, and the solemn ordeal of suffering.

The main purpose of Dr. Junkin's volume, and one which he has well performed, is the full exposure of the folly and fatality of the

doctrine of secession. This denationalizing heresy, which robs us of a country and gives us an anarchy, was the terrible bequest of that darkest, deepest, and most unscrupulous of all American traitors—in comparison with whose blackness and grandeur Benedict Arnold is white and Aaron Burr an animalcule—the infamous John C. Calhoun. Placing himself at the head of the slavery plot, this dogma was forged by him in the interest of slavery. At that time Andrew Jackson saw his plan, predicted that slavery would be the next great basis of disunion, and lamented that he had not at the proper moment visited the traitor's neck with the traitor's doom. John C. Calhoun taught the southerner that phrase of sectional treason, "*My first allegiance is due my state*," and Jefferson Davis and the rebellion are the consequence. Secessionism is national disintegration reduced to a theory.

Educational.

A Manual of Information and Suggestions for Object Lessons, in a Course of Elementary Instruction adapted to the Use of the School and Family Charts, and other Aids in Teaching. By MARCIUS WILLSON, Author of "Willson's Historical Series," "School and Family Readers," etc., etc. 12mo., pp. 329. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1862.

This treatise is based upon what the author calls the "development system;" a plan of drawing out the perceptive faculties of the pupil by commenting upon and questioning him concerning various objects placed before him for his observation. A set of Charts of "Objects" is advertised to accompany this work, of which, however, we cannot speak from actual observation. J.

Pamphlets.

Reviewers Reviewed. Brief Replies to various Criticisms and other Arguments. By C. F. HUDSON, author of "Debt and Grace as Related to the Doctrine of a Future Life." 18mo., pp. 44. New York: G. W. Carleton.

In this little primer, Mr. Hudson runs the gauntlet of his reviewers with a bravery unsurpassed this side of Vicksburg. He acknowledges a mistake or two of his own, but he finds the errors of his critics to be legion. So far as the Methodist Quarterly notices of him are concerned, we have no mistakes to acknowledge. One remark of ours, however, in regard to the Universalist views of the Greek words *αἰώνιος* and *ἀΐδιος*, had, we admit, no proper application to his theory. We also concede that he is correct in saying that the note in the commentary by the editor of this Quarterly, on Mark ix, 43, is not sustained by the Greek. As to our other points, all things are as they were before the genesis of this last creation of Mr. Hudson's genius.

THE

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JULY, 1863.

ART. I.—JOHN GOODWIN.

The Life of John Goodwin, A.M., sometime Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge, and Vicar of Saint Stephen's, Coleman-street, London. Comprising an Account of his Opinions and Writings, and of the Controversies in which he was engaged in defense of Religious Liberty and of General Redemption. By THOMAS JACKSON. London, 1822.

Redemption Redeemed; wherein the Most Glorious Work of the Redemption of the World by Jesus Christ is vindicated against the Encroachments of Later Times. By JOHN GOODWIN, M.A. Reprinted from the Edition of 1651. London, 1840.

An Exposition of the Ninth Chapter of the Epistle to the Romans. With the Banner of Justification Displayed. By JOHN GOODWIN, M.A. To which is added, *Εἰρηνομαχια*: The Agreement and Distance of Brethren. With a Preface by THOMAS JACKSON, Author of the Life of the Rev. Richard Watson, etc., etc. London, 1835.

The Works of John Owen, D.D. Edited by THOMAS RUSSELL, M.A. With Memoirs of his Life and Writings, by WILLIAM ORME. Twenty-one volumes. London, 1826.

Memorabilia of John Owen: Presbyterian Quarterly Review, October, 1862.

MR. JACKSON'S life of "John Goodwin, the Arminian," is, very singularly, the first attempt to furnish the Christian public with a complete account of a remarkable divine who, in days that

produced great men, was eminent among his brethren for learning and genius, and for the ability and courage with which he maintained his principles against the most powerful and irritating opposition. Those who have been conversant with his works, and therefore qualified to judge, have yielded him their heartiest admiration. Others, whose knowledge has been derived from the bitter personalities and gross misrepresentations found in the remains of his antagonists in many of the important controversies in which he was engaged, have greatly misunderstood his sentiments and conduct. He was in the minority. The royalists disliked, and finally crushed him for his politics. The Presbyterians persecuted him for his advocacy of toleration. The Calvinists hated him because he turned Arminian. That an Arminian Parliamentarian should have been honored, or even correctly represented, then or in the subsequent days of shameless and bigoted loyalty, was not to be expected.

John Goodwin was born in Norfolk, England, in the year 1593; educated at Cambridge; made Master of Arts, and elected Fellow of Queen's College November 10, 1617, in the twenty-fourth year of his age. How long he remained at the University we are not informed. After his removal, he preached occasionally at Raynum, Lynn, Yarmouth, and Norwich. In 1632, we find him at London; and Dec. 18, 1633, he became, at the request of the parishioners, vicar of St. Stephen's, Coleman-street, in place of John Davenport, who fled from the persecutions of Laud and became renowned as minister at New Haven, Connecticut. Goodwin's sermons were praised as uncommonly elegant and learned. His views of his office forbade the employment of his strength in support of ceremonial observances, or in a display of himself. He sought to subdue the judgments and consciences of men to the authority of Holy Scripture, and, in an age which tolerated clergy of immoral and scandalous lives, conscientiously applied himself to the duties of the Christian pastor. After a residence in London of fifteen years, he was spoken of as a man of "innocency and integrity in the cause of Christ, and great work and labor of love to Christ and his Churches;" and many of his people regarded their attendance upon his ministry as one of the greatest blessings of their lives.

Goodwin's first appearance through the press was in the year

1639, in a recommendatory preface to "A Gleaning of God's Harvest," a small volume of posthumous sermons by Henry Ramsden, a profound Puritan theologian and "edifying" London minister. His first publication as author was in 1640, in a volume of anniversary sermons entitled "The Saints' Interest in God," and commemorative of the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot. It is dedicated to his "loving parishioners and dear friends, the inhabitants of St. Stephen's, Coleman-street." The next year he published two similar volumes, "God a Good Master and Protector," and "The Return of Mercies, or the Saints' Advantage by Losses;" the first dedicated to Mrs. Elizabeth Hampden, mother of the celebrated John Hampden, and the second to Lady Clark, of Reading. The addresses show him to have had the high regard of these distinguished ladies, and to have been indebted to them for "many expressions of love."

The character of these volumes, the tone of devotion pervading them, their originality and depth of thought, and their modest, unassuming style, indicate the learned, conscientious, faithful pastor. Of quiet and scholarly habits, absorbed in his books, ambitious to dwell in the loving hearts of his people rather than to win the public eye, and longing most of all to fulfill his ministry with fidelity, he had allowed more than forty-five years of his life to pass before he committed a line to the press. We doubtless see him here in his true native character. It is the exact opposite to that attributed to him by his enemies in after years. His full, clear eye looked out from under an arching brow and high, broad forehead. The pleasant face, the finely-formed nose, and peculiar curve of the mouth, plainly seen beneath the short mustache, tell us of an amiable temper, a heart of love, and a soul at peace; while the slight compressure of the lips and the firmly poised head evidently belong to one who for his conscience and the truth can dare all dangers, do all deeds, and endure all sufferings.

The "*Imputatio Fidei;* or, A Treatise of Justification," was published in 1642, and is one of his most valuable works. He had for several years been the subject of considerable animosity and clamor on the part of some of his Puritan brethren, because of his views of imputation; and in 1638 both parties were summoned before their Diocesan, and commanded to desist from all future pulpit discussion of the points at issue. Laud's report to

the king provokes a smile. He says, "In the diocese and city of London there was like to some distraction, both among the ministers and the people, occasioned at first by some over-nice curiosities preached by one Mr. Goodwin, vicar of St. Stephen's, Coleman-street, concerning the imputation of Christ's righteousness in the justification of a sinner. But the differences arising about it were timely prevented by convention of the parties dissenting. And so, God be thanked, that business is at peace." Goodwin had, however, the full confidence and love of his people, and the assurance of delivering some from the snares of Antinomianism.

The controversy continued, nevertheless; and when the Long Parliament relieved the press of its burdensome restrictions, Goodwin published the Treatise of Justification, taking up the whole subject with an accuracy and depth of thought perhaps never surpassed. He states the question thus:

> Whether the *faith* of him that truly believes in Christ, or the *righteousness of Christ*, (that is, the obedience which Christ performed to the moral law, consisting partly of the righteous dispositions of his soul, partly of those several acts wherein he obeyed,) be, in the letter and propriety of it, that which God *imputes to a believer for righteousness*, in his justification? so that he that believes is not righteous only by account, or by God's gracious reputing and accepting of him for such; but as rigidly, literally, and peremptorily righteous—constituted as perfectly, as completely, as legally righteous as Christ himself, no difference at all between them *quoad veritatem*, but only *quoad modum*, both righteous with the self-same righteousness, only the justified wears it as put upon him by another, the justifier as put upon him by himself.

His positions have never been refuted in any of the various attempts at reply, and it has generally been deemed wise, by the advocates of imputation, to give the book no notice. Mr. Wesley published an abridgment in 1763, with this commendation: "I believed I could not either draw up or defend [the real scripture doctrine] better than I found it done to my hands by one who, at the time he wrote this book, was a firm and zealous Calvinist."

These years of Goodwin's theological study and quiet ministry were years of confusion and disorder in both Church and State. In an unfortunate hour, Laud had been exalted to the see of Canterbury. He sought the exaltation of the king at the expense of the people, and of the priesthood at the expense of the king.

His fondness of parade, his introduction of new religious ceremonies, his persistence in pictures, images, and the crucifix, his reverence for ancient and abolished customs, his persecution of the clergy who neglected his innovations, alarmed the Puritans and the moderate churchmen, and aided in preparing them for the fearful days to come.

The Puritans' intense loathing of Popery made them hate the multiplying rites and ceremonies which betrayed an apostasy in the Church, and the persecuting spirit of its dignitaries. They beheld with dismay the increasing encroachments upon popular rights. The strictly religious Puritans were a nucleus around which gathered all classes who, differing on many points, agreed in opposition to the established modes of worship and the arbitrary measures of the hierarchy, composing a body that gained strength from every disclosure of a purpose to establish absolutism in Church or State.

Charles had brought to the throne the belief of the divine right of kings, of the dependence of parliamentary privileges upon royal favor, of the duty of implicit obedience by the subject, and consequently, of his right to an absolute authority. His first and second parliaments were dissolved within the year, for attempting a redress of grievances and an investigation into the conduct of ministers. He assented to the Petition of Right, and within a month imprisoned and fined leading members of the House of Commons. Then for eleven years he ruled without a parliament, constantly violated the Petition of Right, raised money in the most irregular and arbitrary manner, enlarged the powers of the Star Chamber and High Commission, subjected the civil and ecclesiastical courts to his will, and made his government an absolute despotism, lacking only a standing army to render the overthrow of English liberties perpetual. He provoked the turbulent and jealous Scots to an insurrection, by madly imposing a liturgy upon them. The convocation, continuing its session after his angry dissolution of the fourth parliament, framed a canon requiring all schoolmasters, lawyers, physicians, and clergy to declare upon oath that they would unalterably maintain the doctrines and government of the Church by archbishops, bishops, deans, chapters, *et cetera*. Members of the House of Commons were imprisoned for refusing to answer for their conduct in parliament; and then, to

increase the confusion, the army was defeated in its first skirmish upon the Scottish border.

A necessity as imperious as his own will was upon Charles to face the Commons once more. The Long Parliament met in November, 1640. It entered at once, and with an almost unanimous agreement, upon its great measures of reform. Every important act was favored by men who were afterward prominent cavaliers. Parties appeared only when grievances had been redressed and the liberties of the people surrounded by new securities: the Conservatives then thinking that true wisdom required the guarding, with equal jealousy, of these liberties and the rightful prerogatives of the throne; while the Roundheads, on the other hand, believed that he who had defied all law would not hesitate to trample upon the recent statutes, and that the nation's only safety lay in the curtailing of his power. Scrupulous good faith on the part of Charles would have soon placed his friends in the majority; but of this he was utterly incapable. His attempt to arrest Hampden, Pym, and three others of the Commons, demonstrated the principles of the opposition, alienated his adherents, and set the nation on fire. One prerogative after another was surrendered, until he was asked to resign the supreme military authority, which could not be safely left in his hands with an army raised for the subjugation of Ireland, but ready to be employed at his command for the overthrow of the constitution and the laws. He left London; and in August, 1642, the war commenced.

The great body of the Puritan ministers were conscientiously active in behalf of the parliament. Men of learning and piety had been silenced and imprisoned, and ignorant and vicious men promoted to high positions in the Church. The High Commission and Bishops' Courts were more concerned to suppress fasting and praying than swearing and drunkenness. Many had been punished for omitting to read publicly the Book of Sports and Dancing on the Lord's day. Altars, pictures, images, bowing at the name of Jesus, and the *et cetera* oath, created deep fears for Protestantism itself. By all their regard for religion and the liberty of the subject, they preferred the reproach of rebellion to a connection with that party which seemed regardless of either. Goodwin was among the foremost of those noble men. With masterly eloquence he advocated the cause of the

parliament in his pulpit; and while John Milton was the first man to employ the press in its behalf, John Goodwin is to be honored as the first clergyman who used that powerful instrument to rouse the people, and show the necessity of the war to save the nation from a perpetual civil and religious slavery. His first political controversy was in behalf of popular liberty.

So far was the parliament at its commencement from any intention to overthrow the Established Church, that the House of Commons allowed none to hold a seat who would not receive the communion after its forms. Lenthal, the speaker, Pym, Sir Harry Vane, the Earl of Essex, the parliamentary general, the Earls of Northumberland and Warwick, who seized the navy, Sir John Hotham, who shut the gates of Hull against the king, and most of the leaders in the parliament, were Episcopalians. But when the aid of the Scots became desirable, Episcopacy was abolished and the Covenant adopted, though nearly four years elapsed before the Presbyterian government was established by law. Meanwhile, the friends of Presbytery claimed for it a divine right, and a full ecclesiastical supremacy.

The true principles of religious freedom had never been understood. The fundamental proposition of both Protestants and Catholics was, that the truth was to be protected and error pursued and punished; while each party assumed to decide what was truth and what error. Both alike failed to comprehend that individual accountability to God required the liberty of the individual to believe and worship in conformity with the decisions of his own judgment and conscience. Protestants, contending for the right of private judgment, failed to see that what conscience claimed must be granted to conscience in return. The Presbyterians, who had demanded toleration for themselves, now expecting a day of power, were as hostile to religious liberty as Laud had ever been. "A toleration," said Edwards, "is the grand design of the devil." Prynne wrote "A Full Vindication of Christian Kings' and Magistrates' Authority under the Gospel, to Punish Idolatry, Apostasy, Heresy, Blasphemy, and Obstinate Schism, with Corporeal, and, in some cases, with Capital Punishment." The Scottish commissioners protested against a toleration "as that which is expressly contrary to the Word of God . . . and will unavoidably subvert all order and government." The

ministers of London, in a letter to the Westminster Assembly, cried out in great anguish of spirit, "We detest and abhor the much-endeavored toleration. Our bowels, our bowels are stirred within us, and we could even drown ourselves in tears."

As a moderate Episcopalian, Goodwin had always loathed the arbitrariness of high prelacy, and he now equally abhorred the intolerant claims of high presbytery. He believed, with Milton, that

> New Presbyter is but Old Priest writ large.

As against the latter in its struggle for civil and ecclesiastical ascendancy, he adopted the principles of the Independents, thinking them more favorable to growth in holiness and liberty of conscience. He was the first man to set the true principles of religious liberty fairly and fully before British Christians, and boldly risked property, reputation, and life in an open issue with the party in power. Unlike many who pleaded for toleration for all who held "the fundamental doctrines of Christianity," he claimed that all interference of magistrates in purely religious matters was antichristian and enormously tyrannical. His first publication in the controversy was a reply to Dr. Adam Stewart, in 1644, wherein he clearly defines his position. "The grand pillar of this coercive power in magistrates is this angry argument: 'What, would you have all religions, sects, and schisms tolerated in Christian Churches? Should Jews, Turks, and Papists be suffered in their religions, what confusion must this needs breed in Church and State!' If by a toleration the argument means a non-suppression of such religions, sects, and schisms, by fining, imprisoning, disfranchising, banishment, death, or the like, my answer is, that they ought to be tolerated: only upon this supposition, that the professors of them be otherwise peaceable in the state, and every way subject to the laws and lawful power of the magistrate." He believed that doctrinal errors are not to be approved or connived at as of no importance, but overcome by sober argument; that obstinate heresy is a proper subject of ecclesiastical censure or exclusion; and that the corruption of a whole Church demands admonition from neighboring Churches, and, if persisted in, renunciation of fellowship; but that every man has the fullest right to his own religious opinions and worship, without any interference of the civil authority: he being meanwhile a peaceable and orderly

citizen. From these views he never swerved, and in their advocacy never faltered.

The suppression of the Independents by parliamentary enactment being loudly demanded, he published his "Fighting against God;" insisting upon the right of private judgment, and arguing against all interference of the civil power in affairs of conscience. This pamphlet aroused the ire of the notorious Prynne. He was a barrister, well read in law and divinity, and a bigoted Presbyterian. By his writings on episcopacy and Arminianism he had incurred the enmity of Laud. For his Histrio-Mastix, the Star Chamber had punished him by a fine of five thousand pounds, expulsion from Oxford and Lincoln's Inn, degradation from his profession, standing twice in the pillory with the loss of an ear at each time, the burning of his book by the hangman, and imprisonment for life. Because of a scurrilous publication against Laud, he was again fined the same amount, branded on the cheeks with the letters S L for a Seditious Libeler, and lost the stumps of his ears. He was released by the Long Parliament, but oppression had taught him neither wisdom nor toleration. With a fanatical hostility to any religious liberty, this Presbyterian martyr attempted a refutation of Goodwin's arguments; and, as if conscious of failure, violently attacked his personal character, with the design of exposing him to a state prosecution. Goodwin promptly met the champion, defending his character, recounting his services to the parliament, and contending with fresh argument for unrestricted toleration. Repeated invocations of the wrath of the government upon his head could not hush his convictions or silence his pen. The revengeful blow was not long delayed. Goodwin, following the example of several of his brethren, had exercised some discrimination in administering the sacraments of baptism and the supper. For this he was summoned before the Committee for Plundered Ministers—or, as the royalists termed it, for *plundering* ministers—whose duty was to inquire after all malignant or scandalous clergymen, and to remove them from their livings. Their expulsion of Hales of Eton, and Walton, editor of the London Polyglot, from their preferments, illustrate the terrible havoc they made in the Church. This committee subjected him to repeated and severe examinations. One of its members ventured to plead in his behalf his zeal and

labor in the cause of the parliament. Forty-five of his parishioners, well known for piety and attachment to the government, attested his faithfulness in his office and prayed for his continuance as their pastor. Several months of undisturbed possession of his vicarage then ensued, when Prynne, with a sneer of triumph, informed him that his expulsion was intended because of his advocacy of the rights of conscience. Prynne was correct; and nothing could avail to secure Goodwin's continuance in his living. True, no malignancy or scandal could be proved against him. But he had been *charged with Arminianism!* He certainly had overwhelmed the Calvinistic doctrine of imputation with confusion; he had opposed the divine right of Presbytery; and, more than all, he had taught that magistrates have no legitimate authority to use coercion in matters of conscience. He was a man of deep learning, acute logical powers, invincible courage, and extraordinary talents. The interests of those in power demanded that he should be crushed; and, without an assigned reason, he was ejected in May, 1645, with a wife and seven children dependent upon him, and a part of his salary already due fraudulently withheld.

In addition to his labors at St. Stephen's, Goodwin had taken the charge of a small Independent Church, which now claimed his continued service as its pastor. He at once rented some buildings in Coleman-street, and after some alteration, opened them for public worship. Two of his children were soon taken from him by a prevalent epidemic. Following this came a most bitter assault upon his character in the "Gangræna" of Thomas Edwards, sparing no words or pains to destroy his name and influence, and, reckless of opening the deep wounds in his heart, fiendishly representing his bereavement as a divine judgment upon him for "making his house a meeting for sectaries." This infamous publication was filled with all the scandal and idle tales that a ransacking of the kingdom could gather, and avowed the unprincipled design of covering with odium all dissenters from the Presbyterian policy, and of effecting their suppression. Goodwin correctly styled it "an ulcerous treatise." When the Westminster Assembly allowed itself to be pushed to the conclusion that Presbyterian uniformity should be established and all other sects suppressed by parliamentary authority, Goodwin denounced the project as not "a reformation according to the

word of God," and therefore not such a reformation as the Assembly was called to aid in effecting in the national Church. He next issued "Some Modest and Humble Queries" respecting the "Ordinance for the Punishing of Heresies and Blasphemies," in which death without benefit of clergy is made the doom of incorrigible deists, Socinians, etc.; and all assertors of such errors as natural free-will, or the unlawfulness of infant baptism, who will not publicly recant their heresies, are to be imprisoned. He inquires if it is Christian to maintain that religion by putting others to death, which ought to be defended by dying ourselves for it; if the heathen in ancient, and the papacy in modern times did not maintain their religion by the very methods proposed for maintaining the religion of Christ; if any ordinary judge of assize, of little or no acquaintance with abstruse points in theology, is, in such questions, a competent judge of men who have made them the study of their lives; if twelve ordinary jurymen are qualified "to pass upon the life or liberty of a studious, learned, and conscientious man, in cases where the ablest professors of divinity are not able, with any competent satisfaction to the scrupulous, many times to determine." The thirty-eight "queries" produced a fearful explosion. Edwards poured out his fury, and pronounced it unlawful for Christians to receive such an arch-heretic into their houses. It was argued that Christianity was insecure unless protected by penal statutes. A number of ministers and laymen presented an urgent petition to parliament, asking that Goodwin's reply might be burned by the common hangman and its author prosecuted.

When Cromwell put a restraint upon the parliament, Goodwin very naturally justified it, in a publication entitled "Right and Might Well Met." He defended the sentence of the High Court of Justice against Charles, in "The Obstructors of Justice," published three months after the king's execution. The key to these, and indeed to all his political writings, is to be found in his attachment to civil and religious liberty. Therefore he defended the parliament at the commencement of the war, and opposed its intolerance when it fell under Presbyterian control. He justified the movements of Cromwell when liberty was endangered by the parliament's proposed compromise with the king, and condemned the counsels by which he in turn imperiled it. Though no democrat, he defended the cause of

just and equal liberty, firmly secured by law, against king, parliament, and protector.

Early in 1644, the year of his first publications on toleration, the last of a series of sermons in defense of the Calvinistic doctrines advanced the sentiment that "natural men may do things whereunto God hath, by way of promise, annexed grace and acceptation." For this "Arminian position" he was most virulently assailed in a pamphlet entitled "A Vindication of Free Grace," and while his case was yet pending before the Committee for Plundered Ministers. "A most dangerous error!" he says in reply, "and of as sad consequence as that which was charged upon Paul, when accused for teaching that they were no gods which were made with hands. For doubtless men are natural before they are spiritual; and spiritual they cannot be made but by believing; and to believing, we all confess, God hath promised grace and acceptation." This insignificant pamphlet led him into a new and more thorough investigation of his entire theological system. The orthodoxy of his times was pure, hard Calvinism. He had been educated in its principles, and had honestly maintained them in his ministry. His high estimation of many of its advocates, the disgust he felt at the character of many of its chief opponents, together with "a raw and ill-digested conceit that there was no better or less offensive bread to be had from any hand whatsoever," combined to render him contented in his views; "but the truth is," he tells us, "I found it ever and anon gravelish in my mouth, and corroding and fretting in my bowels." It is not strange that a man of his mental characteristics should have felt dissatisfaction with that arbitrary and revolting system which even its great master confessed an inability to reconcile with the divine equity and goodness, and which, whether modified by the removal of some of its harsh and severe features, or beautified by the adornments of rhetoric, as later disciples have tried to mend it, in every one of its varying forms and phases binds the human will by a cast-iron fatalism, and holds man to a stern responsibility for his acts, with no power to do otherwise than as he does.

The circumstances attending his adoption of the Arminian doctrines show that the step was taken upon deep and honest conviction. He had seen the Dutch Arminians condemned as

heretics by the orthodox Synod of Dort, and their clergy banished and put to death. English Arminianism had been mostly identified with ecclesiastical corruption and tyranny, and a possible design of the re-establishment of popery. Had the change occurred when Laud was in power, he might have been rewarded with high preferment; but at this time the divines who held these tenets were chiefly loyalists, driven from their pulpits, and bitterly pursued as malignants. As a parliamentarian, he was hated by the Arminians; as an Arminian, he would be loathed by the Calvinists. He had everything to lose by the change; he had nothing to gain but the truth. For the truth's sake he could at the age of fifty years endure the suspicions, reproaches, humiliations, and contentions that awaited him. Our admiration is insuppressible at the lofty manliness which would brave the certain storm of defamation and calumny, the loss of reputation and influence, and the mortification of declaring a change in his theological faith.

As a duty incumbent upon their pastor, he promptly gave his new views to his people. Their first announcement through the press was in 1648, in "The Divine Authority of the Scriptures Asserted;" a work characterized as the most complete defense of the sacred volume that had ever appeared in the English language, and repeatedly recommended by Baxter as affording a thorough knowledge of the foundation of the Christian religion. Violent denunciation and the loss of personal friends were a portion of his compensation for this production. Numerous antagonists assailed him. The London clergy, at one of their weekly regency meetings at Sion College, seeing their efforts for a parliamentary suppression of the sectaries unavailing, resolved to unite in "A Testimony against the Errors, Heresies, and Blasphemies of these Times, and the Toleration of them: Subscribed by the Ministers of Christ within the Province of London." Goodwin, especially, is most abusively treated. They accuse him of holding man's natural power to do good, taking no notice of his explicit declaration of the absolute necessity of divine aid. They arraign him for denying the authority of the Scriptures, totally ignoring his arguments for that authority. It is true that he did not follow most Protestants of that day, who, in avoiding the error of the Catholics respecting the authority of the Vulgate, went to the other extreme of a belief

in the immaculateness of the original text, and its providential preservation from errors at the hands of transcribers or printers. Even the learned Dr. Owen, in his attack on Walton's Polyglot, represented the assertion that the Scriptures had suffered in transmission as had other ancient books, as bordering on atheism. But while Goodwin did not believe the Hebrew and Greek texts then in use to be exact and perfect copies of the originals written as "moved by the Holy Ghost," he did believe and declare that not only they but the received translations set forth, with sufficient accuracy, the mind of God as to all things necessary to be known for Christian deportment or eternal salvation. These fifty-two grave divines, sitting in solemn conclave at Sion College and arrogantly styling themselves "*The* ministers of Christ," knew that no minister of his times had more strenuously and constantly defended in the pulpit the authority of Holy Scripture, and that he had led many skeptics to a reverence for its teachings; they had in their hands a copy of his lately-published volume on the subject; and yet, assuming the authority of pronouncing condemnation without confutation, they deliberately traduce as a heretic and blasphemer a man in every respect their equal, and without allowing him to speak for himself. Believing that the "Testimony" was given principally for his sake, as a large portion of it was occupied with his "errors and heresies," Goodwin felt called upon to reply. He issued his "Sion College Visited," a temperate but manly vindication of himself. "The ministers" debated the propriety of an answer to it, but decided the question in the negative.

If he could not be put down by a public prosecution or by argument, he might, as one of the worst heretics of the age, be crushed by popular clamor. His ruin was certain, if malice and calumny could effect it. Knowing his powers, he consented to meet his adversaries in public debate, hoping that the truth of a General Redemption would thus reach many to whom he had no access through the pulpit or press. In the third and last of these discussions he was not allowed to answer a charge of maintaining free will in opposition to free grace; and therefore, upon the publication of the debates as taken by a stenographer, he issued "The Remedy of Unreasonableness." He therein ascribes all good in men to grace, but insists that if men act necessarily by means of the grace given them they act phys-

ically, or as mere natural agents, and perform mere natural actions, which, by the standing law of God's remunerative bounty, are not rewardable.

It is pleasant to know that at about this point in his history Goodwin was restored to St. Stephen's, now vacant by the expulsion of his successor, who was a violent Presbyterian, and had incurred the displeasure of the government. His friends urgently asked for his return to his old benefice, and were successful only after great difficulty. The revenues were, however, largely alienated, and he estimated his loss by his ejection at a thousand pounds.

The next work from his pen was the "Redemption Redeemed," which bears the date of 1651. Many noble names are in the list of those who had, previous to this time, advocated some of the Arminian doctrines; but this was the first English attempt to present them as a system. As Calvinism was more than ever strongly intrenched in the popular mind, he knew that this work would bring fresh obloquy upon his head. Disregarding personal consequences, he thought only of the advantage of publishing the truth as he had received it, and made the most formidable attack upon the Genevan system that the British press had ever sent forth. He sought to present the doctrine of Redemption as taught in the Scriptures and held in the early Church, redeemed from the bondage imposed upon it by Calvinistic theologians. He shows himself alike at home in the metaphysical argument, the scriptural exposition, and the teachings of ancient and modern divines. We cannot too deeply regret that a second part of the work was never completed, although the exposition of the ninth of Romans, which he included in his plan, was published separately. Had the Redemption Redeemed been his only publication, it should have been enough of itself to perpetuate his fame. Its great learning, clear reasoning, sound judgment, and admirable spirit, render it worthy of the study of all lovers of this glorious doctrine, and the name of its author one which all Arminians should delight to honor.

A volume so ably written, and going to the bottom of the controversy, could not, in that polemic age, fail of creating a storm. The pulpits rung with charges of heresy. The press groaned with sermons, pamphlets, and books. Some were bitterly scurrilous. Dr. Hill, Master of Trinity College, Cam-

bridge, charged him with falsifying his quotations, and with the errors of Pelagius. Resbury wrote very much in the spirit of Edwards. Robert Baillie seems to have taken Prynne for his model. Barlow, afterward Bishop of Lincoln, alone among the crowd addressed him in a style of manliness and Christian candor, speaking of his learning and talents with compliment and respect. George Kendall filled two folios, and actually removed to London, that he might watch Goodwin and the better oppose him and his doctrine. He says of himself that though he sometimes sneers, he never snarls or bites. He doubtless tells the truth about the sneering and the biting. Toplady thought the "Redemption Redeemed was effectually answered" by Kendall. "If it was," says Sellon, "I will eat it, as tough a morsel as it is." Dr. John Owen, styled by a recent writer "the greatest of the old Puritans,"* then Vice-Chancellor at Oxford, and overwhelmed with labors, deemed it necessary to employ eight hundred and fifty octavo pages in a reply to the seven chapters on the Perseverance of the Saints. This divine had, at the age of twenty-six, won position and honor by the "Display of Arminianism," which is, indeed, a display rather than a discussion, and more a caricature than a display, for which he was rewarded with a valuable living by the Committee for Plundered Ministers. He was then a Presbyterian, but soon turned Independent, though some of his modern admirers think that after all, "on the whole, his leaning was decidedly Presbyterian."† Being called to preach before parliament on the day after the execution of Charles, he skillfully avoided all allusion to that deed. His acquaintance with Fairfax led to an introduction to Cromwell, by whom he was made Dean of Christ's Church, Oxford, and soon afterward Vice-Chancellor of the University. His great abilities, aided by his high position, caused him to be regarded as a leader among his brethren. He was a frequent preacher before parliament, and a member of various committees called by Cromwell for religious purposes. As one of the ejecting commissioners—an office wholly inconsistent with his Independent theory—he was indefatigable, though he saved his party from the disgrace of proscribing Pococke. A thorough Calvinist, he had no mercy for Arminianism, Popery, or Prelacy. He was a voluminous writer,

* Presbyterian Quarterly Review, October, 1862, p. 208. † Ibid., p. 196.

ready to grapple with any topic, frequent in controversy, though not always successful, as the reply of Horne and the castigation by Walton show. He was the author of several works on toleration, which have been the subjects of exalted eulogy. His meaning is often so obscured by a heavy, cumbersome style, that it is difficult and sometimes impossible to be ascertained. Whether from a peculiar temper, a habit of severe study, or the circumstances in which he stood, he seems often to wrap himself in a cloud, and never unvails his whole soul to an opponent, or allows a gush of sympathy and love for such as question his dogmas.

He is said in this reply to have "triumphantly confuted Goodwin's Redemption Redeemed," though he himself claimed to have noticed only seven of its twenty chapters. Of the author personally, he says: "My adversary is a person whom his worth, pains, diligence, and opinions, and the contests wherein on their account he hath publicly engaged, have delivered from being the object of any ordinary thoughts or expressions. Nothing not great, not considerable, not some way eminent, is by any spoken of him, either consenting with him or dissenting from him."* Then, with an affected timidity about expressing what his keener vision detected, but with a cold-blooded and heartless deliberateness, he aims a blow at the personal character of the man whose opinions he proposes to confute. He cannot join in these high praises. "To interpose my judgment in the crowd, on the one side or the other, I know neither warrant or sufficient cause. . This only I shall crave liberty to say: that whether from his own genius and acrimony of spirit, or from the provocations of others, many of his polemical treatises have been sprinkled with satirical sarcasms and contemptuous rebukes of the persons with whom he hath had to do." Two more pages of personal criticisms follow. Our examination forbids our allowing success in his argument. His perversion of Goodwin's words, his imputing sentiments utterly disavowed, his habitual debasement of the arguments and disparagement of the judgment of his antagonist, are in perfect harmony with the ungenerous charge of "acrimony of spirit" made from the well-cushioned Vice-Chancellor's chair against a plundered, traduced, and persecuted man, and were frankly and deservedly complained of in

* Owen's Works, vol. vi, p. 22.

"The Triumviri." Dr. Orme styles the notice of Owen therein contained a "scoffing reply;" but it is enough to say that he also characterizes Owen's book as an "example of a rare Christian temper."

Many ministers in and about London having in their pulpits grossly misrepresented his views, thus increasing the clamor against him, Goodwin published his "Agreement and Distance of Brethren," to which was prefixed an address to Cromwell, signed by himself and thirteen others, "in the name and by the consent of the Church." In this octavo of a hundred and fifty pages, each of the five doctrines at issue is taken up, the points of agreement fairly stated, the differences distinctly specified, and the reasons for his opinions clearly and concisely given. It is a complete summary of the whole Calvinistic controversy.

Yielding to the advice of his friends, he next published separately the "Exposition of the Ninth Chapter of the Epistle to the Romans: wherein, by the tenor and carriage of the contents of the said chapter, from first to last, is plainly showed and proved that the apostle's scope therein is to maintain his great doctrine of Justification by Faith, and that he here discourseth nothing at all concerning any personal election or reprobation of men from eternity." He employs throughout the same principle of interpretation that is so thoroughly applied in all his theological writings, and carefully examines the passage before him in its logical connection with the argument of which it is a part. He conscientiously avoids the dexterity by which an isolated text is so often perverted from the meaning intended by the Holy Spirit, to the proof of a favorite doctrine, by its peculiar collocation of words. The title very fairly sets forth the theory upon which the chapter is explained. And when we add the remark of Mr. Jackson, "that no commentary on that part of the sacred volume which he ever perused has been so satisfactory to his mind as the exposition of Mr. Goodwin," we give the work the highest praise, but, as we think, only a merited commendation.

We next find Goodwin contending for his old love, religious freedom. He could not be silent when Cromwell's Instrument of Government proposed a toleration for only "such as profess faith in God by Jesus Christ," and excluded Papists and Epis-

copalians from its benefits. He could not see the right of the civil power to constitute itself the guardian of the pulpit, as in the appointment of the Commissions of Triers and Ejectors. The conduct of these officers kindled his indignation. The Triers, "for the most part," says Granger, "brought the test to a short issue. If a minister readily gave up the five points of Arminius, embraced the tenets of Calvin, and was *orthodox* in politics, he was generally qualified to hold any benefice in the Church." The Ejectors, as Cromwell testified, "settled very much of the business of the ministry." Their arraignment of Pococke, one of the first oriental and biblical scholars of his day, on the charges of scandal and insufficiency, is illustrative of their malignancy. In writing against these commissions, Goodwin complains of the Calvinistic test, the provoking delays, the incompetent judges, and especially of the attempts of the rulers to employ the authority intrusted to them for other purposes, in supplementing the system of orders and directions prepared by the Lord Jesus Christ. The sore and smarting Triers procured his citation before Cromwell's council on a charge of hostility to the government, but had not a word to say in his presence.

Goodwin was at the same time, in other publications, maintaining the legitimate authority of the government against the royalists, who desired the restoration of Charles, and the Levelers, who sought the subversion of all authority. And then, as if he had not sufficient work upon his hands, his old friends of Sion College, who had never forgiven or forgotten him, using half a dozen booksellers as their tools, presented to Cromwell and the parliament a volume of errors and blasphemies, and asked for a law preventing the publication of anti-Calvinistic books. As he was included in the list of heretics, he issued a reply under the title of "A Fresh Discovery of the High Presbyterian Spirit," which is chiefly valuable for its admirable argument for the liberty of the press. To these controversies, together with the irruptions of an intolerant "spirit of division" into his Church, relating to communion and baptism, which led him into several publications on those subjects, must be ascribed the failure to complete the second part of the Redemption Redeemed.

Resuming his theological studies, he produced in 1658 the

"Triumviri," a reply to the writings of Resbury, Pawson, and Kendall against himself, with "some brief touches" upon Owen, Lamb, and several others. Though poor in health, and worn by the multiplicity of his labors, he defends with all his old power the doctrines of General Redemption against the combined assaults of his antagonists. In the next year he published "The Banner of Justification Displayed," his last doctrinal work, and important, as exhibiting the various causes held forth in the Scriptures as contributing to the work of justification. It is a fit sequel to the "Exposition," and is very properly republished with it. It was written when he was "expecting daily to remove into that climate where the sunshine of this world hath no warming or cheering influence at all." Very little of that sunshine had he known for twenty years. His judgment and conscience clung to tenets which were insupportable to the "great men in the state, and those who by their consent exercise dominion over their faith, under the importune claim of being orthodox, and sound in their judgments in matters appertaining to God." He had learned to endure the buffetings of this world, and look for his reward on high. "My good God," he says, "hath fed me and mine with food convenient, yea, and clothed and harbored us accordingly. And the truth is, that for things greater than these, it is best receiving them at the resurrection."

The great Oliver was now dead, and the exiled descendant of a line of kings was soon restored to the throne of his ancestors. The royal assent was given to an act of amnesty, with few exceptions, to all who had been guilty of political offenses during the late troubles. John Milton and John Goodwin were among those exceptions. On the 16th of June, 1660, the House of Commons requested the king to call in Milton's Defense of the People, and Portraiture of his Sacred Majesty, and Goodwin's Obstructors of Justice, and to order them to be burned by the common hangman. The Attorney-General was also directed to commence proceedings against them, and the Sergeant-at-arms was ordered to arrest them forthwith. The books were burned on the 27th of August, but their authors so concealed themselves that arrest was impossible. Milton's offenses were afterward covered by the Act of Oblivion, and after a debate of several hours, the House resolved to spare Goodwin's life, but

rendered him incapable of holding "any office, ecclesiastical, civil, or military, or any other public employment within the kingdom."

The Act of Uniformity ejected the next year about two thousand ministers from their pulpits. Although we must condemn the deed, we cannot fail to recognize the retribution which fell upon many who in the time of their power had preached, and written, and published, and protested against all toleration. Religious liberty was never more arbitrary in the days of Laud than in the hands of the Long Parliament; and now the churchman's vengeance in its turn falls upon the heads of those who had used the sacred name of liberty to build up their own ecclesiastical system. But an emotion of sorrow is inevitable as we read of the silencing of a Baxter, a Howe, and a Bates, men of excellent piety, tolerant spirit, and eminent ability, whom the establishment could neither safely spare nor innocently thrust out. Suffering had not yet taught the true lessons of Christian charity. Goodwin could not from his obscurity silently witness the best men in the nation imprisoned with thieves and murderers, and weeping congregations bereft of pastors whom they loved as their own souls. He took his pen, and gave his last production to the world, entitled "Prelatic Preachers none of Christ's Teachers." Its design was to show that diocesan episcopacy is not an institution of Jesus Christ, and to awaken all Christians to regard it as an innovation in his Church.

An inscription upon a portrait of him tells us that he died in 1665, in the seventy-third year of his age; but beyond this, nothing is known with certainty of his last days. This is a matter of regret, but not of surprise, as the plague was then ravaging London, carrying off, it is said, a hundred thousand persons in twelve months. The register of burials in the parish of St. Stephen's has the following entry: "John Goodwin Jn whites Alley, vitler was buried the 3rd of September 1665;" but whether this is the burial record of the subject of this paper is uncertain. This was the period of the most fearful rage of the pestilence. "Men did then no more die by tale and by number: 'tis certain they died by heaps and were buried by heaps, that is to say, without account. If I might believe some people, there were not less buried those first three weeks in September than twenty thousand per week."

While the preferences of this most remarkable man were for a quiet and studious life, circumstances drew him into controversy, and on the unpopular side. He firmly held and taught that "*all coercion in matters purely religious is antichristian;* that *Jesus Christ died upon the cross for the redemption of every human being;* and that *no man is either elected to eternal life, or reprobated to endless misery, by any decree of God irrespective of character.*" He had the satisfaction of knowing that notwithstanding the apparent strength of Calvinism and the vigilance of the Triers and Ejectors, the Arminian doctrines were steadily gaining adherents, a result to which his own writings very greatly contributed.

As an advocate of toleration he was most wretchedly slandered. Burnet's gossiping disposition has made him conspicuous among his vilifiers by associating him with the Fifth Monarchy men, a set of fanatical millenarians. He says, "John Goodwin headed these, who first brought in Arminianism among the sectaries; for he was for liberty of all sorts." Again, "One Venner gathered some of the most furious of the party to a meeting in Coleman-street, which, by the way, was the very part of the town where John Goodwin, at that very time, privately exercised his ministry; and it is not improbable but Goodwin's own meeting-house might be the place of rendezvous." Still he insists that "none of the preachers were so thorough-paced for [Cromwell] as to temporal matters, as Goodwin was. . . . He filled all people with such expectation of a glorious thousand years speedily to begin, that it looked like a madness possessing them." Fifth Monarchyism and Cromwellianism, as hostile as fire and gunpowder, dwelling quietly in the same breast! His preaching excited "all people" against the government; and neither his persecutors nor Cromwell could discover it! Their rendezvous and Goodwin's church were in Coleman-street; therefore they were identical! Goodwin heading a conspiracy; and Thurlow's State Papers, with their full accounts of the nocturnal meetings and revolutionary plans gathered by Cromwell's spies, never mentioning his name! Besides this, their rigid predestinarianism would not admit him as one of their leaders. He was an opponent of their fanaticism, and tauntingly admonished them to beware lest, the time of setting up the monarchy being ordained of God, their

endeavors should bring it upon the world before the day appointed.

Burnet's story, written some sixty years after Goodwin's death, has afforded occasion for considerable noise, but to none more than to Toplady, who, never more joyous than when destroying the good names of opponents of the so-called "doctrines of grace," and always reckless of justice and truth in his assaults, exultingly proclaims it, with added inventions of his own. He gloats, as a miser over a mine of gold, at John Vicars's infamous "Coleman-street Conclave Visited," which even Neal declined noticing, as "not worth remembering." Then, having said his worst respecting the dead "ranting Fifth Monarchy man, John Goodwin," and unable to think of a more contemptuous epithet for the living John Wesley, he pronounces him "the John Goodwin of the present age;" a title which, in a far different sense, Fletcher accepts for his friend, and succeeding ages willingly recognize.

Want of knowledge of the facts, or unwillingness to give due honor to an Arminian, has withheld from Goodwin the praise to which he is justly entitled. Dr. Orme shows some knowledge of the subject, for he says, though disparagingly, "The writings of John Goodwin also contributed greatly to diffuse right sentiments on religious liberty."* Dr. John Owen, in particular, has been highly lauded as the great leader in this controversy. Palmer says that he was "one of the first of our countrymen who entertained just and liberal notions of the right of private judgment and of toleration."† Orme, his biographer, says, "On this subject Owen had thought long and deeply, and the fruit of his deliberations he now [1649] published; not when he and his party were struggling for existence, but when they had obtained in a great measure the protection and support of the supreme power."‡ "He has the honor of being the first man in England who advocated, when his party was uppermost, the rights of conscience."§

All praise be to Dr. Owen for his repeated and earnest words in behalf of toleration; but nothing is hazarded in saying that he never intended to plead for a religious freedom which recognized the natural right of every man to an undisturbed enjoy-

* Memoirs of Owen, p. 75.
† Nonconformist's Memorial, vol. i, p. 204.
‡ Memoirs, p. 72.
§ Memoirs, p. 76.

ment of his own religious opinions and practices, so long as he conducts himself as a peaceable and orderly citizen. His two Pleas for Indulgence and Toleration, published in 1667, are only in behalf of Protestant dissenters. The first relates to "those differences alone which are amongst men of the same religion in all the substantials of it."* The second says, "They are Protestants only of whom we speak."† While desiring liberty for Protestant dissenters, he has nothing to ask for any others. "We are ready to make the renunciation of popish principles established by law."‡ In a conversation on this subject with Clarendon, in 1664, when asked what he would require, he answered, "Liberty to those who agree in doctrine with the Church of England."§ In 1643 he had not investigated the subject, and "delivered his judgment in opposition to the liberty pleaded for."‖ The earliest date of the change in his views fixed by Orme is 1645, the year of Goodwin's ejectment. In 1646, about the time of his forsaking the declining cause of the Presbyterians and connecting himself with the rising Independents, he says that "toleration is the alms of authority."¶ If so, it is not the right of the people; but, as Orme says "his mind was rapidly maturing in the knowledge of the great principles of civil and religious freedom," we will hope for something better. The "fruit of his deliberations" is found in the essay on toleration published early in 1649, with his sermon after the death of Charles. It is a masterly argument as far as it goes; but it is not for a universal toleration, as witness the following: "The magistrate must not allow, that is, it is his duty to oppose, the setting apart of public places under his protection for the service of the mass, or for any kind of worship in itself disallowed. . . . Outward monuments, ways of declaring and holding out false and idolatrous worship, he is to remove; as the papists' images, altars, pictures, and the like; Turks' mosques; prelates' service-book,"** that is, the book of common prayer. "Let papists, who are idolaters, and Socinians, who are anthropolatræ, plead for themselves."†† These extracts, while they show that some of his friends have

* Works, vol. xxi, p. 392.
† Works, vol. xxi, p. 437.
‡ Ibid., p. 469.
§ Memoirs, p. 229.
‖ Memoirs, p. 38.
¶ Works, vol. xv, p. 70.
** Works, vol. xv, p. 238.
†† Ibid., p. 239.

been mistaken as to the liberality of his views, exhibit some explanation of his being concerned while Vice-Chancellor in the whipping of two Quaker women for addressing the congregation after the conclusion of the service. Their offense was not purely in taking the wrong time and place for their purpose; for "Owen charged them with blaspheming the name of God and abusing the divine Spirit."* We also perceive how, in speaking of the burning of Servetus, he could say that "the zeal of them that put him to death may be acquitted."†

That liberty of conscience belongs to man is a conception to which Owen never attained. How different is the ring of Goodwin's sturdy arguments from 1644, the very commencement of the struggle, for the free toleration of even Jews, Turks, and papists, subjecting them to no pains, penalties, or inquiries on account of their opinions or modes of worship! The "rights of conscience" which Owen was "the first man in England who advocated when his party was uppermost," appear after all to have pertained only to those Protestants who agreed in "the fundamentals of Christianity;" and yet we are told by a late writer that "on this question he took the most liberal ground,"‡ and held that "the wickedness of intolerance was paralleled only by its absurdity."§ He was, indeed, after the Restoration, a leader in pleading for a limited toleration for himself and other dissenters; but "when his party was struggling for existence" he had not a word to offer except in opposition.

Goodwin, while yet an Episcopalian, loathed all intolerance. In his view, religious liberty was the right of man, and not the grant of government. It was he who first awakened the general attention of his countrymen to the doctrine that full liberty of conscience sacredly belongs to our human nature, a doctrine for which he suffered much, but which he upheld to the end. He had published at least six works distinctly and explicitly on the subject two full years before Owen concluded his "deliberations," and published their "fruit" in the essay for which he has been so highly praised. Though writing before them in time, he stands with the Miltons and Lockes who fought the great battle for this birthright of every human being.

* Memoirs, p. 146. † Works, vol. viii, p. 62.
‡ Presbyterian Quarterly Review, October, 1862, p. 183.
§ Ibid., p. 184.

ART. II.—THE EMOTIONAL ELEMENT IN HEBREW TRANSLATION.

[THIRD ARTICLE.]

JOB XIX. 25–27.

THE literal rendering is ever the most emotional, provided the thought is clearly presented, and the mode of expression is not such as, by its extreme strangeness or quaintness, to interrupt the flow of feeling. It leads us directly to that state of mind which gave rise to what is peculiar or idiomatic in diction. If determined from the right stand-point, and made in view of the whole context, it puts us in the speaker's subjective state, our "soul in his soul's stead;" it enables us to see why he utters himself in this strange style; and hence it is that this plain literality, in which the emotion of words principally resides, is oftentimes the best guide to the meaning of difficult passages,—thought to be difficult, it may be, because the plainest sense is overlooked for that which we have prejudged as most critically erudite and profound.

An excellent example of this may be found in the famous passage, Job xix, 25–27. It is, moreover, of so much importance on other grounds, that our readers will pardon us if we devote to it the whole of the present article. It is there, too, that the best exegesis finds that same hope of the divine remembrance on which we have so long been dwelling as among the most touching anthropopathies of the Bible. God knows us; God remembers us. We are a part of that eternal thought. We enter into it not merely as known simply, for thus all things are known to God, but as knowing that we are known. And it is this mutuality which seems to constitute as it were a pledge of our own eternity, although we might not express it, or prove it, by syllogistical argument. When the religious element is quickened within us, we cannot bear the opposite thought. It is the same with the horror of annihilation which a right mind so strongly feels when it is set clearly before it. It is to be known no more; not merely "by the places that now know us," but by Him who made us; to be remembered no more; to "come up" no more "into his heart;" to have no place in the everlast-

ing consciousness. For this is the full idea of annihilation; this is being nothing. It is to be out of the divine thought. God can only think that which is real; and therefore to be truly in the divine contemplation, as something cared for, (which Christ affirms of the dead patriarchs,) this is to be still an entity; it is still "a living unto him."

Hence it is that the language of Job, when he says, "I know that my Redeemer liveth," is of all things the most purely natural as it is the most intensely human. Instead of being out of place if we give it the more spiritual sense, or unsuitable to that age, as the rationalist says, it belongs to every age. It is born in the soul, and when quickened by outward surroundings, as in the case of Job, it becomes the irrepressible utterance. It is the spirit, when driven out of its hope in the worldly and the temporal, asserting its own spirituality as involved in its affinity to the Eternal Life. There is no reason why this old Arabian should not have said it, as well as any Rationalist or Mystic of the nineteenth century.

"To know as we are known." It is not degree, we think, that the apostle intends; for that would make our knowledge of God equal to his knowledge of us. It is the manner of knowing, or rather the general fact of reciprocity or communion of knowledge. In this world, the thought that God knows us is only occasional. We mean by this not the mere knowing us as a fact, or among the facts of the universe, but the scriptural sense of favor and regard, as friend knows friend. Such a recognition of the divine thought as truly meeting and making one with our thought, is but a glimpse now and then, though full of the hope of immortality. In the life to come it will fill the soul; there will be no thought, no emotion, without it; the beatific vision will have neither shadow nor interruption. "Now we see in a mirror darkly, then face to face; now we know piecemeal, (ἐκ μέρους, not in the sense of degree, but of partialness or one-sidedness,) then shall we know even as we are known;" that is, know ourselves as known, as "apprehending Him by whom we are apprehended," as comprehended in the unchanging divine thought, as inseparable from the eternal memory.

Thus rose the hope in the mind of Job, when the bars of the flesh were giving way: "I know that my Redeemer lives." And what was the encouragement of this, unless as containing an

assurance that Job should live also? "The dead shall not praise Thee." The idea of God's eternity, when coupled with that of the total human dissolution, may have in it a pious submission, but it is full of unutterable sadness. "To behold the light;" it is the Hebrew, as it is the classical expression for the joy of life; to see it no more forever; this is the climax of the physical or mundane sorrow. But there is a spiritual grief, a sorrow ineffable, surpassing even this. Hezekiah felt it when he said, "I shall not see Jehovah, even Jehovah* in the land (or world) of the living." To bid farewell to Deity, to lose forever more, as we sink into nothingness, the thought of the Infinite and the Eternal,—this is horror. Better never to have beheld the light, better that we had never been born, than just to open our eyes for a moment upon the grandest of ideas, to look out from our night of storms, to catch a glimpse of the heavens,

Summa sublimis ab unda,

yea, of Him who hath "set his glory *above* the heavens," and then to be submerged in the "blackness of darkness forever!" Hence the power of that pathetic appeal which meets us in some of the desponding passages of the Psalms: *Ne revoces me* in dimidio dierum meorum, "O call me not back" to dust; "O take me not away in the midst of my days; Thy years, O Lord, are through all generations." Hence the power of the Hebrew oath, חי יהוה וחי נפשך, "as lives Jehovah and as lives thy soul," the immutability of the appeal being grounded on the certainty of the one as the certainty and assurance of the other. On any other view it is difficult to account for the strange connection. We are not "to swear by Jerusalem," though it be the "city of the great King;" we are not to swear by the heavens, though presenting to the sense the most striking symbol of eternity; but we are taught to swear by the human soul, let the ancient or modern Sadducee account for it as he can. In this connection, too, we see the exceeding preciousness of those words of Christ, "*Because* I live ye shall live also." This holding fast the idea of mutuality of life between the human and the eter-

* Isaiah xxxviii, 11, לֹא אֶרְאֶה יָהּ יָהּ, *Non videbo Jah, Jah, in terra viventium.* In such a mournful connection as this, there is a peculiar force in the repetition of that divine name which, beyond all the others, expresses the necessity and eternity of the divine being.

nal, it is not from reasoning, it is not from special revelation made to one age more than to another; it is the most natural as it is the most truthful language of a human soul; when a peculiar preparation, in God's providence, has opened the way for its utterance.

"I know that my Redeemer lives." It is not so much an allusion to the resurrection, as some have thought, (either in its later Christian or in its more ancient cyclical or physical idea,) as an image of the Goel or "heavenly friend," the Saviour, whoever he may be, one who is at the same time the near and last of kin, standing by the grave of the departed sufferer, watching over his buried dust, and guarding the poor remains of mortality that lie there waiting for deliverance.

There have been held two extreme views of this passage, both of which must be pronounced erroneous by one who carefully regards the context. According to the one which is styled the evangelical, it is a prediction of Christ and the resurrection. This has come mainly from the mistaken view of the word אחרון, which has been wrongly rendered "the latter day," giving thereby the passage an express prophetic aspect, which it cannot bear, either critically or dogmatically. Another cause has been the translating מבשרי "*in* my flesh," when it has just the opposite sense, "*from* my flesh," "*out of* my flesh," "out of the body shall I see God;" denoting spiritual vision, whether regarded as real or imagined. The other extreme view is that which confines the passage solely to this life and the hopes of this life, making it merely a strong assertion of Job's belief in a return to his former worldly prosperity.

Both are untenable. As a historical prediction of Christ and his "standing upon the earth at the latter day," it is without support, either from the fair meaning of the words, or from anything in the spirit of the context. It would be inconsistent, too, with the dramatic character of this book and the peculiar kind of inspiration which we are compelled to regard as belonging to it. This inspiration is not here to be looked for in the separate sentiments or emotions as separately expressed by the different speakers—for if we ascribe it to one we ascribe it to all—but in the dramatic purpose of the whole composition. And here let us say, by way of explanation, that by the word "dramatic," as in this connection and elsewhere employed, we mean

not any technical or rhetorical sense, such as has been rightly objected to as applied by Lowth and others to this book, but God's teaching us by an extended action, an extended representation of human thoughts, emotions, reasonings, hopes and fears, all subjectively true, fervent, pure, spiritual, forming in fact a spiritual drama most holy, even as its purpose is most elevated and divine. Thus we say the book of Job was inspired; nor is it a secondary or inferior kind of inspiration that is meant. God most sublimely manifests himself, not only through the language, but through the emotions and reasonings—sometimes the fallible reasonings—of men, and all for the production of one grand total impression. And thus is it *all* inspired; it is plenary inspiration; every response, every feeling, every word, metaphor, idiom even, is chosen in heaven, and through these media, carefully brought out for just such a purpose on earth. The language is the product of the thought, the thought is the form of the emotion; the emotion is born of the divine life dwelling in, or some divine power moving, directly or providentially, upon the souls of the human actors, and yet, from the beginning to the end, in perfect harmony with all the laws and processes of the human psychology. It is a representation, a dramatic scene, yet none the less historical, it may be, on that account; for God makes history, and may paint therein what he pleases. Such a picture is this book of Job. There are shades in it, and there must needs be shade to make it a perfect picture, designed to have its perfect effect upon the weak human vision. This perfect effect, this total impression, we do not hesitate to say, is better produced by such a dramatic process than if it had been a book of aphorisms; even perfect aphorisms, or special prophecies. The great truths, too, which are found separately in the particular utterances, are all the more powerfully felt by being thus regarded as coming dramatically out of the emotional surroundings and inward exercises of the speakers. The doctrine of a future life is all the more impressively taught to us by God when he thus brings it out of the human soul itself, putting it in circumstances, or representing it in circumstances, where it thus speaks of itself, while, at the same time, God is most impressively speaking to us through it. To suppose, therefore, a special prophecy here, of some remote historical event, is at war with the whole spirit of the context. It interrupts the

continuity of thought; it makes a break in the emotion; it introduces a new element, which surprises us, and thereby disturbs the emotional effect we are otherwise so naturally prepared to receive. Such predictions we expect when the style is professedly prophetical. They then announce themselves as containing explicit messages from heaven. We know them at once by their נאם יהוה, their "thus saith the Lord." It is another kind of inspiration. It is a direct afflatus, a "burden," as they style it, from without, instead of an experience wrought within. God speaks to the messenger that which through him he speaks to others, though in a great degree, doubtless, using the prophet's own language and the prophet's emotion as the chosen media of communication. But in such books as Job and Ecclesiastes it is wholly subjective. It is throughout human, but none the less the divine in the human. The human finities, the human thoughts, the human reasonings—wrong thoughts sometimes, and false reasonings—all enter into the dramatic representation. They all form parts of that parturitive process, if we may so call it, that superhuman and yet most human process, through which certain truths are born into the world, and brought out in that way of emotional manifestation which gives them a deeper and more lasting power for the soul than any merely didactic or aphoristic announcement. To ground our argument, however, more directly on scripture, we might appeal to the total absence of any reference to such prophecy in the New Testament. Had it been an express prediction of Christ, or of the resurrection in the latter day, it is difficult to believe that it would have been so overlooked. As such express prediction of Christ, there would have been nothing more strikingly Messianic in all the Old Testament.

On the other hand, the post-mortem aspect of the passage seems to be beyond all reasonable doubt. The proofs are so strong that even the rationalistic commentators, and among them one so extreme as Ewald, are returning to it. They are compelled to confess that otherwise they can make nothing out of it. The whole passage has an unearthly aspect. The language is of the simplest kind; it all looks one way; and could it even be forced into some secular interpretation—since every high hope may have its parallel in something lower and narrower—still the whole spirit of the context would revolt

against it. It is quite clear that Job had given up the hope of life. "My breathing is short," he says just before this, Job xvii, 1. Nothing in language can be more graphic: רוחי חבלה, literally, "my breath is bound;" *spiritus meus constrictus;* or, as Gesenius renders it, *vis vitalis exhausta est;* Vulgate, *spiritus meus attenuatur*, "my breath is growing thin." So in the words that follow, ימי נזעכו, "my days are quenched," they are going out like an expiring flame; קברים לי, "the graves are for me." All the language implies utter hopelessness of life. To the same effect the pathetic description of his extremely emaciated state, in the verses immediately preceding this memorable declaration: "My bone hangs by the skin and flesh, and my skin is parted from my teeth." This last expression, especially, denotes the dying state in which Job supposed himself to be. The common rendering, "I am escaped with the skin of my teeth," gives no clear sense, unless, with Umbreit and others, we regard it as a proverbial expression for being *in extremis*. Michaelis and Eichorn regard בשׂמלטה as equivalent to בשׂמרטה, and render it, *deglabror cute dentium*, "I am shorn the skin of my teeth," meaning, the falling out of the beard through disease. But this is extremely far-fetched. Here again we think is another case in which our surest guide is found in adhering to the most usual, the most literal and grammatical rendering of the words. The primary idea of מלט is evidently *smoothness, lubricity*. Hence the two secondary ideas of *making bare*, and of *parting* or *escaping*. Taking the words, then, just as they stand in the Hebrew, without the least change in order, construction, or usual significance, and the clear image comes immediately out, although the idiom may seem to our ears strange and abrupt: "I am parted my skin, my teeth." It is like that frequent Greek idiom wherein the action, state, or passion, though strictly and locally in one member of the body, is predicated of the whole man, or the personality. Thus, instead of saying "my tooth aches," as we do, one said *ἀλγῶ τὸν ὀδόντα*, "I ache, am pained, the tooth." So they said, "I am shorn, the head;" "I wash, or am washed, the hand;" "I am hung, the quiver." In like manner here, "I am parted my skin, my teeth," is the same as saying, "My skin is parted from my teeth;" no longer covers them. It denotes the most extreme state of emaciation, or rather is a sign of the death-struggle

itself, when the lips no longer close upon the teeth, when they are drawn back either through shrinking or convulsion.*

Such was the condition of Job, or such his supposed state. He despairs of life, he has done with earth, he is thinking of his epitaph. The solemn declaration he is about to utter is his testimony *in extremis*, and he wishes it engraven as a memorial, cut deep with an iron pen in the rock forever. He would have it read by all coming generations. There is a strong climax in his impassioned language: "O that my words were written, O that they were written in an inscription,† O that they were engraved (יחקו, a stronger word than the first, ירשמן,) *engraved* in the rock, לעד, *forever*." He has before him no brief period soon to succeed in his earthly history, but is looking down the ages. It is the *siste viator* he would have addressed to those who might come after him in the human pilgrimage. There is clearly in his mind the image of a sepulchral inscription, showing to all who might read it that firm hope of a glorious post-mortem vision which becomes more and more assured to him the nearer he approaches the grave.

In view of such a context, and such a climax, nothing could seem to be more absurd than to interpret this most solemn declaration, having such a monumental aspect, of a mere worldly hope on the part of Job that he should get well and have his sheep and camels back again; to put it at the utmost, that he should be permitted to live a few years longer in this world of change, again to feel bereavement, pain, and sorrow,—again to suffer sickness and emaciation,—again to feel the shortening, panting breath,—again to struggle, and again to die. Was that to be the one great purpose, the dramatic issue, of his sore conflict with the Evil One? Was that the victory, the *ἐπινίκιον*, the song of triumph which he wished cut deep with an iron pen in the rock forever? It is true that Job was thus restored to his former state; but it is just as clear that it was unexpectedly to him. He nowhere else expresses such a hope, while, as we

* The Vulgate gives very much the same idea: *et derelicta sunt tantummodo labia circa dentes meos.* The LXX have rendered it, *ἐν δέρματί μου ἐσάπησαν σάρκες μου, κ. τ. λ.*, which shows that they read רקבה instead of דבקה.

† סֵפֶר, just above, does not mean a book, a volume, either in the ancient or the modern sense. It is strictly a *writing*, *scriptum*, *inscriptum*, in the most primitive sense of writing, which was *cutting* or *engraving: sculpture.* So Greek *γραφή*, and Latin *scribo.*

have said, the whole language and context of this noble passage looks so strongly the other way.

"Will a man serve God for naught?" Will he trust God without any hope of worldly or secular reward? This is the least that can be thought of the problem presented by Satan and accepted by Deity. It must, therefore, be taken as the true dramatic issue of the book; and if so, any expectation by the sufferer of future worldly prosperity would be directly at war with its development. Job is commended not for his general argument—which the commentators, with all their ingenuity, cannot make out to be any more true or pious than that of his erring friends—but for saying at last "*the thing that was right*," which they did not. It was not what he said *of* God, according to the elsewhere very unusual and erroneous interpretation of the preposition בְּ, but what he said *to* God in that memorable declaration, "I have darkened counsel by words without knowledge, I have spoken foolishly things that I knew not; wherefore I abhor it, I reject it,* I repent in dust and ashes." When he uttered that unconditional submission to the divine will and wisdom, the problem was solved; Satan was baffled; it was shown that a man could serve God for the love of it, for the right of it. The drama is brought to its essential close. What follows is simply the divine testimonial to the truthfulness, not of Job's argument, but of his confession. The restoration of his wealth, and even its increase, pleases us as a fitting dramatic accompaniment; but every one who is deeply penetrated with the spirit of the book must feel that the making this recovery of his old estate the governing hope, the great and central issue, would be a direct contradiction of the one proposed in the exordium. It would be too much like the plot of a modern novel. Job was commended for saying *unto* God "the thing that was right." It was first of all this memorable confession, which we find chap. xlii, 2–7; but if there be anything in the general colloquy to which it attaches more than to any other part, it must be this sublime declaration of trust in the

* The common translation is "I abhor myself;" but there is no object or suffix to מָאַסְתִּי. We must find it, therefore, in the context: and this all points to the reasoning which Job now repudiates when he speaks of darkening counsel by words without knowledge, meaning undoubtedly himself. "Wherefore," he says, "I reject it." Abhor is too strong a word.

divine remembrance, and his hope of a vision of glory beyond the grave. It was his strong assurance, all the stronger the nearer he seemed to dissolution, that spiritually, out of the flesh, out of the body, he should see God. Job might, indeed, have very naturally expressed a wish for a temporal restitution; but would it have been with such a studied monumental introduction, and in such a solemn strain of lofty speech, so grand, and yet so strangely mournful in its grandeur? Try to read it with such a feeling of mere secular intent, and how everything collapses! How out of place the high appeal, the solemn prayer for future remembrance, those terms of long endurance, the iron pen, the indelible impression, the deep cutting in the rock forever! How very extravagant all this, if referred merely to some worldly change in Job's circumstances! It is not the language of the worldly thought; that may be strong, but it never stirs to such impassioned vehemence; it is a burst of unworldly emotion; it is the utterance of one who is looking beyond the grave, who regards himself as done with earth and earthly things.

It is admitted by the advocates of the worldly view that the words or style strongly point to the other, or post mortem, sense. Rosenmuller is compelled to give the more spiritual interpretation here, though generally inclined the other way. "There is no reason," he says, "why we should deny that Job cherished that hope which the simple sense of his words brings out." So also Parean, the very learned writer whom we have already mentioned, maintains with great power of eloquence and argument. Among the later commentators, the decided accession of Ewald to the same opinion is most significant. It shows that here, as in similar cases, the dry rationalistic view is too barren; it has not power to keep itself alive. Plausible at first, while the real or supposed difficulties on the other side are prominent and magnified, it takes with the superficial, (especially if there be thrown around it an air of learning,) until the objections come out stronger and stronger. The passage is found to have, on such hypothesis, no meaning really worth contending for, and the more thoughtful interpreters, with all their rationalistic tendencies, are driven back to the more spiritual or unworldly view. Some of our "evangelical commentators," so called, who may have been drawn to the latest interpretations because they

seem more learned, should take a lesson from this. They think they can afford to be liberal; but they should wait and see before they commit themselves. There are those among us who have given up a Messianic psalm, or a recognition of a future life, or have taken pains to show how that which seems to look beyond the grave may possibly be interpreted of some worldly hope, and have found afterward, or might have found, that they need not have done this in order to appear either learned or liberal. The very guides whom they have followed get tired of the utter barrenness of such interpretation; they see arguments for the spiritual view which did not strike them before, or which, perhaps, they could not so well see until they had exhausted the lower and poorer sense, and then they come back, as Ewald does in Job, and Hupfeld in the Psalms, leaving their evangelical imitators to feel that what they have lost in spirituality has not been balanced by either the show or the reality of erudition.

The post-mortem interpretation of the passage has ever been met by what may be called a stereotyped objection. This has a bold front; it seems plausible; it looks learned; but the more it is examined the more is it found to be one of the boldest of assumptions. It may be thus stated in the language of Rosenmuller and Pareau: Negant quidem plures interpretes hominem illo quo hic liber scriptus est tempore talem spem aluisse: "Many interpreters deny that a man could have cherished such a hope at the time* this book was written." But this is a sheer begging the question. Could not have cherished such a hope! And why not? What proof have they of such an assertion, whether they give the book its earlier or later date? Why could not men have cherished such a hope of something unearthly in every age of the world? and what would more naturally bring it out than just such an experience as Job is supposed to have passed through, the very experience which pushes earth away and brings the eternal nigh? The hope of living again has had its origin in suffering; it has grown out of

* At what time? The Rationalist has a double interest against this book of Job, which places him in quite a quandary. It will favor too much the idea of early revelation to give it the great antiquity that is claimed; on the other hand, if brought down to the days of the captivity, there is no reason why there may not have been among the Arabians this notion of a future life, as well as among the Chaldeans and Persians, from whom they will have it that the Jews learned the doctrine.

earth-weariness; through this travail has it been born into the world. In this way has it had its revelation. It has never been dogmatically announced by angel, prophet, or apostle. Christ assumes such a hope as the existing ground of all his teaching. It is, indeed, divinely given; yet thus has God brought it into the world, through the birth-throes of the human spirit. No one age is more capable of it, or less capable of it, than another. Why should this early man of Idumea, with his sublime theism, be thought less ripe for such an idea than our rationalistic interpreter, who claims to be so much more spiritually minded? We believe that Job could have thought it as naturally and held it as firmly, as Umbreit or Noyes. It is no more strange that it should be felt and talked about in an Arabian seance than in the literary and theological conventions of Boston or Berlin: the experience, the aspirations, the most essential thinking of humanity, early or late, is sufficient to develop it; and this we may assert, independent of the historical proof, that such a doctrine of reviviscence, universal and individual, did exist among the Arabians and other Oriental nations in the earliest times.

But to return to our more critical examination of the passage before us. What then was this inscription which Job wished engraven in the rock with iron and lead, for all generations? With the exception of a single word, or phrase, and that not at all affecting the main import, plainer Hebrew is not to be found in the Scriptures. It is a very ancient lithograph, it is surrounded by the moss of ages; but faith has kept the letters fresh, and we can still decipher the hoary monument:

I KNOW THAT MY REDEEMER LIVES;
THE ALL SURVIVING O'ER MY DUST SHALL STAND.
AND WHEN THIS BODY THEY HAVE LAID IN RUINS,
OUT OF MY FLESH SHALL I SEE GOD.
I SHALL BEHOLD HIM AS MY FRIEND,
MINE EYES SHALL SEE HIM A STRANGER NOW NO MORE;
FOR THIS WITHIN ME LONGS MY FAINTING SOUL.

Folly has been written on the rocks as well as on parchment and paper. Learned labor has been employed in deciphering what was utterly worthless when deciphered. But never was

there an inscription* more worthy of critical examination than this. The reader's indulgence is asked for a few remarks on its more peculiar phrases.

"*I know that my Redeemer lives.*" From the primary sense of גאל come the secondary senses of Redeemer in the two aspects, which, to use law language known in ancient as well as in modern times, we may call the civil and the criminal. This primary sense is that of *blood staining*, and we are surprised that Gesenius should give this place to *redemit*, which, whether regarded philologically or historically, is clearly the secondary idea. The other, he says, belongs to the later Hebrew; but his only authority for so sweeping a declaration is to be found in Zeph. iii, 1; Mal. i, 7, 12. Even if there were any force in these few examples, it might easily be explained on the ground that the prophets, in their strong language, might well bring out the primary sense of a word, when the sober historical narrative, though much older, contains only the derivative.

The next of kin avenged his kinsman's murder. By shedding blood he wipes out the moral stain which was supposed to attach to the unavenged homicide. Hence he is called גֹּאֵל, *der Bluträcher*, the avenger of blood, and in this sense, he who ransoms or redeems. The next of kin, also, is the one who redeems the lost estate. The name derived from the first is applied to him in this second office. To use later language, which can all

* The same monumental idea is suggested by the Septuagint translation of the word מִכְתָּם in the title of Psalm xvi. They render it by the Greek word *στηλογραφία*, a monumental pillar-writing, from the primitive sense of כתם, which, like כתב, means to *cut*, *mark*, *engrave*. See Jeremiah ii, 22: נכתם עונך לפני, "Thine iniquity is marked (stamped) before me;" not "stained," as some would render it, but cut deep, "as with a pen of iron and the point of a diamond," Jeremiah xvii, 1. Hence כֶּתֶם, "stamped gold." There is a sublime beauty in the thought, when we thus regard Psalm xvi—on the good warrant, too, of St. Peter's interpretation, Acts ii, 25—as the monumental inscription which, if not actually written, the pious imagination may regard as inscribed on the Saviour's garden sepulcher:

THOU WILT NOT LEAVE MY SOUL IN HADES,
THOU WILT NOT SUFFER THY CHOSEN TO SEE CORRUPTION,
THOU WILT SHOW ME THE WAY OF LIFE,
FULLNESS OF JOY IN THY PRESENCE,
BLISS AT THY RIGHT HAND FOR EVERMORE.

No less entitled to be regarded as a *στηλογραφία* is Psalm xvii, 15:

I SHALL BEHOLD THY FACE IN RIGHTEOUSNESS,
I SHALL BE SATISFIED WHEN I AWAKE IN THY LIKENESS.

be traced to these very ancient ideas, we may say that he acts in the one case as the criminal prosecutor, or *pursuer*, offering his wager of battle; in the other, as the civil plaintiff.* He was called Redeemer in both aspects of the relation. He is called גֹּאֵל, *the blood staining*, either because he righteously sheds the blood of the murderer, or because, as long as he suffers the murder to go unavenged, he himself is morally or ceremonially stained with it. This last idea meets us everywhere in the Greek poetry, and seems but an echo of the voice of all antiquity,

Τί γὰρ λύτρον πεσόντος αἵματος πέδῳ;†

The "blood called from the earth," and its voice must be heard. Thus the idea of the Bluträcher, the דרש דמים, Psalms ix, 3, was the earlier sense, out of which the civil relation afterward grew. It was, too, the more universal, the less peculiarly Jewish, and therefore to be preferred in interpreting an Arabian poem. The great difficulty to a modern mind is the apparent harshness of the idea, or rather of the image, as applied to God, or the divine person, whoever he may be, to whom Job appeals. This led Olshausen to reject it when proposed by Ewald in the interpretation of the passage. But the justness of such criticism depends on the view we take, or the view which is most prominent to us, of the great work of God in the human salvation, whether we give that salvation a lower or a higher sense. If, as some say, all the Bible representations of it are figures, still one is no more to be rejected than the others. Some have more of a forensic, others of a militant aspect. The former are prominent in the New Testament, the latter were more familiar to the ancient mind in its indefinite notion of some great work that was done or doing for man, against a cruel foe who had grievously wronged our race. Is salvation, or atonement, the payment of a debt? so is it a ransom, a redemption proper, a rescue, a mighty deliverance, a glorious vengeance taken on one "who was a murderer from the beginning."

* The Greeks called the plaintiff διώκων, the Pursuer, whether in a civil or a criminal proceeding, and the defendant φεύγων, or the Fleer. Both came from this old idea of the blood-avenger.

† Æschylus, Choëphoræ, 16:

What expiation shall be made
When once the earth has drunk the flowing blood?

We are to interpret this by the help of such ideas as we may suppose most prominent in the age and country of Job: What did he mean by his Goel or redeemer? This word, Redeemer, has now obtained the general sense of friend, or deliverer, or helper in any way, and we think of nothing peculiar about it; but then the etymological images were still fresh, and the word had one or the other of its distinct specific applications. Now the civil sense, or the property-redeeming sense, seems out of the question; that belongs to another and a more Jewish state of society. If it be taken, however, as the blood-avenger, then the question first comes up, who was the cruel enemy, the murderer, the thought of whom would give rise to this strong expression, "I know that my Avenger lives." The true answer to this question settles the difficulty. It was Satan, the Great Adversary, as his Hebrew name implies, and the special enemy of Job, and of all whom Job represents, as is so graphically recorded in the introduction to the drama. It was that great evil being, Ahriman, Eblis, Sheitan, so prominent, under various names, in all the Oriental religions. How strange would it be, that this enemy of man, this cruel "murderer," should so figure in the beginning, in the prologue we might call it, of this spiritual tragedy, and then wholly disappear after the second chapter? We cannot help thinking that many mistakes of interpretation must have come from this strange oversight. It belongs to the essential plan of the drama, regarded merely as a drama, that Job should be supposed to know who his great adversary really is, and there are other places besides that receive from this thought their clearest interpretation.* It needed not for this that he should have been made expressly acquainted with the secret of the opening scene, whether we regard that scene as real or pictorial. He acts and speaks under the old belief, which was from the beginning, that severe bodily disease, especially of such a sudden, malignant, and inexplicable kind, was from the ever-malevolent antagonistic power. This enemy might slay him. So the context clearly shows that Job expected.

* To this we may refer such remarkably severe expressions as we find, Job xvi, 9, 10: "He teareth me in his wrath who *hateth me;* he gnasheth upon me with his teeth; *mine enemy* sharpeneth his eye upon me; they have gaped upon me with their mouths," etc. It seems spoken of fiends, rather than of human opponents; much less of God.

It is a post-mortem triumph he had in view. He had no hope of life. He looked forward to the dark grave and to the gnawing worm. But though he dies, his Goel, his Avenger, his Redeemer lives; whether this mean God himself, or some "mighty one," some *El Gibbor** among the Bené Elohim or Sons of God mentioned in the first chapter; some such heavenly friend as the מלאך מליץ, the *Angelus Intercedens* of xxxiii, 23, or the Witness on high to whom Job appeals, xvi, 19, immediately after that thrilling prayer: "Earth, cover not thou my blood, let there be no place (that is, no resting, no suppression) of my cry."

We do not wish to take from the credit of our criticism by making Job talk too evangelically here. His ideas of salvation were doubtless very obscure and indefinite, even as our own still remain in a great degree. It was not essential to the preciousness of his faith that it should be otherwise. But he knew there was a great strife going on for men; "Satan was seeking to have them, that he might sift them as wheat." The theology of the age, as represented in the introduction of the poem, was sufficient to have taught him this, and dramatic consistency requires that we should regard all that he says and does as under the modification of such ideas.† There was a *μάχη ἀθάνατος*, an "immortal strife," between the powers of good and evil; "there was war in Heaven" for man, "Michael and his angels fighting with Satan and his angels."

This war for man continues beyond the grave. Job, *in*

* The idea of a great deliverance and of a great Deliverer for man appears everywhere in the ancient mythologies. It is universal, though clothed by each age and each nation in a mythical dress corresponding to its peculiar genius and culture. It is a warlike hero, a reforming hero, or a pure spiritual hero; it has every shade, from the Greek Hercules to the Jewish and Christian Messiah. But the heroic idea inseparable from the greatness of the work he is to do is never lost. He is "a warrior traveling in the greatness of his strength;" he is an "avenger;" he has "dyed garments;" his "vesture is stained with blood;" he "speaks in righteousness, mighty to save," *propugnator ad salvandum*. He is solitary in his great work; "he treads the wine-press alone, and of the people there is none with him." Is the Bible idea merely a development of the cosmical, or are all these scattered inconsistent myths but fragments of some revealed primitive truth? This is the question for this critical age.

† It is thus we may justly lay aside all questions about the age of Job, or the historical theology of the time our external criticism would assign to him. We have no right to go thus out of the record. We must suppose the writer to mean to be, and actually to be, consistent. The only question of criticism, then, is, What is the theology of the poem as a whole, introduction and all?

extremis, is brought to see the great fact, as he had not seen it before. Whether a vision or a deep soul-assurance, he wishes now to leave it as his last and clearest testimony to men: his God, his Avenger, his Redeemer, his Near of kin, would stand by his sleeping dust, would guard it as something of most precious *remembrance;* while he himself, out of the flesh, would awake to a vision of God, "beholding his face in righteousness," that face never more to be estranged or averted from him, the face no longer of a seeming adversary but of an everlasting friend. The language is stronger and more triumphant than that of chapter xiv, 13–15. There it was a hope just rising out of despondency; here it is an exulting faith, though still a faith in the indefinite and unknown. His monumental creed is far from being dogmatically precise, but it rests firmly on three main articles:

His Redeemer lives;

His death shall be avenged;

Out of the body shall he see God.

אחרון. This word does not mean the latter day, unless joined with some word of time or duration, as in the phrase לדור אחרון, Psalms xlviii, 14; lxxviii, 4, etc.; or לימים אחרון, Prov. xxxi, 25; and then it is ever preceded by a preposition. When standing alone it is a personal epithet, and denotes here "the last one," either in the superlative degree, or in the comparative sense of one who remains after another; a survivor. Thus God is called אחרון, Isa. xliv, 6, the Great Survivor, who lives on while all things are flowing and passing away. Here it is an adjective, used substantively, and having its force in connection with גאל. There were different degrees of this relation; thus Boaz says, Ruth iii, 12, "I am Goel, but there is a Goel nearer than I;" and again, Ruth iv, 4, "There is no one beside thee to redeem, but I who am *after thee*," מאחריך, or thy Aharon. But here the next of kin and the last of kin are one and the same. The idea of kinsmanship, as well as survivorship, must be maintained, or the whole force and propriety of the peculiar language are lost. And for this we need not regard Job as specially evangelical or prophetic. Theanthropy, in some form, is a main underlying element of all the old religions, east or west. Especially was it an Oriental dogma. The great Deliverer of humanity was to be בן אדם, *Son of man*, and at the

same time one of the *Bené Elohim*, or chief among the Sons of God. As Job is losing sight of earth, this ancient idea of One who is fighting the battle of humanity comes more vividly and significantly before him, though there is evidence that the same divine friend is alluded to in other passages, as in chap. xvi, 19, where he says, "Lo, my Witness is in the Heavens, and my Attestor is in the heights."* Let one but think of the opening scenery of the book, the solemn *inquest* held on high, the Bené Elohim summoned to stand before God as on some great day of assize, the bold Accuser coming among them and demanding that the issue of Job be brought to its decision; let the reader keep this vividly before his mind, as the author of the book certainly meant he should, and there is thrown a flood of light on this impassioned appeal. The words עֵד and שָׂהֵד are both judicial; but the latter, besides its sense of witness, has also that of a party, either as advocate or prosecutor. Job's *Sahed* here, in chapter xvi, is the one who is defending him, either forensically or militantly, or in both ways, as they were combined in ancient judicial proceedings. The שָׂהֵד, the Attestor, means also the Avenger; and just in this manner is the same Arabic word شاهد applied to the *Attesting Angel* on the day of judgment; for an example of which see Koran, Surat xi, 21.

Job says "*my* Redeemer," my next of kin; but the whole spirit of the solemn passage shows that it must have a wider significance. It is the universal Goel, the next of kin to humanity. The Redeemer is regarded as standing in some mysterious relation to us all, as "the last man" of the family, who stands over the dust of dying generations, and who will avenge our cause against the cruel murderer of our race.

A kindred idea entered prominently into the patristic view of the atonement. It was the usual interpretation of the numerous scriptural figures of ransom or redemption. It was rescue rather than purchase; it had more of the militant than of the civil or forensic sense. We were "the prey of the terrible

* It may be soundly urged in support of this that without the Masoretic punctuation the words which immediately follow (Job xvi, 20) may be rendered "My interpreter," or "my intercessor is my friend," מליצי רעי, which calls to mind at once the מלאך מליץ, or *angelus intercedens*, as Gesenius renders it, of Job xxxiii, 23: "Angelus interpres intercedens pro homine apud Deum." The translation of Hieronymus shows that he took the same view of the word.

one," the "lawful captive of the mighty." Isaiah xlix, 25. Satan had a kind of right to us; it was the *jus belli*, and Christ redeems us by the wager of battle. He hath not simply bought us off, but by the strong arm hath he *disseized* the tyrant. It is the thought that John Bunyan has so graphically carried out in his epic of "The Holy War." Our El Gibbor, our hero champion, "hath poured out his soul unto death, and divided the spoil with the strong." Isaiah liii, 12. The Fathers found much of the same imagery in passages of the New Testament which are now greatly overlooked in consequence of the exclusive use of the forensic interpretation.

Thus Col. i, 13, "Who hath *rescued* us from the powers of darkness." There is used there the strong Homeric word ἐῤῥύσατο. So Col. ii, 15, "Having *spoiled* principalities and powers." In 1 John iii, 8, it is expressly said to be the work of the Redeemer, ἵνα λύσῃ, that he might "*unbind* the works of the devil," that is, set free his captives; and in this sense he is called ὁ Ῥυόμενος, Rom. xi, 26; "There shall come forth from Sion the Deliverer." This militant view of the Redeemer's work is sneered at by some modern theologians. It has been styled "a specimen of patristic exegesis," but there is in it more power of emotion, more, too, of the fundamental truth of the great mystery of redemption, than in all those logical schemes of the atonement, whether we may call them the New School governmental or the Old School arithmetical, in which the polemics of our age have been so fruitful. Our forensic view is doubtless better adapted to formal articles of faith; the other aspect has been more prominent in the hymns and liturgies of the Church, both ancient and modern. Neither is complete without the other; and it is no heresy, we trust, to say that both may fall short of that ineffable truth which the light of eternity can alone make fully known to the soul. We have no right, therefore, to charge this early interpretation with being "merely figurative," or "affected by the fanciful notions of the times." It was drawn from scriptural passages as strong, as clear, as any of the proof-texts that are now attached to our catechisms.

"*O'er the dust.*" The word עפר may be rendered in some few places *the earth*, generally; but here everything points to the literal sense, used as a figurative synonym for the material

out of which Scripture tells us man was made, and to which he must return. Our own language here, the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, are all alike: "Dust to dust, earth to earth;" almost the very words of the Greek funeral strain, *εἰς γῆν φέροντες γῆν*; Pulvis et umbra sumus, "He remembers that we are dust;" "who am but dust and ashes," Gen. xvii, 27; Job xxx, 19; שֹׁכְנֵי עָפָר, "dwellers in dust," Isaiah xxvi, 19, Habitantes in pulvere. So the dead are most expressively styled in the Bible, כל ירדי עפר, "all who go down to dust," Descendentes in pulverem, Psalm xxii, 30. So Jarchi, referring to Isa. xxvi, 19, most impressively interprets* עפר here as the dust of all who have perished, over which stands "the last man," the great Survivor and Avenger. We think of Shakspeare's† "dusty death," which is but a translation of the Psalmist's language;‡ or there comes to mind Homer's oft repeated

πολλ' ἔθνεα νεκρῶν·

"The many nations of the dead." The conception seems too Miltonic for Jarchi, but there is something in this grand passage which would make even a frigid rabbi feel that the most solemn, the most emotional, must be here the truest interpretation.

"*And when this body they have laid in ruins*," or, in the precise order of the words, "And after my skin they devour these." This clause has been the chief critical difficulty of the passage. What is meant by זאת, *these?* It is commonly explained as *dictio demonstrativa*, language helped out by bodily action. Among examples given are John ii, 19, "Destroy this temple," where Christ is supposed to point to his body; Matt. xvi, 18, "Upon *this* rock." Under this head, too, some would bring 1 Cor. xv, 53, *τὸ φθαρτὸν τοῦτο*, "this corruptible," of which Tertullian says (Contra Marcion, v,) Tenens utique carnem suam dicebat Apostolus. And so it is said of the

* Rosenmuller represents Jarchi as giving to עפר the sense of earth generally. But this is at war with his thought. If he means the earth at all, it is as the dust of the dead collectively; the earth made up of the dust of all who have died.

† Macbeth, act v, scene 5:

> And all our yesterdays have lighted fools
> The way to *dusty death*.
>
> — *εἰς νεκρῶν κόνιν·*
>
> To the dust of the dead.

‡ Psa. xxii, 16: לעפר מות תשפתני, "in the dust of death thou wilt lay me down;" Ad pulverem mortis me reponeS.

ancient recitation of the Apostles' Creed, that when they came to the clause, Credo carnis resurrectionem, it was recited with a gesture, the hand pointing to the body, as though each one declared for himself, "I believe in the resurrection of *this* body." See Noldius, Concord Heb. Part., note 81. In like manner Job is supposed to make a gesture, as of commiseration or contempt, instead of mentioning the word. It is as though he had said, "This poor body, this miserable remnant." The interpretation is plausible; but we are inclined to take the more simple view of Gesenius, who regards it as merely an unusual specimen of Hebrew inversion, to be rendered as if the words stood in the order ואחר נקפו עורי זאת, "after they have devoured this skin of mine," skin being put for the whole body or carcass. The slight though unusual inversion may be accounted for from the impassioned style in which Job speaks. The thought of the suffering body, and the emotion of which the soul is full, not only draws the object before the verb, but separates it from its demonstrative pronoun. The objection on the score of gender has no weight; it is obviated by one of the most common licenses of the Hebrew language. There has been some discussion about the word נקפו; but its close relation to נגף, to smite, and נקב, to perforate, as well as the corresponding Arabic root, leave no doubt as to its meaning. No word could better express decomposition or *breaking up*, whether by worms or any other agent.

But what is the subject of נקפו? The common mode is to supply the word *worms*. The grammarians think they settle the difficulty by gravely saying that it is Impersonale quiddam loquendi genus. They make a grammatical canon; they call it "the active used for the passive," and inquire no further. We find this wise explanation in the "Sacred Philology" of Glassius, (p. 817,) and it is repeated by Winer and Gesenius. But what do we gain by it? There is a reason for everything in language, as well as in nature; and the question comes back, why this *usus loquendi;* why the active for the passive, if that be a true view of the matter; and why is it so used here? Why is it in most cases, too, the third person plural instead of singular? It will be found, we think, that such a mode of speech occurs more or less in all languages. There are two cases in which we may expect to find it. Either there is something

about the agent or agents terrible, revolting, painful, and so we do not wish to mention it; or it is so well known that there is no need to mention it; or both reasons may concur, as they are closely related to each other. And so, in such cases, we simply say *they*, the hearers or readers well knowing who we mean by *they*, and the whole effect the stronger and the more emotional from the aposiopesis, or speaking silence.

Thus, Luke xii, 20, it is said to the foolish man who told his soul to eat and drink, ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ τὴν ψυχήν σου ἀπαίτουσι, "this night will *they* demand thy soul of thee." Our translators have rendered it passively, but they had better have given it as it stands, and left the reader to supply in his own mind the meaning of the awe-inspiring *they*, the fearful unmentioned agent: "they demand thy soul," "they exact it," as a matter of contract or vengeance, as the Peschito Syriac has it, and as is also implied in the Greek ἀπαίτουσι, "they are coming for thee." But who are *they?* The devils, said all the early interpreters, whom the man has served, and who come after his soul as having a certain claim of right. And we have no doubt that such is the true filling up of the awful passage. It was in accordance with the Jewish opinion at the time; and we make bold to say it has its sanction far back in the Old Testament writings. Thus Psalm xlix, 15, כצאן שאול שתו, "Like sheep *they* drive them (or violently put them) into Sheol." Here, too, the verb is rendered passively, "like sheep they are laid in the grave," but every Hebrew scholar feels that there is a force put upon the word. Let the reader study the remarkable language that follows. "Death shall feed them,"* that is, Death shall be their shepherd, "and the just shall have dominion over them in the morning," "but God will deliver my soul from the hand of Sheol." The whole context shows here that same fearful image of some unmentioned and unmentionable agents coming for the wicked, or that have power over the wicked in the dread hour of death, and from whom the just are saved. Compare Psalm ix, 18: "The wicked shall be turned

* Not "shall feed on them." It is the image of a ruler, or tyrant, such as the Hebrew verb רעה and the Greek ποιμαίνω (LXX) are used to express. It is in striking contrast with the Good Shepherd, Psalm xxiii, 4, who conducts the souls of the righteous through the *Terra Umbrarum*. Death, too, is evidently a personification here of all that comes after death; as in Rev. vi, 8; xx, 13, 14, Death and Hades (Sheol) are in like manner treated as persons.

back to Sheol," ישובי לשאולה. But most resembling it is Prov. xiv, 32: "The wicked is *driven away* (ירדחה) in his wickedness, while the righteous hath hope in his death." It is the same image Psa. xxxv, 5: "Their way shall be dark, and the angel of the Lord pursuing," דֹּחֶה. So also Job xviii, 18, "They drive him (rendered, he is driven) from light to darkness, יְהֻדְּפֻהוּ; they chase him, ינדדהו, out of the world." This thought, too, sheds a gloomy light on the terrific passage just preceding, xviii, 11: "On all sides they frighten him with terrors; they start him to his feet." The subject of these masculine verbs may be the feminine בלהות, but it is more expressively, as well as more grammatically, these unnamed ones that we elsewhere find. This is made almost certain by the close, verse 14, where the whole of this fearful power is expressed collectively by the feminine (neuter) pronoun תצעידהו למלך בלהות, "it drives him (makes him descend) to the King of Terrors." Why this dread title, unless there is reference to some post-mortem fear? Thus Jarchi explains verse 11; the terrors, ברהות, are the שדים, the devils, and מלך בלהות, verse 14, is מלך שדים, the king of the devils; which was also the early interpretation of the Chaldee Targum.* In other places, too, Job seems to ascribe his sufferings to invisible tormentors whom he will not name. Thus, xvii, 12, "*They* make night my day;" or still more strikingly, vii, 3, "Nights of sorrow they appoint unto me," מִנּוּ. The intensely active, or piel, form of this verb, is the furthest removed from any deponent or impersonal sense; and if impersonal, or a vailing of the agent, then the question returns, Why so here?

Under this peculiar idiom, of the unmentioned agent, would we bring the present passage. The ellipsis may be filled with the word *worms*, but the strong and unusual idiom would seem to point to something still more fearful, of which the speaker would avoid the express mention, even as the Greeks shuddered to speak the real name of the Ερινύες, or Furies. In other words, may we not regard Job as having in mind here his hidden enemies, the fiends, or the ministers of Satan? It was their

* For a beautiful example of the other form of this idiom see Isaiah lx, 11: יָמֻדוּ שְׁעָרַיִךְ, rendered, "Thy gates are open continually." Literally, "*They* keep open thy gates forever, day and night." The unmentioned agents, thus left to the imagination, are the glorious warders of the New Jerusalem.

work, this utter destruction of his poor body. Its decomposition in the grave was only the consummation of this diabolical achievement. Their Chief had threatened it. He had challenged God to this issue. He had predicted Job's failure. "Skin for skin," body for body, that is, everything, will a man give for the preservation of his worldly life. Does not, then, dramatic propriety require that we should connect this scene in the exordium with Job's *ἐπινίκιον*, or monumental song of victory? Let them destroy it, break it up, lay it wholly in ruins; they have not conquered yet. "Out of my flesh shall I see God;" "I shall be satisfied when I behold his face in righteousness."

"*Out of my flesh shall I see God.*" The rendering מבשרי, "in my flesh," cannot be justified. It is a negative expression, or rather a privative. אין בשר, or לא בשר, would be pure negations, like our word *incorporeal*, or the Greek *ἀσώματος*, *ἄσαρκος*, that which never had a body or was incapable of having a body. On the other hand, מבשר, with מ privative, would correspond to *ἐκτὸς τοῦ σώματος*, 2 Cor. xii, 2; or *ἐκ τοῦ σώματος*, 2 Cor. v, 6, 8, which is the opposite of *ἐν σώματι* in the same passage. It would hence mean one who had been stripped of the body, or gone out of the body, as Paul, 2 Cor. xii, 2: "Whether *in* the body or *out* of the body, I cannot tell."

"*Out of my flesh shall I see God.*" This "seeing God" must be interpreted of *appearing* in the divine presence, accompanied by some unusual sense of it, rather than of a visual objective beholding of Him whom Scripture represents as "dwelling in light unapproachable." 1 Tim. i, 16. God's presence in the soul, and the soul's presence to God; in their highest and most intense spirituality, may they not be one and the same thing? "I shall behold thy face in righteousness; I shall be satisfied when I awake in thy likeness," or, "when thine image awakes." May we not approach the ineffable idea by regarding these as the divine and human aspects of the same blissful subjective state? Compare Psalm xvii, 15 with the inverse construction, Psalm xi, 7: "His countenance doth behold the upright." The key passage is the formula of blessing, Num. vi, 26: "The Lord make his face to shine upon you." Compare Psalm lxxxix, 6; cxl, 15; xxvi, 8; above all, Psalm iv, 7: "Lift thou upon us, O Lord, the light of thy countenance." Long familiarity with

the devotional style of the Scriptures makes us insensible to the wonderful beauty that is in these words. The origin of language so peculiar to the Bible, and so unknown to all other religions, may be found in the commandment, Exod. xxiii, 17, that "three times in the year the children of Israel should appear before God." The verb is יֵרָאֶה, passive in form, but either passive or deponent in meaning. It may grammatically mean to see God, or to be seen of him. So the Niphal infinitive of this verb of vision לֵרָאוֹת, contracted for לְהֵרָאוֹת, expresses both ideas as denoting mutual or reciprocal action, like the Greek ὄφθη. It is as though the vivid consciousness of actually being in the immediate divine presence were in some sense, and that a most important sense, a beholding, a "knowing as we are known," or more truly, a knowing as being known.

"*Mine eye shall see him a stranger now no more.*" Gesenius well gives it here, *oculi mei videbunt et non tanquam adversarium;* Umbreit, in the same way, *doch nicht als Gegner.* This corresponds well to the true interpretation of לִי in the previous member of the parallelism: "*for me,*" on my side; the wrath all gone, the face no longer averted, even all seeming opposition done away forever.

"*Within me faints my longing soul.*" The verb כלה here must have the same sense as in Psalm lxxxiv, 3; כָּלְתָה נַפְשִׁי, "Longs my soul, yea, faints." The order of the senses are, *completion, exhaustion, fainting, overpowering desire.* As the Greeks say, οἴχομαι — καρδία οἴχεται — "My heart is gone." So the Vulgate, *deficit anima mea.* The reins are so called כִּלְיוֹת, from the same root, as being the supposed seat of this affection. The intensity of feeling denoted in this play of words cannot be better given than by a similar repetition in the line of a well known hymn:

I am longing, O I'm longing for the sight.

So Ewald, *O ich vergehe;* I am lost in the overpowering vision.

It is a spiritual beholding; it belongs at all events to a different state of being than the present life. The whole context of this remarkable passage, the solemn earnestness of its style, the mournful sublimity of its monumental aspect, its dramatic consistency, are all in harmony with such a conclusion. To one who views it from such a stand-point, the wonder is that even the coldest critic should ever have adopted any other opinion.

Art. III.—THE PACIFIC RAILROAD.

The thirteen colonies which were converted into states by the Revolution occupied only a narrow strip of land along the Atlantic, and the people had not yet even looked over the Alleghanies into that wide and fertile valley through which sweeps the ever-rolling tide of the Father of Waters. But the return of peace, and with it the establishment of our independence, brought a flood of immigration from the old world, which soon began to crowd through the mountain passes and make enterprising excursions into the rich slopes beyond. But still the idea of our future greatness, if it dawned at all, dawned only on the loftiest minds. The Pacific was a far-off sea, and a vast unexplored region stretched darkly between.

The coast of California and Oregon had been seen in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and some general idea of its geography, and of the character of its savage inhabitants, existed; but it was not till Captain Robert Gray, of Boston, entered the Columbia River, in 1792, and baptized it with the name of his ship, that any interest was attached to this distant region. On his return he gave a glowing account of his discoveries, and especially of the majestic river which he had in part explored, which awakened a desire in many of our people that the vast region stretching westward from the United States to the wide waters of the Pacific might become our property.

The comprehensive mind of Jefferson caught strongly at this idea; and after his accession to the presidency he organized an expedition, which, under the guidance of Captains Lewis and Clark, crossed the mountains in 1804 and 1805, and made the explorations and discoveries with which their names have since been connected. These discoveries furnished grounds for the claim which our government made to the country, and under which they continued to hold it. It was under this claim that the Missouri Fur Company sent out trappers and traders in 1808, and that John Jacob Astor, in 1811, as the leading mind of the American Fur Company, established a trading post at Astoria, near the mouth of the Columbia.

But the territory was also claimed by Great Britain; and the

North-west Fur Company and the Hudson's Bay Fur Company, both British organizations, kept trappers and traders there, and had a post at Fort Vancouver, above Astoria, on the Columbia. As yet, however, the country was of too little value to make these conflicting claims of much consequence. In 1839, emigration began to flow toward Oregon from the states, increasing gradually, till in 1845 it reached several hundreds. Meantime, the importance of the country to our government began to be understood, and negotiations were opened for establishing our claims and settling the line of boundary between us and Great Britain. For some time the dispute wore a threatening aspect, and the people were clamorous for "fifty-four-forty or fight;" but in this case, as in many others, "discretion" was found to be "the better part of valor," and the line was finally fixed, in 1846; at 49° north latitude, giving us the undisputed title to the whole country through to the Pacific, between that line and the domains of Mexico.

The war with Mexico, which so illustrated the energy and power of our government, ended in the cession of California at the treaty of peace in February, 1848; and the gold discoveries, which took place in the same month, attracted adventurers, miners, and traders from the states in unprecedented numbers, so that the newly-acquired territory was soon swarming with population, and the quiet and saintly bay of Francisco was unexpectedly fretted with the meddlesome wheels of the busy steamship, and the "white wings" and crooked ways of commerce.

But the project of a railroad from the states on the Atlantic to our possessions on the Pacific did not wait for these stirring events. Our dispute with Great Britain in regard to boundary was not yet settled when, in 1846, Asa Whitney began to proclaim the feasibility and great prospective advantages of a road across the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean. He contended that such a road would not only develop our resources and populate our Pacific possessions, but would change the trade of the world, as it would be the most direct route to the East Indies, and would make New York, instead of London, the distributor of the world's wealth.

But besides showing the feasibility and advantages of such a road, he brought forward a well-matured plan for its construc-

tion, which he brought before the public in addresses and essays, and which has been the basis of all subsequent projects. He proposed to undertake the work himself, if Congress would grant him the authority; and all that he asked was a portion of the lands that were to be benefited by its construction. He maintained his full ability to prosecute the work by the sale of the public lands alone, and asked for that purpose a grant of alternate sections for a width of sixty miles; that is to say, he proposed that on each side of the track, for thirty miles, the public lands should be surveyed and divided into the usual plots of one square mile, and he would take every alternate one for the construction of the road, and leave the remaining alternate one in the hands of the government, to double or triple its value as the road came into use. He acted on the presumption that the country would be developed as the work progressed; that a crowd of emigrants would follow in the line of construction; that thus a ready market would be opened for the lands donated by the government; and that, by a fair amount of financiering ability, the means for the work would be provided by the realization of the values which it would create.

In Mr. Whitney's plan, Prairie du Chien, on the Mississippi, was to be the starting point; the South Pass, the passage of the Rocky Mountains; and some point on Vancouver's Sound the terminus. San Francisco was not then the mercantile center that it has since become, but its splendid harbor made it a point of importance, and he proposed to send down a branch to catch its rising trade.

Mr. Whitney continued to agitate his great scheme diligently for about four years, when he withdrew from public attention. But the impression which he had made was not effaced. He had spoken to large bodies of intelligent citizens, to state legislatures and members of Congress, calling attention to the feasibility of the project, its immense advantage to commerce, its influence on the growth and prosperity of the country, its use in military operations, etc.; and he had incidentally alluded to the hidden mineral wealth which it would expose, the character of the climate, the soil, the plains, the mountains, the rivers, the water power, and the effect it would have on the great current of trade, which, in his view, was to sweep westward and pour the riches of the Indies over his road into the commercial lap of

New York. These speeches had been seized on by the public press and circulated widely through the country, so that popular attention was directed to the subject, and the conviction became very general that the road ought to be made.

The great state of Missouri, through the center of which flows, from the distant base of the Rocky Mountains, one of the largest navigable rivers of the world, and which has in its embrace one of the chief commercial cities of the West, was evidently to be greatly advantaged by the construction of this road; and some of its principal citizens began to feel a great interest in Mr. Whitney's project. Colonel Thomas H. Benton, then in the United States Senate, became an earnest advocate of the road, and gave it the benefit of his large and comprehensive intellect. But more important still was the aid of his son-in-law, the gallant and enterprising Frémont.

Colonel John C. Frémont, then of the United States army, had been much employed in surveys and explorations under the government, and in 1842 had projected a geographical survey of the entire territory between the Missouri River and the Pacific Ocean. The feasibility of an overland communication between the two sides of the continent was a leading idea in his plan of exploration. In pursuance of this plan he was directed by the War Department to explore the Rocky Mountains and make a careful examination of the South Pass. He accordingly started from the mouth of the Kansas River in May, and proceeded up the Platte, among hostile bands of Indians, and after carefully examining the pass, and finding it an easy passage through the lofty range, he continued his explorations among the Wind River Mountains, and ascended the highest peak, now called Frémont's Peak, which he found to be 13,750 feet above the level of the sea.

He returned to his starting-place in October, without reaching the Pacific; but the next year traversed the plains again, and continued his explorations in the then unknown region between the Rocky Mountains and the ocean beyond. He was the first to give an accurate account of the Great Salt Lake, and of the upper tributaries of the Columbia; and after descending as far as Fort Vancouver set out on his return, and got entangled in deep snows, suffering incredible hardships, and losing a large part of his animals. He returned across the country

further south, to the great lake, and thence through the South Pass; reaching home after an absence of eighteen months.

In 1845 he set out on a third expedition, and was engaged in his explorations on the west side of the mountains when the war with Mexico broke out. He at once forsook his peaceful pursuit, and entered zealously into the campaign. He was active and successful in his military operations, and was appointed military governor of California; but returned to the states under arrest, by the authority of General Kearney, and after the investigation of his public conduct by a court-martial he resigned his commission.

He was now out of employment, and being more familiar with this region of country than any other living man, he was struck at once with the feasibility and importance of the projected road, and determined to conduct an expedition, at his own expense, along the plains and through the mountains, for the purpose of examining the country with a special reference to its location.

He started October 14, 1848, and took a new route, along the upper waters of the Rio Grande, through the country of the Utahs, Apaches, Camanches, etc.; and was again caught in the snows of the mountains, losing all his animals and one third of his men. The country is familiar with the history of this disastrous expedition, which is chiefly remarkable for illustrating the heroism and perseverance of its gallant leader. It is sufficient for our purpose that he satisfied himself of the entire practicability of the project, and, as he took up his residence in California, had a new interest in the construction of the road.

The careful explorations of Colonel Frémont threw a great deal of light on the physical geography of this vast region, called attention to its importance as a part of our country, and greatly advanced the interests of the projected road. Meantime, Congress began to act on the subject; and in 1853, five years after the acquisition of California, took the first earnest step toward an act for its construction.

In March of that year a bill passed both houses appropriating a hundred and fifty thousand dollars to provide for a thorough survey of the country, with special reference to the location of a road. The execution of the survey was left to the War Department; and in the course of the spring six parties were organized and sent forward, with instructions to examine the

country through a breadth of one thousand miles. The original plan was to survey for three routes, but the materials gathered furnished the data for five. The surveying parties were each furnished with a very complete outfit; and their instructions called not only for facts in reference to the road, but to the topography of the country, its elevation above the sea, its climate, its botany, its geology, and its natural history.

The first of the six parties examined the northern route, along the parallels of 47° and 49°. It was under the command of Governor Isaac J. Stevens, a civilian, who had, however, been formerly in the United States army. He subdivided his party into four companies. The first, under his own command, began at St. Paul, and went thence up the Missouri (48° north) to the mouth of White Earth River, and crossed the prairies through which the Missouri meanders to the Rocky Mountains, where some time was spent in an examination of the passes. The second, under Captain M'Clelland, began on the Columbia, at Fort Vancouver, and made its way through the Cascade range to meet Governor Stevens in the mountains. Of the two remaining companies, one, under Lieutenant Donelson, made an examination of the Missouri River, from its mouth to the Yellowstone, where it joined Stevens; and the other, under Lieutenant Saxton, went through the Bitter Root Valley.

The second party started from Westport, Missouri, and followed pretty nearly the line of the 38th and 39th parallels. It was under the command of Captain Gunnison, of the United States army. It was so unfortunate as to encounter the hostility of the Indians, and Captain Gunnison and several of his company were murdered. The command devolved on Lieutenant Beckwith, who, under orders from Washington, continued the exploration from Salt Lake, westward, a little further north, on the line of the 41st parallel.

The third party started at Fort Smith, and followed in the sweep of the 35th parallel. It was under the command of Captain Whipple, of the United States army, and took the valley of the Canadian River and Anton Chico to Albuquerque; thence it proceeded westward through the valley of Colorado Chiquito, the valley of Bill Williams's Fork, the valley of the Mohave, and the Cajon Pass to San Pedro on the Pacific.

The fourth party was fitted out at San Francisco, and went

up the San Joaquin and Tulare rivers to explore the region about Walker's, and the Tijon and other passes, and portions of the Mohave and Colorado rivers. It was under the command of Lieutenant Williamson, U. S. A.

The fifth party took the western portion of the route along the 32d parallel, and was commanded by Lieutenant Park, U. S. A. It proceeded by way of Warner's ranch to Fort Yuma, up the Gila, and by Tueson to El Paso.

The sixth party took the eastern portion of the same route, and was commanded by Captain Pope, U. S. A. It started at El Paso, and went in a pretty direct line thence eastward to Preston, on the Red River.

The reports of these several parties were laid before Congress, and printed, with handsome illustrations, maps, and profiles; and, together with others of a subsequent date, made thirteen quarto volumes, which will long remain the standard authority for exact information on the character of this vast and interesting region. They contained, besides important facts, some suggestions, and intimated some doubts; and to solve the doubts and investigate the suggestions, Congress provided for another survey, and appropriated for the purpose a hundred and fifty thousand dollars more, besides paying a deficiency of forty thousand dollars on the former survey.

This additional appropriation seems to have been used by the Secretary of War (Mr. Jefferson Davis, now the leading spirit of the great rebellion) to prove the superiority of a southern over a northern route. Three parties were organized; but they were mostly employed in solving suggestions and trying expériments on the line indicated by the 32d parallel, which was the favorite. One, under Lieutenant Park, examined certain lines suggested in his former report, and surveyed a new connection with San Francisco, by way of Los Angelos and the Salinas River. Another, probably to cover the real designs of the survey, was sent, under Lieutenants Williamson and Abbott, to inquire into the practicability of bringing down a branch from some northern terminus to San Francisco; and the third, under Captain Pope, was instructed to operate along the barren region through which the secretary wanted to push the road, to see if he could find water for its purposes by means of artesian wells.

All the surveys were, in due time, submitted by the Secretary of War to Captain Humphreys, who was charged with the duty of making a condensed statement of the most important results which the investigation had developed. He made an elaborate report, of great interest, the conclusions of which we must state very briefly.

1. The northern route had the advantage of a low profile, easy grades, small amount of ascent and descent, a large portion of rich country, abundantly watered, and, if terminated at Vancouver on the Columbia, would only require a length of 1864 miles. But it would have to pass through a rough, mountainous region for 550 miles, would require a long tunnel at a high elevation, would be liable to long winters and heavy snows, and would be subject to damage from freshets along the swift currents of the Bitter Root and Columbia Rivers. To continue the road to San Francisco would require a length of 2,025 miles, and the cost was estimated, in round numbers, at $141,000,000. The highest elevation in crossing the mountains was found to be 6,044 feet above the sea, and the tunnel would be at an elevation of 5,219 feet. The same route to Vancouver, on the Columbia, would cost $131,000,000.

2. The second route noted, commonly known as the central route, is indicated by the 41st and 42d parallels. Its length, calculated from Council Bluffs, on the Missouri, by the way of the South Pass, to Benicia, on the Bay of San Francisco, is 2,032 miles, and the estimated cost $116,000,000. It would cross the mountains without a tunnel, and the highest elevation would be 8,373 feet. The grades are similar to those of the northern route, and it must also encounter long winters and heavy snows; but it will not be liable, in the same degree, to damage by freshets, and it has the advantage of being in the line of greatest travel, of connecting directly the two important points of St. Louis and San Francisco, and of passing through the region already populated by the Mormon settlements.

3. The route along the 38th and 39th parallels, beginning at Westport, Missouri, would be through the Coo-che-to-pah and Tah-ee-chay-pah passes, and would reach San Francisco in a course of 2,080 miles. It would require a tunnel at the lofty elevation of 9,540 feet, and its highest point would be 10,032 feet above the sea. This route is deemed impracticable, and no

cost for it is named. The same route through the Madeline Pass to Benicia is still longer, being 2,290 miles, and is also set down as impracticable.

4. The route from Fort Smith along the 35th parallel is longer than the northern or central routes, being 2,096 miles; but there is no tunnel, and the mountain region is not so hard. The highest point of elevation in crossing the mountains is 7,550 feet, and the estimated cost is $106,000,000. The same route, diverted to San Pedro instead of being carried to San Francisco, would be shorter, (1,820 miles,) but would require a tunnel at the height of 4,179 feet, and would cost $92,000,000.

5. The route along the 32d parallel, from Fulton to the Pacific Ocean, and thence along the coast to San Francisco, would be 2,024 miles, the highest point 5,717 feet, and the cost, $90,000,000. It would require no tunnel. The same route from Fulton to San Pedro is 1,598 miles, and the estimated cost $68,000,000. To San Diego it would be 1,536 miles, and the cost about the same.

These southern routes are not on the line of commercial activity, and pass through a country not capable of large agricultural development. But it has been stoutly maintained that the opening of a southern road would reveal vast mineral treasures, and that the liability to long winters and heavy snows would be considerably less; while the diminished cost of construction is so material that it ought to settle the question in favor of the extreme southern route.

Here was opened at once the question of location; and as the South was just then strongly pondering their scheme for a Southern Confederacy, they were eager to have the road located where, in case of a division, it must fall into their hands. They had the power to delay action, and probably to defeat a bill; but their interest lay in the direction of favoring it and securing its construction on a line that would suit their sectional interests. Mr. Jefferson Davis was then Secretary of War, and had the cards in his own hand and the ability and disposition to play them.

The surveys, by his management, had been a good deal pressed into the service of the southern project, and had not failed of their due impression. To make these advantages still more prominent, the appropriations for the further surveys were

chiefly expended, as we have seen, in giving further prominence to the advantages of a southern route.

In the mean time, the same class of statesmen had succeeded in negotiating the Gadsden purchase, by which a considerable slice was added to our territory from northern Mexico, a principal object of which was to remove objections and secure territory which might be needed in the further prosecution of their plans in relation to the road. It was in pursuance of the same object that the overland mail was afterward started on this extreme southern route. The shrewd managers for the Southern Confederacy sought thus to smooth the way for the location of the road. But commerce could not be forced into so unnatural a channel, and the utter failure of the project proved rather more than its friends desired.

We have not room, in the brief space allowed to a Review article, to trace step by step the action of Congress on this important project. But it is easy to see, without an appeal to votes and speeches, why it was that a bill could not be passed locating the road in the great sweep of eastern and western commerce.

For the last ten years a Pacific Railroad, in one shape or another, has been constantly before Congress, and has found powerful advocates in most of the leading statesmen of the free north. Mr. Seward, the present Secretary of State, and Mr. Chase, the able and successful head of the treasury, were long its champions in the Senate; but although its necessity had been demonstrated by the rush of our population to the Pacific, and by the admission to the Union of two large states which were to be united permanently to us by these "hooks of steel," it was vain to urge it on the attention of Congress unless we would consent to its location within the grasp of the contemplated Southern Confederacy.

It was this obvious fact which brought so many to the support of the wild project of passing a bill for the location of three roads instead of one. Such a bill passed the Senate in 1855, was again reported to that body by a select committee in 1857, and has generally been regarded as the only measure that could be got through Congress. It provided for a road over the northern route, from the west end of Lake Superior to Puget's Sound; one at the center, from the western border of Missouri

and Iowa, through Utah and the South Pass to San Francisco; and one from the western border of Texas to the Pacific, and thence northward along the coast to San Francisco.

But this load was too much for the nation to carry, and it failed, as did every other project down to the remarkable Congress which expired in March last. That Congress met under new and extraordinary circumstances. The seats of nearly all the members from the slave states were vacant, and the burden of the war, the most gigantic struggle of modern times, was thrown upon it. But it did not, in consequence of these great responsibilities, shrink from its paramount duty to the loyal people on the Pacific.

Since Whitney began to agitate in behalf of this road, California and Oregon had grown into states, and though separated from us by two thousand miles of mountain and prairie, continued to be loyal members of this great family of nations. We needed the road to advance the interests of commerce, to promote civilization, to develop the resources of the country, but most of all, to secure protection and good neighborhood between states owing a common fealty.

A bill was passed by large majorities in both houses of Congress, and was approved by the President, and became a law, on the first day of July, 1862. It recites the names of one hundred and fifty-eight gentlemen, selected from the loyal states and territories, and erects them into a body corporate, to be called "The Union Pacific Railroad Company." They are called Commissioners, and it is made their duty to open books of subscription to a capital stock of $100,000,000. When $2,000,000 have been subscribed, and $20,000 paid on the subscriptions, they are to call a meeting of the stockholders and have an election of thirteen or more directors, who, with two other directors appointed by the government, are to have the whole charge of this great enterprise, appoint the officers, choose the surveyors, and designate the route. When this election has taken place, the functions of the Commissioners are to cease.

The location of the road is left mostly with the company. The starting point is to be 100° W. long. from Greenwich, between the valleys of the Platte and Republican rivers; and it is to run thence westwardly, "upon the most direct, central,

and practicable route, through the territories of the United States, to the western boundary of the territory of Nevada."

The Republican River is south of the Platte, and the starting point, which is to be settled by the President after the completion of the surveys, will probably be between 40° and 41° N. lat. At the other extremity the terminus will be controlled by the action of another corporation, the "Central Pacific Railroad of California;" which is a company chartered by the state of California, and is to construct the road through its territory, and to have the same privileges and aids from the general government as the main line. It is presumed that it will seek the best route through the state, and the course of the main trunk will be shaped to meet it.

At this end the connection with the main trunk is to be provided for in a similar way. The "Leavenworth, Pawnee, and Western Railroad Company," chartered by the state of Kansas, is authorized to construct a road from the Missouri River, on the south side of the Kansas, to connect with the main trunk; and it is made the duty of the parent company to construct a road from the western boundary of Iowa to its beginning on the one hundredth meridian. Both these roads are to have the same privileges and aids as the principal line. A glance at the map will show that the Kansas branch will be merely an extension of the Pacific Railroad of Missouri, leading to St. Louis, and that the Iowa branch will connect with roads across that state, partly finished, pointing to Chicago. The great road will thus be put in connection with the great network of roads sweeping through the states, and with the commerce of the rivers and lakes.

With these explanations, we may proceed to state that the government grants to the "Union Pacific Railroad Company" the right of way through the public lands for two hundred feet on each side of the proposed track; that it gives the land for shops, depots, water stations, etc.; that it allows the free use of any timber, sand, gravel, or stone on the public property; and whenever a section of forty miles is completed, it agrees to convey to the company the five alternate sections of land on each side of the road, expressed by odd numbers, for every mile constructed, and to loan it $16,000 per mile, in six per cent. bonds having thirty years to run. For three hundred miles, through

the hardest of the mountain region, it increases its loan to $48,000 per mile, and pays when a section of twenty miles is completed; and for an indefinite length it appropriates $32,000 per mile, but provides that the aggregate loan of bonds shall not exceed $50,000,000.

It will be seen that Congress has substantially adopted what is called the "central route," or that nearly coincident with the 41st and 42d degrees of latitude. It will go through the Rocky range at the South Pass, a little north of 42°, and thence drop down to San Francisco. The whole length of the line, according to the survey already quoted, is 2,032 miles, counting from Council Bluffs on the Missouri to Benicia on the Bay of San Francisco; and the estimated cost is $116,000,000.

Taking these premises to be an approach to correctness, the means for constructing the road are abundant if the capital stock ($100,000,000) is taken. The lands donated would amount, at government prices, ($1 25 per acre,) to $8,000 per mile, or over $16,000,000; and the bonds loaned ($50,000,000) would swell the means to $166,000,000. The loan is to be a lien on all the property of the company, buildings, lands, rolling stock, roadway, etc.; and the charges to the government for transportation, telegraphing, etc., are to be placed to the account of its bonds, and five per cent. of the earnings are also to be set apart for the settlement of the government debt. In case of default, it is provided that the government comes in and takes possession.

The law creating this company, though it has been passed in the midst of civil commotion, and while every resource is tasked as it has never been tasked before, is in fact a great peace measure, which, if put into successful operation, will in due time more than repair the waste and disaster of our desolating war. It will unlock the treasures of the vast interior; it will bring out the hidden resources of forest and prairie, of mountain and mine; it will cause the desert to bud and blossom as the rose. By the light of the past we can see to read the dark pages of the future. We look back without wonder at the towns and cities that followed the spade on the Erie Canal; and why should we not look forward and see the "iron horse" threading the passes of the Rocky Mountains, the farm-house, the school-house, and the church dotting the plains where the buffalo now

ranges; and the mill, with its busy spindles, the forge, with its ponderous hammers, and the city, with its rattle and hum, nestling down in the rich bottoms, on the table lands of the mountains, or near the dark and smutty mines, all along the course of this mighty road?

Westward the course of empire takes its way!

Art. IV.—EXEGESIS OF ROMANS IX, 3.

For I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ.

There are two classes of difficult texts. In the one, the construction is obscure; in the other, the idea. The latter defect, want of clearness in the thought, usually arises from the want of power in ourselves for its comprehension. It is yet too great for us. We have not grown up to it, and all our attempts to reduce it to our present capacity are unsatisfactory to other minds, and to our own mind at any subsequent period in its development.

These words are of this class. Their grammatical construction is so plain that only one of the many theories of interpretation has taken refuge in syntax, and sought through this medium to make for the apostle a way of escape. And even this exegesis places no reliance on the grammatical difficulty, for all its advocates differ as to the real meaning of the words themselves. All critics, therefore, find the idea only hard to be received. They stagger at what seems its too evident sense, and find no satisfaction in the lower meanings to which they seek to limit it. Is there not an interpretation that will allow the words their full force, and will still be natural, scriptural, and acceptable to Christian faith and culture?

There is in our judgment such a view. We submit it to the intelligence of wiser students of the sacred mysteries. If it is wrong, they will easily discern its folly; if it is right, it may remove the vail which has long hung over many minds as they have read these words, and enable them to see them as they are, the sublimest expression in human language of man's love for man.

The whole passage, preliminary and postliminary, is included in the first five verses of this chapter; though all the preceding and the three subsequent chapters, as well as the final cause of the letter itself, are vitally connected with it. The central words of the paragraph, and, as far as human feelings go, of the epistle, are the few thus translated: "For I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ for my brethren;" Ηὐχόμην γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ἀνάθεμα εἶναι ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου.

I. The question simply is, What did Paul mean by this declaration? The chief of the answers to this question, and their defects, ought to be first considered. They may be reduced to three.

1. The first class take it in its apparent meaning. They are literalists, though they feel that the letter killeth. They assert that he expressed a willingness to be eternally damned if thereby his brethren might be saved. This is the conclusion that Stuart, Robinson, Olshausen, and others, reach. Well may Stuart seek to hide its horribleness with the beautiful declaration in the Song of Songs, of the indissoluble love of Christ and his Church. "Truly," he says, "this was a love stronger than death, which many waters could not quench nor floods drown." But he cannot thus adorn it. Most truly does Dr. Kendrick say, "No explanation can do away with the extreme harshness of the thought." We have heard that an eminent Congregational minister, now occupying a leading pulpit, has lately declared that he had attained to this "grace." *He* may have done so; but Paul did not. Such a state is the furthest possible from that into which his soul had so painfully but perfectly entered. Damnation involves inexpressible sinfulness, *more* than inexpressible suffering. It is more than was required of Christ; and to seek to go beyond him in the expression of love and sympathy is as impossible as it is profane. It is *enough* for the servant that he be *as* his master.

2. A second theory considers that he was willing to be separated from the Church of Christ on earth, and to suffer bodily death for the salvation of his brethren. This is as much too weak as the other is too strong. The pendulum swings to the other extreme. The least developed Christian could adopt his language if reduced to such a meaning. Many are the authors who thus eviscerate it. Dr. Dwight, Adam Clarke, John Locke,

Samuel Clarke, are a few examples of this class. They think that he was willing to endure distresses and bodily death, as an object devoted to destruction, if so be that Israel might be saved. If it have no greater scope, why this stately array of oaths? He had expressed that willingness many times and in many ways. His letters, his discourses, his life, are full of it. Such a state is not extraordinary for common Christians, much less for him; while it is most evident that he meant something most wonderful, even to himself, and to which his soul had been lifted up only by a pressure of agony at which he himself was amazed.

Chrysostom thus forcibly sets forth the feebleness of this interpretation: "Those who suppose corporeal death to be meant stand very far from vehemence. For he who died daily, and who, supposing dangers numberless, exclaims, 'Who shall separate us from the love of Christ?' . . . who, going beyond heaven, and the heaven of heavens, and angels, and archangels, and enumerating all things that are above, and collecting into one things present and things future, the seen and the imagined, all that grieves and all that profits, and having omitted nothing, is not even then satisfied, but supposing another creation of equal magnitude then not existing, how would he, meaning to say something great, after all these things mention death temporal?" Πῶς ὢς, *μέγα τι λεγών, μετ' ἐκεῖνα πάντα, θανάτου τῦν. προς καίρου εμνημόνευσεν ἄν*;

And yet Chrysostom himself could only understand Paul as desiring to be excommunicated from the Church on earth. In this he and Origen agree. (See each *in loc.*) Excommunication was indeed a terrible thing in their judgment, as it usually involved eternal excommunication; though they did not consider that Paul gave it that fullness of power in this expression. In some mysterious way he broke the connection; how, they do not explain. But Tholuck indorses this as the true view, which to a modern Christian is less fearful than physical death. If Paul was only willing to be expelled from the visible Church, he was not here raised by the Spirit above his age, in perception nor feeling; he was, in reality, behind his times, for he understood the feebleness of mere ecclesiastical excommunication. How this theory contrasts with the awful imprecatory introduction!

3. Others say that the language is figurative. But no sign

of a figure is found in the whole paragraph, unless it be in the word "accursed." If this be a mere figure of speech, why should all its contingents be so literal? Again, except the hyperbole, figures are not superior to the ideas they express, but inferior. The thought, struggling to convey itself to another mind, clothes itself in such a dress. Yet that is but an index of the idea, which is itself far greater. Hence it behooves the advocates of this view to show what *is* the feeling which assumes this inferior but remarkable form. What is the accursed *state*, of which the word "accursed" is but a shadow? They may and do answer, it is that mode of speech that uses stronger terms than the truth requires; he is indulging in a hyperbolical extravagance of expression, caused by his feelings getting the mastery of him. To bring his brethren to reason, he tears a passion to tatters, and raves wildly about his desires toward them. But every line of his writings and every act of his life show that his mighty heart was always under the control of the coolest of judgments and most resolute of wills. He could calmly talk with Christ in that hour when he was struck to the earth by his supernal glory; he could as calmly talk on the stairs of the castle of Antonia to the mob of wild beasts that raged around him. He was not the man to let his feelings lead him into excesses. Wherever they went, judgment and will went also; ever their guides and superiors.

But that this is no hyperbolical language is very clear from the solemn manner in which it is introduced. He knew he was going to say something which, though perfectly true, would appear to many who should then and thereafter read it, inexplicable, fanatical, abhorrent. He therefore prepares the way by an affirmation expressed in no less than five different forms, so that this fivefold oath should prove that it was impossible for him to lie, or to be deceived, in what he was about to declare.

I say the truth.

In Christ.

I lie not.

My conscience also bearing me witness.

In the Holy Ghost.

He appeals first to his personal character, positively and negatively; affirming both his veracity and his want of inveracity. He appeals to his moral nature, or conscience. He

appeals to Christ, and to the Holy Ghost, as inspiring and directing his sanctified nature. He declares that these oaths are not taken in a joyous or even moderately serious frame of soul, as that might weaken their force, but in a state of utter and extreme distress. "For my sorrow is great, and unintermitting agony is in my heart." This agony is ὀδύνη, the excruciating pains of childbirth. Such affirmations, repeated in such awful distress, cannot be rhetorical flourishes. They are but the *scala sancta* of the sacrificial altar he is about, in purpose, to ascend.

Many eminent scholars seek to break the force of the expression by dwelling upon the signification of the tense here employed. They say that he uses the imperfect indicative because the execution of the wish is impossible, and therefore it is not really entertained at all. This is a modern theory, and is advocated by Stuart, Hodge, Mahan, and Tholuck. We have three objections to it.

1. It puts an illogical strain upon the legitimate usage of the tense. One of its uses, undoubtedly, is "to signify that in consequence of the impossibility or non-fulfillment of certain conditions, some action or thing in like manner cannot or could not be fulfilled." Matthiæ, § 508. This is its strongest signification; and yet this is very far from saying that the wish itself, thus expressed, has no existence; or, as Dr. Hodge remarks, that "the very reverse" is desired from what is declared to be desired. The execution of the wish may be impossible; one may use a tense to show that he considers it impossible; and yet he may sincerely and heartily indulge the wish. When Job said, "O that thou wouldest hide me in the grave;" when Paul said, "I desire to depart and be with Christ;" when Christ wished that the cup might pass from him; and even when God "wishes" that all men should be saved, there is no lack of fullness in the desire, though its accomplishment in each case is perceived to be impossible. So Paul here may know that his wishes cannot be granted, and so use this tense, and yet honestly and earnestly entertain the desire he avows.

2. Again, the explanation affects nothing. Those who agree in thus emptying the text of all significance by denying the reality of the wish, do not agree as to the original intent of the nullified emotion. Tholuck and Hodge, as we have seen, are

far apart in their views as to this emasculated wish. One says it was to be excommunicated from the Church on earth; the other, to suffer eternal death. As the advocates of the argument, therefore, are not led by it to any agreement as to the purport of the wish itself, the question of grammar has no bearing upon the solution of the problem that is before us, which is, What did Paul profess to wish?

3. But there is a far graver objection to this theory than those we have mentioned. It implicates the honor of Paul in two ways. It makes him say that he would wish to do a wrong thing were it not wrong. This is like saying, I could wish to lie were it not wrong to lie. Such a state of mind is very equivocal at the best, and should never be charged to any Christian, much less to an apostle writing under the guidance of the Spirit, and who had just said, "I say the truth in Christ, I lie not."

Again, it makes him guilty of trifling with the feelings of his readers. He does not truly wish such an experience, but while *saying* so, carefully guards himself against the conclusion to which they would inevitably come, by a subtile and rare use of a peculiar tense. If this be the case, we must say that the whole passage is a specimen of almost profane levity. His oaths and protestations and strong cries and tears are but preliminary to a rhetorical trick. His plain readers, then and ever after, must understand it as it says; only a rare few, schooled in the intricate niceties of speech, can see that, "properly speaking, it is not wished at all." To the compliment of such "proper speaking," he would indignantly reply, "God forbid!" It is equivalent to the charge that he "used guile." The eminent men who advocate this view do not of course desire this result; but it cannot be avoided. They seem to feel this, if they do not declare it, by seeking—as they all do notwithstanding this theory—for explanations of his meaning, as if he was sincere; while asserting that he had "no meaning at all," or one that was "wrong," or one that was "the very reverse" of what his words would teach.

We must therefore conclude that this effort to interpret the expression fails. That is the extreme usage to which this tense can be put which Dr. Hodge sets forth: "It implies the presence of a condition known to be impossible." That does not

imply that the wish itself "has never been wished at all," as Tholuck asserts, or is "wrong and improper," as Hodge styles it. Because it is objectively impossible, it does not follow that it is subjectively non-existent and wicked; if these can both be predicated of the same thing at the same time, as they do. He may have felt, and probably did, that he was asking for something that could not be granted; but his petition was none the less profound and sincere.

These are the leading views of this text. We have seen that no one of them is satisfactory at once to the Scriptures, the plan of salvation, and our moral nature. There is but one, in our judgment, that is. It is this:

II. *Paul was willing, nay, unspeakably anxious to be made a vicarious sacrifice for his brethren to the measure of his present or possible ability.* As Christ had stood in relation to God, so was he willing to stand in relation to Christ. This was a momentary but perfect judicial separation from him, and the endurance of all the miseries involved in that condition, in both body and soul. This was not because such an atonement was necessary for their salvation, but because he desired to show forth his love in its perfect identity with the love of Christ; and perhaps because also he might have thought that such a renewal of the scenes of Gethsemane and Calvary, though on an infinitely lower scale than those, might possibly be that slight but sufficient additional attraction which would insure their salvation.

We consider that this interpretation is right for the following reasons.

1. It is consistent with the scriptural use of the idea involved in the word "accursed." This word is found nowhere else in the Bible, in this exact form, in a good sense. But its cognate words are; and the idea it contains is often used to express the judicial status of an innocent person or thing under the economy of redemption. That this does not imply a sinful *condition* is abundantly evident. The victims were simply considered as offenders. The innocent scapegoat was treated as an accursed thing. "No devoted thing," Dr. Hodge quotes, "that a man shall devote unto the Lord, . . . shall be sold or redeemed. Every devoted thing (חֵרֶם, *ἀνάθεμα*,) is *most holy unto the Lord*." Lev. xxvii, 28, 29. So Christ is considered through all the

prophecies and psalms, from Moses to Malachi. So his title, The Lamb of God, implies. So Paul frequently regards him: "Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us;" "He made him to be sin for us." The whole letter to the Hebrews is based on this doctrine.

Now, Paul expresses a willingness to be *thus* accursed. He wishes to be treated as an accursed thing, according to the fullest measure of that treatment, not only in the types and shadows of the ceremonial law, but, as far as in him lay, in the realities of the conscious spiritual experiences of Christ himself. This fact has been seen by several writers, though they fail to give it its scriptural limitations. Tholuck declares that *ἀνάθεμα always* means an expiatory or substitutional offering, in the Greek language, but denies that it has this meaning in the Hebrew. Dr. Hodge shows that it has like force in the Hebrew. Robinson says that it means an expiatory victim. So does Stuart. So Origen translates it (vid. Tholuck *in loc.*) They only shrank from it because it had been popularly used to express the destruction, irremediable and eternal, of the victim. Had they seen it in its relations to the atonement of Christ they would have been satisfied. Paul, therefore, uses the word not in its heathen or merely ceremonial sense, but as it would naturally lie in the heart of a believer in Christ.

2. That this is the scope and intent of the word is shown by the limitation he imposes upon it, or rather, by the enlargement with which he develops it. The words *ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ*, "from Christ," are essential to the completion of his idea. He would be accursed *from Christ.* He is a new creature only *in* Christ. His whole life, spiritual and eternal, flows from him. Now, he is willing to stand in the same relation to him, that he stood, in the work of atonement, in relation to God. He does not say "accursed from God," for the work which he desires to do he could effect, if it could be wrought at all, only through his relations to Christ. This separation from his Saviour, and its consequent miseries of body and spirit, would be as terrible to his sanctified and sensitive soul, according to its measure, as had been the separation and suffering of the Saviour in effecting our redemption, to his nature. But he was as willing to have the face of Christ turned momentarily from him, for their salvation—though he lived only in its light, and though he knew the awful

effects of that judicial but real alienation—as the Son was to have the face of the Father shut off from him, although he shrank from the moment as it approached, and when it was upon him he broke forth in an exceeding great and bitter cry. He was willing to bear the sins of his brethren in his own body on the tree, tasting not bodily death alone, but that far greater death, not of annihilation or unconsciousness, but of inconceivably dreadful experiences, which is necessarily involved in this experience. As the "wrath of God" rested on the Lamb of God, so might "the wrath of the Lamb" rest on him.

That Bengel understood it thus is seen from his remarks on the word "accursed." He says, "Satis erit contulisse locum Gal. iii, 13; ubi Christus dicitur factus pro nobis maledictio." "It will be sufficient to compare with this Gal. iii, 13, where Christ is said to be made a curse for us." Yet more clearly does he confirm this peculiar view in his note on *ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ*. "Ut Christus maledictio factus a Patre derelictus fuit, sic Paulus, Christi plenus a Christo destitutus, esse Judæorum vicem optabat, tanquam anathema;" "As Christ, being made a curse, was left of the Father, so Paul, being full of Christ, was wishing to be separated from Christ as an anathema, instead of the Jews." Origen also perceives the same truth, though he failed to constantly adhere to it and consistently develop it. He says in his comments on this passage, "Quid ergo mirum, si apostolus pro fratribus suis anathema fieri vellet, qui sciat, eum qui erat in forma Dei, exmanisse se de ea, ac suscepisse formam servi, et factum esse pro nobis maledictum. Quid ergo mirum, si cum Dominius pro servis maledicium factus sit, servus pro fratribus anathema fiat." Again he says: "Sed sicut ille qui inseparabilis a Patro est per naturam, et immortalis, in mortem venit, et in inferna descendit, ita et iste, imitando magistrum, cum separari a Christo charitate non possit, a Christo anathema fiat pro fratribus suis, devotione, utique non prævaricatione." "Why is it wonderful if the apostle should wish to become accursed for his brethren, when he knew that He who was in the form of God had emptied himself of that, and had taken upon himself the form of a servant, and had been made accursed for us? Why is it therefore wonderful if, when the Lord had become a curse for servants, the servant should become a curse for his brethren?" And, "But as He who is inseparable from the

Father by nature, and is immortal, came into death and descended into the infernal regions, so also this one, in imitation of his Master, since he could not be separated from the love of Christ, would become accursed from Christ for the sake of his brethren, by sincere devotion and in no prevarication."

This does not imply *actual* guilt in him, any more than it did in the Redeemer; nor does it imply that his sufferings will be, necessarily, prolonged, much less eternal. Says Bengel: "Non est sermo de excommunicatione ab æterna societate ecclesiæ;" "The discourse is not concerning excommunication from the eternal society of the Church." But as the Son of God, by virtue of his infinitude, crowded into a brief human life, and substantially into less than a day of that life, the infinite experience demanded by infinite justice and holiness of the sinner on account of his sins, so Paul was willing, to the measure of his nature, to suffer a like experience for a like object. As the man Christ Jesus shared to the fullness of his finite nature the agonies which the Son of God alone fully and effectively bore, and was with the Son of God judicially excluded from the Father, and judicially under his awful chastisements, and, so far as it was possible for a human being, did keep equal step with the divine Son in his extremest agonies, even unto death, so Paul was willing, as redeemed and sanctified by that blood, to make himself an offering for sin, and pour out his soul unto death, if so be that thus his brethren might be saved.

This is further seen in the use of the preposition ὑπερ, which Tholuck confesses ought properly to be translated "in the stead of" my brethren, as only a vicarious sacrifice can be.

3. This is consistent with the proper development of Christian feeling. The apostle is evidently mounting a climax. He is struggling under the cross. He is ascending a Calvary. Now all true feelings are as rigidly subject to the laws of their nature, as are the mightiest waves of the sea or the stormiest clouds of heaven. What was his feeling? Sorrow for his brethren. For what in their condition did he sorrow? Not for the destruction of their city, or its attendant calamities of war and slavery; not for the loss of their nationality; not for their absorption into other races; but for their spiritual state as enemies of their Saviour. Such sorrow leads him to the sorrow of Christ and

its wonderful expression. As he yearns over their hopeless and eternal condition as sinners; as he dwells on what has been their relation to God, his chosen people, sole heirs of his chiefest gifts to man, of whom according to the flesh He had himself come; his soul breaks with the longing it has, and he says, "Were I, too, to suffer for them as my Lord has done for them and me and all, they might perhaps turn and live." He rises to the height of the great argument, and with strong cries and tears exclaims, "For I have long wished, and now more than ever wish, that *myself* were accursed from Christ, as he was from God, if so be that thus they might be saved. Αὐτὸς ἐγὼ, "I myself," refers to himself as having just expressed the closest attachment to Christ, and as now comparing himself with Christ, and with no one else. He was gazing upon his Saviour, and seeking to follow his steps in the sublimest of his goings. Such a consummation is most rational. It is in fact the proper and only ultimate of sympathy which a redeemed soul in his love for sinners must see, if he knows it is beyond his reach. It is the last and perfect expression of that sense of duty and desire which is involved in that most frequent and often most cheap phrase, "the taking up of the cross." This is indeed taking the cross and following Christ in the loftiest of our conceptions and deepest of our emotions; beyond the reach of our experience, not beyond the reach of our desires.

That such a view is especially applicable to the development of grace in the soul of Paul is proved by his general state of feeling on this subject, as revealed in all his letters and discourses. His experience as a Christian led him into that sympathy with Christ that in its lowest stages was consciously allied to his sacrificial sufferings, and in its highest was their perfect though shadowy and miniature image. On this lofty table-land his soul always moves. When he rises into the heights of desire for the salvation of Jews or Gentiles, he always expresses his struggling emotions by words that more than suggest his sympathy with the agonies of atoning love, and his willingness to share them. Nay, he almost, if not absolutely, declares that he *does* share them. Such is the possible, and in not a few minds the proper interpretation of 2 Cor. iv, 10–12; Phil. ii, 17; Col. i, 24; 2 Tim. iv, 6, etc. These show his normal state, and the language before us is only the natural though extraordinary

uplift of the same feelings, induced by legitimate though extraordinary causes.

4. Fourthly, this view is eminently consistent with the work which he was here set to do. The main object of the letter to the Roman Christians was to publish the divine decree of excommunication against the Jews. It was addressed to them as being, by virtue of their metropolitan residence, both the least prejudiced of their nation, and especially as being the necessary center whence the Gospel should flow to the Gentile world. Jerusalem was to be abandoned, as well as its people, and the center of worldly dominion was to become the throne whence Christ should proceed to the subjugation of Satan and the human race. The chosen people, having rejected Christ, are to be rejected by him. Their fate is excision, not translation. Had they accepted him, their desires would have been fulfilled, and they would have become an independent, a leading, a universal nation. But they rejected the counsel of God, against themselves. They clung to the blood rather than to the faith of Abraham, and God will now show them that his blood is no better than that of Cain, unless sanctified by his faith. Murderers of their Lord, as he was of his first disciple, they, like him, are to be driven forth from their paradise, as wanderers over the earth, with such marks as will prevent their destruction, not their misery. Paul is to declare their doom. This letter is the decree. From the beginning it has this duty in view. The statement of the doctrines of the true and eternal Church are but the logical basis for the coming excisive word. In argument and in feeling he rises, step by step, to the solemn work appointed him. He shows that the prerogatives of the Jews are based solely on faith; that they are distinguished from their heathen neighbors by a given law, based entirely on a pre-existing and ever sub-existing faith; that the law without the faith only destroys those who come in contact with it, while with faith it is easily and triumphantly obeyed. Part of this is proved by general and part by personal or experimental argument. He thus arrives at the real design of the letter: "You, chosen because of another's belief, are to be cast off because of your own unbelief. Elected on conditions, you can claim no unconditional election. The depositaries of God's grace, you have emptied yourselves of all grace. Appealing to the law, you are

destroyed by the law. You dare to touch that mount, and are slain. Fate is not greater than God, though it be, as it is, greater than a Satanic Jove. He is under no more obligations to protect or preserve you, his enemies, than he was Ishmael, Esau, or Pharaoh."

As he comes to this conclusion and the attendant duty, his feelings overwhelm him. As Christ wept over Jerusalem when he was compelled to announce its destruction, so Paul wrestled with agony in this annunciation of the destruction of its people, a destruction which he saw was chiefly spiritual and eternal, on that and many following generations. As Christ offered himself a sacrifice for their salvation, so his servant cries out, "I too would follow my Master, and for them suffer, as far as in me lies, the awful mysteries of that sacred passion, if so be they thus might be melted to contrition, and accept the Great Salvation."

It was the first time God had appointed any of his servants to this work. Moses inflicted chastisements upon Israel;* Jeremiah announced its temporary banishment, and both were in unspeakable distress in this lower work of punishment. Paul must put on the black cap and sentence it to death. Henceforth and forever it is to have no privileges over its Gentile brethren. In this fate is involved, as its cause, their fearful sin, and as its end their spiritual and everlasting destruction. If, then, his predecessors have feelings and desires which we cannot fathom under their painful duties, much more he, under the most painful conceivable.

In the light of this fact is seen the propriety of those remarkable uplifts of soul that immediately precede it. Many have noticed this strange union of unspeakable joy and unspeaka-

* Most commentators have noticed the analogy between the desire of Moses under like duties, as expressed in Exod. xxxii, 32, and this of Paul. "Yet now, if thou wilt forgive their sin—; and if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of thy book which thou hast written." They have failed, however, to see the full purport of the expression of each. Moses uses the word "atonement," in the verse but one before, with evident reference both to himself and his Saviour; thus showing that he and Paul, in this respect, are brethren. Their feelings and desires are of the same nature, though Paul's are far higher in degree, as the work he is set to do is far higher. Moses sought to ward off the sentence of death, *threatened* only, and that, too, against an infantile people, not yet organized into a nation; Paul, to deliver from the same decree, to be *executed now*, the same people, for near two thousand years a great, historic, divinely exalted nation.

ble sorrow; no one has dwelt upon it with more brevity and beauty than Bengel; but none of them clearly see the reason of the connection. This interpretation shows it. The deepest soundings are often at the base of loftiest summits. The mount of transfiguration is the necessary preliminary to the mount of atonement; for they "spake with him of his decease which he should accomplish at Jerusalem." As that revelation of the eternal oneness of the Son and the Father may have been intended to benefit the man Jesus, so this extraordinary elevation of soul, this wonderful sense of his indissoluble connection with Christ, was the essential prerequisite to the voluntary offering of that soul, in extremest agony, for the salvation of his brethren. That he might sink to these unutterable depths, he is raised to these unutterable heights. He thus, too, assures himself, and those for whom he was to make the offer, that his connection with Christ is to be judicially, not sinfully, sundered; that while he suffers in their stead, he does it being, in Christ, the just for the unjust, the sinless for the sinful; he does it but for a moment, though it is a moment exhaustive of everything excellent but holiness, inclusive of everything terrible but sin.

This exegesis was almost declared by Doddridge and Waterland, (vide Benson, *in loc.*) It was more clearly apprehended by Bengel and Origen, as we have seen. It was stated without exposition in the first number of the Quarterly for the last year, p. 14. Wesley, whose remark is a paraphrase of one of Bengel's, hints at such an opinion. He thus speaks: "Human words cannot fully describe the motions of souls that are full of God. As if he had said, 'I could wish to suffer in their stead, yea, to be an anathema from Christ in their place.' In how high a sense he wished this who can tell, unless himself had been asked and had resolved the question? The thing could not be; yet the wish was pious and solid, though with a tacit condition: if it were right and possible." Omit the words "right and" from this last sentence, which are not found in Bengel nor in Paul, and it expresses the exact truth so far as the general idea is concerned; though it is defective in the clear apprehension, and therefore in the complete statement of that truth as revealed alike to the feelings and volitions of Paul.

We have thus undertaken, perhaps, what we deprecated at the beginning, to fathom the unfathomable. It is consistent

with the perversity of human ambition: "Cœlum ipsum petimus stultitia." It is not inconsistent with every one's duty, which is to explore, with careful and prayerful steps, the profoundest mysteries of the Word of God. The least new light shining from those pages will disclose far richer revelations of the attributes of God than the loftiest discoveries in the realm of nature. It may be that this is such a divine light, not cast upon but breaking forth from what has been to many a nebulous cloud of fire.

With the highest respect for the great scholars from whom it differs, we submit it as the only right solution of an otherwise insoluble problem. It can stand only by the impartial and intelligent agreement of many minds. To their searching and honest criticism we confidently appeal. They will find, we trust, that it satisfies every just demand of construction, language, and thought; that it delivers the apostle from the serious, not to say revolting, imputations which attend every other exegesis; that it reveals him in this utterance in a more Christlike attitude and fullness than in any other of his mighty aspirations. They will see that it expresses the highest motion of the holiest soul, which must be identical with the constant motion of the heart of God, and that nowhere else in human language is there an equal expression of the possible love which, in Christ, man can have for man.

Art. V.—METHODISM AND THE WAR.

Not among the least of the arguments in favor of the righteousness of the present war on the part of the Union for the suppression of the rebellion, is the fact that the great leading denominations of the North have uttered a clear and decided testimony in its support. Without disparagement to any of these denominations we must say, that first and foremost of the Churches in the North stands the Methodist Episcopal Church. As when in the war of the Revolution the Methodist Church was the first, through her accredited representatives, to give in her unqualified adhesion and support to the government, so now, when that government is assailed by traitor hands, is she

the first to spring to arms in its defense. At the time when tory preachers uttered anathemas against the war and fled the country, the heroic Asbury, though an Englishman, stood his ground and battled manfully for American liberty, notwithstanding Wesley had issued tracts condemnatory of resistance to British authority and in opposition to the Revolution. As Asbury was the pioneer bishop, and had pastoral oversight of the ministers in the Methodist Church of that day, he infused his spirit into them, and set his face most loyally against all the English preachers who manifested the least opposition to the American cause. In the very commencement of the present war the Methodist Church not only was the first to show her hand, but the first to fill the ranks of the gathering armies. Methodist preachers, fired with the spirit of patriotism, thundered from their pulpits the notes of freedom, and leaving the sacred desk called for recruits for the Union army. One whom we knew and loved full well, the heroic Ward, raised a company of noble young men from his Church, and at their urgent request became their captain, and led them forth to the field of strife. At their head, bravely leading them on to the deadly charge, he fell; but his fall was covered with glory. His was a sublime life, and sublimely did it close. Captains, lieutenants, and non-commissioned officers can be numbered by the thousand from the Methodist Church, and in some instances almost entire regiments are composed of Methodists. In the Western and North-western States, where the Methodist population is largely in excess of any other denomination, and in some of them equal to all others, the Methodists are found in the ranks by tens of thousands. Contributing to the strength of the sword and the purse more extensively than perhaps any other denomination in the country, it has often occurred to us as somewhat remarkable, that in the civil and military appointments of the country, with perhaps one exception, and that a subordinate appointment with meager emoluments, the Methodist Church has been treated in just such a manner as we would expect a Church to be treated if it had been the design of the government to ignore its claims altogether. We allude to the chaplains; but even these are not government appointments, inasmuch as they are chosen by the respective regiments, and the number only goes to show the prevalence of Methodism over other denominations

in the army. The number of Methodist chaplains, according to the printed minutes of the conferences, shows one hundred and ninety-four; but this does not give the entire number, as many local preachers are serving as chaplains whose names do not appear in the minutes.

The Hon. M. F. Odell, member of Congress from Brooklyn, in an address before the New York East Conference, in which he expressed his love for the Church and his country, and stirringly affirmed that he desired his religion should run parallel with his patriotism, and that he had no disposition to exclude his country from the closet and altars of the Church, said:

Among the most patriotic in the land were the members of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He had been informed by the President, the commander-in-chief of the army and the navy of the United States, that no Church had given its ministers and men more freely than the Methodist Church all over the land. What the President asserted corresponded with his own observations. The last Sabbath he was in Washington, during the session of Congress, he, in company with other Christian brethren, visited one of the hospitals located in the suburbs of Washington. One of the company was the present chief magistrate of Connecticut. They found in the wards of the hospital six hundred soldiers, and before they left the whole company of wounded men united in singing the well-known battle hymn,

"On Jordan's stormy banks I stand,"

to the tune of Coronation. Such singing he had never heard before, and he ventured to say that every loyal state in the Union was represented by Methodist soldiers. In all the camps and hospitals he had visited, and they were numerous, he heard the grand old hymns of Methodism sung, and he never found a company in which were not Methodists. His love for the Church had been enhanced by the fact, that from her sanctuaries had gone forth her noble sons in defense of the country.

A few weeks after the honorable gentleman delivered the substance of this address before the New York Conference, which had contributed largely of its members for the suppression of the rebellion, and whose loyalty was expressed in a series of resolutions which were adopted with only two dissentients.

The above desultory remarks we have made as preliminary to a tribute to some of our noble and patriotic brethren in the ministry, who have won for themselves on the field of battle a

lofty niche in their country's history, and whose heroic deeds deserve a passing testimonial. The time is not far distant when all who have been connected or in any way sympathized with the Southern rebellion will feel the consequences of their treason and disloyalty, when from its hideous form shall be torn the mask, and its demoniac grin will haunt their souls forever. And, on the other hand, the patriotic and loyal, who, by their acts and sympathies, have stood by the government and rallied for its support, will live in national history and song, while every year of the country's prosperity will add freshness to their laurels. Every grave of the noble dead will become a shrine of freedom, while every drop of blood shed in the cause of liberty will prove a nation's harvest and the world's hope.

Among the officers of the Union army who went forth at the call of his country stands the name of Rev. JAMES HAZARD PERRY, D.D., a minister of the New York East Conference, and, at the time of his volunteering, pastor of the Pacific-street Church, Brooklyn. As Colonel Perry has fallen in the service of his country, a biographical sketch should embrace the incidents of his early life, and we avail ourselves of extracts from an excellent memorial drawn by an intimate friend and brother minister, Rev. Dr. Kennaday. Having been with him from the time he entered upon the command of the Forty-eighth New York State Volunteers, we can furnish a statement of all his military acts until he fell at his post. The following is Dr. Kennaday's sketch, which was read at the funeral, which was held in the Fleet-street Church, Brooklyn, of which Colonel Perry was once a pastor.

"JAMES HAZARD PERRY was born near Latintown, a small but old village near the line of Ulster and Orange counties, in the state of New York, in the year 1811. His education commenced at an early age, and he made rapid progress in his studies, until he became competent to enter as a cadet at the Military Academy at West Point. Becoming strongly interested in the cause of Texan independence, he resigned his position in the academy in the third year of his connection with it. He left behind him a good reputation for scholarship and manly deportment. Accepting the appointment of colonel in the service of Texas, he proceeded to raise a regiment.

Succeeding in raising a large part of his regiment in New York, he embarked, intending to recruit the residue of it in New Orleans. The recruits with whom he sailed were undisciplined, and under very little restraint, save the influence of their colonel. The brig in which they sailed was a dull and indifferent craft, and they were driven by stress of weather upon the Bahama Banks. On nearing Nassau harbor the vessel was so disabled that the soldiers, fearing lest they should be lost, made every effort to escape, and reached the beach some distance below the town,

"The men had suffered much from hunger, and began their depredations upon the fields, much to the alarm of the inhabitants, many of whom were blacks. Word was soon carried to the town that a piratical vessel had landed her crew. The authorities at once proceeded to the arrest of the intruders, and their colonel, among them, was placed in custody. The magistrates and citizens, upon hearing Colonel Perry's statement of the facts, immediately released the men, and extended to them a generous hospitality. The colonel was invited to the residence of Mr. Lightbourne, a local preacher of the Wesleyans, father of Rev. James Lightbourne, now of the Philadelphia Conference. Though at this time no professor of religion, and but little acquainted with Methodism, his deportment in this family, and before the citizens generally, won the highest respect. His soldierly demeanor, his mild yet decided control of his men, made him friends, and every kindness was shown the regiment during its stay and upon its departure. Upon arriving at New Orleans he used all diligence to reach the scene of his future activity. His military education, together with his various other qualifications, made him a great acquisition to the little army of Texas, and its master-spirit, General Houston, soon appointed him an aid-de-camp. Great privations and sanguinary contests were then the daily incidents of that often dubious struggle. Colonel Fanning and his brave associates having surrendered as prisoners of war, had been brought into the presence of Santa Anna and ordered to be shot; only one of the number escaped. A little time afterward Colonel Crockett and his companions were all massacred, by the cruel edict of the same ungenerous conqueror, at the Alamo. Meanwhile Houston's forces continued retreating,

until it became a question whether it would not be better to relinquish the contest, and retreat across the lines into the United States and there disband, rather than continue a struggle so disastrous. At length they met Santa Anna at San Jacinto. A council was held, and the question whether to fight or to retreat was debated. General Rusk and Chief-Justice Collingwood, then with the army, advised resistance, in which opinion Colonel Perry coincided, and arrangements were made for the life or death-struggle of Texas.

"On the first fire of the enemy General Houston was wounded, and General Rusk took the command of the right wing. The command of the left wing devolved on Colonel Perry, who took the place made vacant by the transfer of Rusk. This position brought Colonel Perry in immediate contact with the officer commanding the right wing of the Mexican forces, who was supposed to be Santa Anna. So exasperated were the men by the cruelties of the Mexican general, that they not only resolved to die rather than fall into his hands, but they determined to avenge, by his death, the slaughter of their countrymen. The Mexican line was formed upon the crown of a hill, at the base of whose slope the Texans were drawn up. The impetuosity of the latter was such that they rushed, at the first word of command, up the hill, shouting one to another, 'Remember the Alamo.' Santa Anna was not, as supposed, in the army. Being sick, as he alleged, he remained in a thicket some distance from the action, in company and care of General Coss, where he was found and captured after the engagement. This change devolved the command of the Mexican forces upon General Castillo, who, being on the right wing, was brought in immediate contact with Colonel Perry. Under the impression that Santa Anna was in command, and sharing in the general abhorrence of the man, Perry engaged with him in a sword fight. They were upon their saddles, and for a few moments the contest was desperate. At length Castillo fell. Upon ascertaining that it was not Santa Anna, Perry felt extreme regret.

"The encounter with General Castillo was a matter of life-long regret to Colonel Perry, for though most heroic as a soldier, he was a man of tender heart. With thoughtfulness approaching at times almost to melancholy, he returned to the

neighborhood of his early home, and settled with his little family at Newburgh. Through the invitation of his sister, a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, he was induced to attend a love-feast, where the strange but consoling truths of experimental religion excited his attention. At an early moment he disclosed his feelings to the Rev. Seymour Landon, then pastor of the Church. The result was his profession of religion, and his uniting with the Church upon probation. It was but a few months after this that the writer became his pastor, and was at once deeply interested in his history and experience. He was a very child in Christian attainments, and had everything to learn in Christian doctrine. Mr. Landon had fostered him with the greatest care and faithfulness. Though he had never been skeptical, yet his knowledge of the Christian system had not been such as to establish him in any special creed. Never did we know a person excelling Colonel Perry in a strong desire to be governed by the utmost sincerity. His high sense of honor had kept him so free from gross offenses that, in the absence of an external change of character, many were but little aware of the decided and sincere tone of his piety, the emotions of which increased as he advanced in the knowledge of God.

"During his probation, and for some time following, he was engaged in teaching a school in New Mills, just west of Newburgh, until he took the Academy in Newburgh. Supposing that I saw in him elements which God would sanctify to his growth in grace and usefulness, I encouraged him to exercise his gifts in religious meetings, until, in view of the work of the ministry, he entered upon a course of theological preparation. His literary studies had been ample, but his religious reading was limited. Giving him free access to our library, a portion of almost every day was spent by him in the most intimate relations with the writer. In due time he was licensed as a local preacher, and unanimously recommended to the New York Conference. He was very far from being a bold or self-sufficient man. To look upon his stately form and military carriage, and to witness his cool deportment, few would suppose him a man of much timidity; yet such he was. Not wishing to place himself in a position which would prevent his joining the conference, he declined, upon advice, engaging in the Academy beyond the

term for which he was then employed. He was admitted into the conference, and appointed to Burlington and Bristol Circuit, in Connecticut, in the year 1838. From this period until his death Dr. Perry filled, with great approval and usefulness, many of the first appointments in the conference. In 1854 the degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred upon him by Dickinson College. He shared many public attentions, and was highly esteemed as a Christian gentleman. In 1856 he was a delegate to the General Conference held in Indianapolis.

"At the commencement of the war he considered the claims of his country, and seriously inquired whether it was not his duty to offer his services. The singularity of the position of one who, occupying the sacred pulpit, should relinquish its holy duties to assume the activities of the camp, led some to inquire whether it was fitting. Dr. Perry reasoned, however, from the indications of Providence: for his education he was indebted to his country, and his country conferred this gift with the implied understanding that if at any time her emergencies should require his services they were to be rendered. On the other hand, he had devoted himself to a work of most sacred character. There was a redundancy of men in the ministry, and scores were ready to enter, well qualified, could they find work. Educated military men were few, and in great demand. Believing that his absence from the ministry for a time was admissible, and that he would essentially aid his government, on obtaining the consent of his Church and the proper authority he resumed his military calling. He never thought of other than a temporary absence from the ministry; and before the meeting of the last conference, so far had he hoped for the close of the war and his release from his post, that he consented to take an appointment to one of the first Churches in the conference which had corresponded with him upon the subject. This was with the understanding that the war should first close. In rendering to Cesar the things that are Cesar's, and unto God the things that are God's, he ceased 'at once to work and live.'"

The regiment, which was organized in Brooklyn, embarked as a part of General Sherman's southern expeditionary corps,

on the steamer Empire City, and sailed to Fortress Monroe, where, after waiting a short time, it took its position in the fleet and departed for Port Royal, which place it reached after encountering one of the severest storms in the Gulf Stream, which dispersed the fleet, and destroyed several vessels and a large amount of government arms and stores. When the scattered vessels arrived, and all things had been got in readiness for an attack, the gunboats entered the harbor, and commenced the bombardment of Forts Beauregard and Walker. It was a magnificent sight; and as we lay quietly at anchor, witnessing the maneuvering of the war vessels, heard the reports, and saw the explosion of the shells which rained upon the doomed forts, we began to realize something of the realities, if not the horrors, of war. After part of two days of heavy cannonading the forts were abandoned, and the rebel fleet, which offered a feeble resistance to our gunboats, retired.

Here comes a mystery, which must forever remain one unless the naval authorities shall deem fit to explain it. It is this. After the fort on Hilton Head was abandoned, and the fragile rebel gunboats had retired, a single Union gunboat could have cut off their retreat from the island by steaming five miles to Seabrook Ferry. Another could have cut off the retreat from Bay Point by Station Creek. It may have been thought "glory enough for one day" to have driven the rebels from their strongholds on both sides of the harbor; but the indisposition to follow up the victory gave them an opportunity to make good their escape. If this were the only instance of want of energy in the following up of victories on the part of our officers in this war, it would not be so remarkable; and the only way it can be accounted for is in that providential overruling, the wisdom of which we never may be able to see, but which forms a part of the divine plan in the conduct of the war.

In a few days the Forty-eighth, with the other regiments composing the division, landed, and pitched their tents in the corn and cotton fields of the island. During the summer and fall the force was employed in repairing the forts, and throwing up an earthwork across the head of the island and mounting it with guns of heavy caliber. In the mean time, reconnoissances were made toward Savannah by our gunboats, but not until the rebels had time to obstruct the channels of approach by driving

piles, sinking hulks, and constructing booms across the rivers. Beaufort was taken possession of after it had been deserted for some time, and also Dawfuskie Island, lying on the north side of the Savannah River, opposite Fort Pulaski.

On the first day of January Colonel Perry was appointed by General Stevens—who fell bravely at the head of his command in Virginia, while bearing the flag, which had been stricken from the hands of a color-sergeant who had fallen—to the command of the Forty-seventh and Forty-eighth regiments in an attack at Port Royal ferry. A short battle was fought, during which the Forty-seventh and Forty-eighth were under the fire of the enemy for some time, only one being wounded. It was found impossible to take the masked battery of the enemy, though the fort at the river was destroyed, and the object of the reconnoissance was obtained. Having destroyed the enemy's headquarters, and removed the guns and ammunition of the battery, the force retired to Beaufort and Hilton Head.

Early in February, the Forty-eighth regiment was ordered to embark at Seabrook, on the steamer Winfield Scott, for Dawfuskie Island. On the way, while attempting to round a point in Pull and the Dam Creek, the steamer ran aground, and as the tide receded she parted amidships, and was abandoned, a total wreck. The right wing of the regiment had previously disembarked at Cooper landing, on Dawfuskie, and the remainder was taken by the steamer May Flower to the place of destination.

To cut off the communication between Savannah and Fort Pulaski had been determined, as a necessity in the reduction of the fort; and to this end it was essential that batteries should be planted on Jones and Bird Islands, commanding the North and South Channels of the Savannah River. The accomplishment of this was one of the most laborious and hazardous undertakings of the war. These islands at high tide were nearly covered with water, and the ground was of such a yielding nature that the men at every step sank to their waists in mud. The work was committed to the Forty-eighth, with detachments of the Volunteer Engineers and Third Rhode Island Regiments. The whole force of the Forty-eighth was employed in cutting pine logs, and carrying them on their

shoulders a distance of two miles to the landing, whence they were transported to the islands. A corduroy road was made across Jones Island for the distance of a mile, and the cannon were drawn across by the men. Mud forts were constructed on both islands, and levees thrown up to keep out the tide. During all the time they were menaced and attacked by the gunboats of the rebel fleet; the Union gunboats in the mean time affording them all the protection in their power.

After a few guns had been placed in position, there was no further communication with the fort by the Savannah River; but still there was an outlet by way of St. Augustine Creek, which was out of range of the guns on Jones Island. It was not long, however, before a battery was constructed on Bird Island, and a gunboat which attempted to run through was struck and disabled. It was the last attempt at communication with the fort.

While this work was going on, the Forty-sixth regiment, Seventh Connecticut, and a detachment of the Volunteer Engineers, under command of Colonel Hall, were busily employed in erecting batteries in the night season on Tybee Island, within a mile of the fort. In fact, the most of the work on the islands was done in the night, and during the spring rains. So secretly were the batteries planted on Tybee that the commandant of the fort knew nothing of their existence until they were opened upon him in April.

From the heights of Dawfuskie Island we had a fine view of the bombardment. It was even more exciting than that at Port Royal. Shell and solid shot were rained in one incessant storm for twelve hours, during which time the flag of the fort was thrice shot away. The beleaguered kept up a steady fire in return of shot and shell; but the dismounting of their guns and mortars, and a terrific breach in the wall, admonished them that further resistance was hopeless, and the white flag showed the surrender of the fort, and invited the besiegers to its occupancy. What is remarkable is, that upon the Union side only one man was killed, and he by unnecessary exposure, and only a few of the rebels.

During the month of June, the Forty-eighth was ordered to the fort, and Colonel Perry removed his command from Dawfuskie to its occupancy. Everything was in the greatest disor-

der. Nothing could be seen but battered walls and rubbish; and here again the herculean powers of the Forty-eighth were called into action. Nor did they cease till every breach was repaired, the fort mounted with a full complement of guns, and everything put in perfect order, so much so, that we doubt if there is a stronger fort in the Union. From its position it must prove invulnerable to any naval attack. It was not long, however, that Colonel Perry was permitted by Providence to remain at this post. A month had scarcely elapsed when he was suddenly called away by death. While reposing in his casemate upon a sofa, conversing with one of his officers about placing a battery upon a hulk in the South channel, to guard against the approach of the enemy in that direction, and also by the way of Lazaretto Creek, his head gently declined, and his spirit departed. His earthly warfare was ended, and we trust he has entered into rest.

While Methodist ministers were buckling on the armor in the East the mighty West was stirred, and ministers and people flocked to the standard of the Union army. Among the heroic spirits who drew the blade was the Rev. Granville Moody, of the Cincinnati Conference, and at the time pastor of Morris Chapel, Cincinnati. During the latter part of the year 1861, he was appointed Colonel of the Seventy-fourth regiment Ohio Volunteers, the organization of which had been commenced. In January, 1862, the regiment encamped on the fair grounds at Xenia. Associated with him in command was Lieutenant-colonel Baron Von Schröder, a Prussian officer of military education and experience. While in camp the colonel officiated as chaplain, preaching the Gospel in trumpet tones to his men, rousing their religion as well as their patriotism. While on a visit to Cincinnati, where he preached to overwhelming audiences, the Church of which he had been pastor presented him with a splendid sword, Mayor Thomas presented him with a noble horse, and Judge Storer with a brace of pistols. The interest taken in the warrior-preacher was general, and all patriots were ready to bid him Godspeed in the noble and glorious work of suppressing rebellion.

Shortly after this, Colonel Moody was placed in command of Camp Chase, at Columbus, Ohio, where he evinced great exec-

utive qualities in commanding the regiments rendezvoused at that place. An order from Washington, detaching him from his regiment and placing him permanently in command of Camp Chase, was received by him with regret, as he wished to accompany his regiment to Tennessee. Numerous rebel prisoners, amounting at one time to two thousand, were sent from the South to Camp Chase for confinement; and though rebel sympathizers were at hand to extend them relief, and, if possible, obtain their release, yet Colonel Moody held over them a steady arm of military power. When forty-seven officers were sent from Camp Chase to Fort Warren, a number of them desired to take their slaves with them. The negroes followed their masters out of the prison, carrying their baggage. The colonel, seeing them, ordered them back. At this the officers remonstrated, but the colonel answered that he had orders to send forty-seven officers to Fort Warren, and he intended to execute that order to the letter; the order, he said, did not provide for servants, and slaves were not recognized in Ohio. This fearless performance of his duty greatly chagrined the treason-sympathizers in Columbus.

The regiment was finally ordered to Tennessee, and notwithstanding the urgent entreaties of Colonel Moody to accompany it he was obliged to remain, for the following reasons, set forth by Governor Tod:

STATE OF OHIO, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
Columbus, April 19, 1862.

DEAR COLONEL,—The earnest personal and written appeals which you have made to accompany your regiment to the field embarrass me greatly. The strong personal attachment existing between yourself and the men of your command, the expectation and desire of the relatives and immediate friends of your gallant troops, the extreme pertinacity with which you demand it as a right, added to the *peculiar fitness for the command*, all tend strongly to induce me to yield to your request. But when I remember that we have at Camp Chase nearly *fifteen hundred prisoners*, (and that the number is daily increasing,) most of whom are commissioned officers, with but a slight and temporary prison, and with but a few fragments of undrilled and untried troops to guard them, I am compelled to deny your request.

You have now brought the responsible and delicate duty of safely keeping and humanely treating these prisoners to a perfect system, which, without your personal presence, may be placed in jeopardy.

In addition to my own convictions upon this subject, I learn from

a dispatch just received from General Buckingham, now at Washington City, that it is the wish of Secretary Stanton that you remain in command of Camp Chase.

For these reasons, I feel compelled to refuse the inclosed order, detaching you from your regiment, and directing that you send it to the field under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Von Schröder. When in my power consistently with duty to permit you to join your regiment in the field, it will afford me infinite pleasure to do so. Very respectfully,

DAVID TOD, Governor.

Colonel Granville Moody, 74th Reg. O. V. I.

The regiment was stationed in Nashville, and remained at that post until ordered to march, in General Negley's division, on Murfreesboro. In the mean time, Colonel Moody had been successful in being allowed to join his regiment. The history of the battle at Stono River shows that after General M'Cook's right had been turned, the whole force of the enemy came against General Negley. After the Thirty-seventh Indiana had retired, being terribly cut up, the Seventy-fourth was ordered to take its place, in the midst of a perfect storm of shot and shell. With the brave Moody at their head, they marched up boldly to face the storm. They fought without break or falter, and would have continued until the last man had fallen had not Brigadier-General Miller ordered them to cease and retire.

On the following Friday, the Seventy-fourth was called to pass through a more severe ordeal. In that triumphant charge of the left, the Colonel calmly and bravely led his men. It is reported that just before the shock of that day's dreadful battle he said, "Now, boys, say your prayers and give them the bullets as fast as you can." Everywhere on his black charger his plume could be seen nodding in the thickest of the fight. His tall, manly person made him a conspicuous object. He was struck by balls in three places, one of them shattering the stock of a revolver which he wore in his breast; and his horse was shot from under him three times. As if unconscious of being struck, and feeling immortal till his work was done, he continued upon the field, cheering his men on to victory. Well did Rosecrans, in his report, say of the Seventy-fourth, "it behaved grandly." To one who, like Colonel Moody when he entered the service, had but little knowledge of military science, it is remarkable what proficiency he made in the art of war, and

it may be safely said that he has not been excelled in skill and bravery by any of the commanders of our volunteer forces. Impelled by the purest patriotism, a Baltimorean by birth, he entered the war believing that to crush the rebellion was the most sacred duty of every liberty-loving American citizen.

Among the large number of officers furnished by the Methodist Church, we have taken a representative from the East and one from the West, and they both from the ranks of the clergy. We shall now present a sketch of a representative from the Keystone State.

Colonel J. M. M'Carter, at the time of the breaking out of the war, was a member of the Philadelphia Conference, stationed in Lebanon, Pennsylvania. He was well known throughout the loyal states of the Atlantic coast as a strong antislavery man. He seemed to see the storm coming which has burst on our country, and desired and labored to bring the Church up to a higher position on the question of human freedom.

When the governor of the state called for volunteers for the three months' service, and meetings were held to encourage enlistments, he was found lending all his energy to send out men. The people of Lebanon, Pennsylvania, will not soon forget the address he delivered in the Court-house of that town on the occasion of the first public meeting to raise soldiers, in April, 1862. Two companies were organized, and next day sent off, who were among the first to reach Washington: this in a town numbering only about three thousand inhabitants.

Upon the solicitation of Colonel Johnston, he became Chaplain of the Fourteenth Pennsylvania regiment, and served in that capacity to the end of the period of its enlistment. In connection with the discharge of his duties to his own regiment, he also faithfully performed the duties of his office for the whole brigade to which the Fourteenth was attached, there being no other chaplain.

Upon each occasion of drill he was present, an eager learner; and as he messed with the colonel, he had opportunities, which he eagerly embraced, to study military tactics. His tutor, an officer of distinguished ability in the Mexican war, went over in the books the movements of the drill, and was never weary in

hearing him recite his military lesson, or explaining the movements of the field.

In the only action of the Patterson column, Colonel Johnston, in the absence of the major of the regiment, assigned him that post on the day of the fight of Falling Waters, Virginia.

During the time of his absence from his pastorate, his pulpit was supplied by the Rev. John Quimby, one of the stewards of the Philadelphia Conference, and who died in August last, at Annapolis, Maryland, of disease contracted on the Peninsula, after serving with Colonel M'Carter nearly a year, as chaplain of the Ninety-third Pennsylvania Regiment. Upon his return from the three months' service he resumed the duties of his pastorate, and ministered with great popularity to the crowds who came to hear in the Methodist Episcopal Church in Lebanon.

On September 14 he was honored by the War Department with authority to raise a regiment, to be called the Lebanon Infantry. This was unexpected to him, and entirely unsolicited; for he had been exerting himself to send off soldiers for the three years' service, and assisted in sending from the county three or four full companies. The most sanguine scarcely believed there was more than a battalion of volunteering timber in the county; yet on October 24—in about five weeks—his regiment, numbering ten hundred and forty-three men, had been mustered into the service of the United States.

To his old colonel he offered the command of the regiment after raising it, but with this arrangement Colonel Johnston would not coincide; and though the authorities of the state had solicited his acceptance of the command of a regiment for the war, with a view to his obtaining a brigade, for which he was admirably qualified, yet he consented to go as lieutenant-colonel with his friend and former chaplain.

The regiment of Colonel M'Carter, serving in the army of the Potomac, went with General M'Clellan to the Peninsula. Beginning with Fortress Monroe, this campaign had its victims of disease, whose graves mark the whole length of its course to Fair Oaks, and has caused it justly to be regarded as one of the most disastrous of modern times. It is usual to speak of the thousands who perished on the banks of the Chickahominy by reason of malarious disease; but those forms of disease appeared

in the army long before the Chickahominy was reached. In the camps in front of Yorktown, and those more especially located on the Warwick River, sickness prevailed to an alarming extent. Those quartered in what are known as original forests, forests which had never been cut down, where the decay of vegetation, by the action of the gases, generated disease, and into which no summer sun ever peered, found them prolific of diarrhea and camp fever. Before the rebels evacuated Yorktown, fifteen per cent. of the men in Keyes's Corps had contracted disease, and on through to Fair Oaks there may be traced the track of every corps by the mounds that cover their dead. The simple board, often that of a cracker box, marking the spot where a soldier slept, deaf to the call of the reveille and needing no tattoo to command repose, was painfully frequent to those portions of the army which brought up the rear on all that wearisome march. The Ninety-third Pennsylvania regiment shared deeply in these losses, and on arriving before Richmond nearly one third of the thousand had disappeared from its ranks. The call which summoned them to be under arms and in line of battle at daybreak each morning had found fewer and fewer to respond at each succeeding day, almost from its leaving Fortress Monroe.

In the fight of Williamsburgh, the character of the regiment was established for the steadiness and persevering valor with which it held its post in the battle-field, amid shot, shell, grape, canister, and bullets, which swept that bloody field. Here seventy-five of his officers and men were killed or mortally wounded. Every field officer except himself, together with the adjutant, during the four hours they were in action, was dismounted, by reason of the wounding of their horses; and though the incessantly-flying bullets laid many a one low in death or wounds, he kept his saddle, uninjured, to the close of the day. This was the first day of the regiment's being under fire; and here it was that, with the other four associated regiments, the gallant service was rendered which crowned with distinction the well-known Peck's Brigade, of Couch's division.

Among the incidents of that action the following is given, on the best authority. A captain of the Ninety-third Pennsylvania regiment, who fell in this battle, had the presentiment of his approaching death. He told a fellow-officer he should never leave that field. A little while afterward a Minié ball passed

through the lower part of his body. He was found, his head leaning against a stump, his right hand grasping the daguerreotype of his wife, and resting on his heart. The dead captain's sword lay unsheathed beside him, and, brave as he was in life, his sword-hand grasped not its hilt in death, but the likeness of one who, though far away, affection summoned in her image amid that terrible carnage to be the last object of thought to the dying husband.

The major of the regiment was left behind at Warwick, with fever. The battle of Williamsburgh, fought amid rain and storm, found the wearied survivors, after the task of blood was over, lying down in the water on the front, and within reach of the guns of Fort Magruder, without other shelter than the skies, with no fire, and the refreshing cup of coffee an impossibility. That night, as Colonel M'Carter passed around among his sleeping men, he saw by the glare of the half-concealed candle the blackened and begrimed faces of those who had fallen into repose, with wet leaves, pulled from the bushes, which they had been sucking in order to quench their thirst. That night cost the regiment the loss of more men by sickness than the battle of the day before, and among them the ever-faithful Lieutenant-Colonel Johnston. Broken down in health, a short time afterward he was compelled to resign his post; a calamity to the service, and a source of deepest regret to the colonel.

The Chickahominy was reached by Keyes's Corps at Bottom Bridge. Here tradition points out the place where the Indian maiden saved the life of Captain Smith. The spot is a few yards to the left of the road approaching the bridge, and about fifty paces from the stream. The Massachusetts Seventh, Colonel Russell, and the Ninety-third Pennsylvania, Colonel M'Carter, were on picket duty on the front, in the vicinity of the bridge; and the standards of the former regiment were the first borne across the stream. Colonel Russell and Colonel M'Carter were the first two officers of the same rank who crossed the burned bridge at daylight on the morning of the 14th of May.

In the action of Fair Oaks, the regiment of Colonel M'Carter was early ordered by General Couch to support Casey's left front. Here he lost nearly two hundred in killed and wounded, but held the post assigned him against superior odds, and only fell back to the second line of defense on a peremptory order

from General Peck, that he should do so. Here he had one of his brothers, a captain, taken prisoner; and another, a captain also, severely wounded. Two horses were killed under Colonel M'Carter in this action, the second having his head and part of his neck shot off by a shell, which tore the colonel's clothing, already riddled with bullets, from his person, and occasioned unconsciousness for thirty hours afterward. The spinal injuries received have made him partially paralytic in the left side; yet most of the time since he has been on duty with his regiment. He has for weeks together, on the march from the Peninsula, been lifted into his saddle in the morning and out of it when the march was over at night. He has frequently fallen from the saddle, once on drill, from any cause disturbing his spine. Yet he is comparatively a young man, of good health; and we learn that with rest a month or two he will entirely recover.

After the battle of Fair Oaks and the seven days' fight before Richmond, he returned to his regiment, and found only one hundred and five men, three lieutenants, and one captain, of his once splendid regiment, fit for duty at Harrison's Landing. Death, wounds, sickness, and captivity, had buried and scattered them. But one officer besides himself was found wearing the badges of office with which the regiment was organized. It marched from the Peninsula, was in reserve at the second battle of Bull Run, in August last, acted as a reserve at the battle of South Mountain, and marched twenty-five miles to reach the field of Antietam on Wednesday of the battle. It occupied the front on the morning of Thursday, and expected to be engaged, but was not, owing to the flag of truce sent in by the rebels for the alleged purpose of burying their dead. That night the enemy disappeared from the north bank of the Potomac, and the morning witnessed officers and soldiers roaming over a field where lay uncounted dead and all the terrible debris left by a beaten army on a battle-field.

We may properly conclude this article with a sketch of the Rev. Pelatiah Ward, to whom allusion has been made. From an obituary which appeared in the Christian Advocate and Journal, we learn that he was born in Dover, Dutchess County, New York. Having received a good preparatory education, he entered upon the study of the law at Poughkeepsie, where he

was converted, and joined the Methodist Episcopal Church. In 1846 he was admitted a member of the New York Conference, and in due time graduated to full minister's orders. At all the posts of duty assigned him by the authorities of the Church, he served with fidelity and success. He had been for several years one of the secretaries of the Conference; an office which he filled with remarkable ability up to the time of his death.

In the spring of 1861 he was appointed to Ellenville, Ulster County, and entered upon his charge with every prospect of usefulness. War had sounded its dreadful tocsin, and the bloody hand of rebellion had been raised against the government. With his ministerial brethren in the conference which met at Poughkeepsie he had loyally ranged himself on the side of the Union, and, impelled by a noble patriotism, he exerted his powers to the utmost to meet the demands of the government in furnishing soldiers for the Union army. His noble and generous feelings were thoroughly roused and fully enlisted in the cause of his country, and his thrilling appeals brought one hundred and thirty men to the Union standard in the short space of ten days. He designed going with those who thus gathered around him, as Chaplain of the regiment to which they were assigned, and the position had been offered for his acceptance; but such were the attachments formed for him, and such the confidence in his bravery and his adaptation to the office of commander, that with one voice they clamored for him as their leader, and when their votes were cast he was unanimously chosen captain. We doubt if the history of the whole war can furnish a case equal to this, in the patriotism of the leader or the devotion of his followers. His brave heart could not withstand this appeal from the heroic young men of the company, and he promptly acceded to their request, and gave himself to the discharge of the laborious duties of his new vocation.

Realizing that he was called in the providence of God to the work, he entered upon it with a zeal and success which only such a conviction could produce. Like the faith which, in the Roman captain, was without a parallel in the whole Church, Captain Ward exhibited a faith in the righteousness of the cause in which he was engaged which never faltered up to the last conflict. So impressed were his ministerial brethren with the propriety of his conduct in taking the position in which Provi-

dence had placed him, that at the Conference of 1862 his character passed unblemished, and he was continued in his relation, without the slightest change in his ecclesiastical status, except to give him a nominal appointment, there being no provision in the Discipline for one of a purely military character.

Loving his men, and being beloved by them, he entered the field, and cheerfully endured all the hardships of camp life. The regiment to which he was attached was engaged in the battles under General Pope, at Warrenton, Cedar Mountain, Centerville, Germantown, and Manassas, in which the disgraceful blunderings and inactivity of some general officers resulted in a defeat of the Union army. The time when he received his death-wound was Saturday, the 30th of August. He had before received a shot in his right arm, which disabled him, but he kept on the field, wielding his sword with his left hand as he cheered on his men. The battle raged with fury, and brave men were falling on every side. Just then the regimental flag was likely to fall into the dust, and be trampled upon by the enemy. Such fatality had attended the color-bearers, six having already fallen, that for a moment none seemed willing to rush to the rescue of the flag. Captain Ward dashed forward, between the advancing and retreating forces, seized the colors, and waving them over his head shouted, "Stand your ground, my boys!" Fired with fresh courage, they rallied, and followed their leader. While moving on, a Minié ball struck him in the hip, making a wound an inch in diameter. He fell; but though fallen his courage failed not, as he cheered his men on and charged them to hold their ground. While he was being borne from the field, faint with the loss of blood, the fragment of an exploded shell struck him, and produced a frightful wound. Thus mangled, three true and trusty men carried him six miles to the hospital at Centerville, from whence he was taken to Alexandria, where he received every attention that could be given him.

Under these distressing circumstances, neither his religion nor his patriotism failed him. He felt it was "sweet for his country to die;" while the religion which he had professed, and the consolations of which he had administered to many a dying saint, was his support in the trying hour. To the chaplain of the Twentieth regiment New York State Volunteers,

Rev. Mr. Santvoord, who had conversations with him in his last hours, he gave assurances of his faith in Christ as his Saviour, and of eternal rest in heaven after the conflicts of life were over.

He lived but a few days, and died on the 2d of September, in great peace. His remains were taken to Yorkville, where he had been stationed a few years previously. A large number of ministers attended his funeral, which was held in the Methodist Church. Rev. L. H. King preached the funeral discourse, from the text, "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course," to a very large and deeply affected audience, a number of whom were the spiritual children of the deceased. After the sermon, hundreds were permitted, for the last time, to gaze upon the face of the Christian warrior, and to look upon the relics of his devotion to his country's cause in the broken sword, the bullet-torn coat, shapeless cap, and the still more interesting evidence of his devotion to his God in the well worn testament found in his pocket, and which had been carried in the battles through which he had passed. The flags of the village were hung at half mast, and the entire community gave evidence of the deepest respect for his memory. On the following day his remains were taken to South Dover, Dutchess County, and interred there, to rest until the sound of the resurrection trumpet.

Art. VI.—THE IMPENDING REVOLUTION IN ANGLO-SAXON THEOLOGY.

[FIRST ARTICLE.]

The whole body of English, Scotch, and American theology presupposes and is adjusted to that theory of physics according to which matter, whether organic or inorganic, is absolutely and essentially inert. It assumes this doctrine as an indubitable, unassailable axiom. Its whole argumentation for the existence of God, its view of the relation of God to the world, its doctrine of providence, its proofs of immortality, not to speak of its theories of the resurrection-body and new earth, are based upon this doctrine of matter, and depend upon it in no small degree

for their logical validity. This theory, however, be it right or wrong, is rapidly being abandoned by the leading natural philosophers of all countries. It has been practically ignored by men of science for a long time, but at present it is becoming more and more common among them to explicitly disown and controvert it. In exact proportion with the rapidity of this scientific revolution, rises and greatens the necessity of rewriting our whole theology from the new stand-point. Our traditional arguments in all the important departments above cited can but be viewed by the rising generation of scholars as resting upon an exploded dogma of physics; as utterly irrelevant, therefore, and forceless. Would we have Christianity retain its hold on the scientific mind of America and Great Britain, our theology must be, at least, so far reconstructed as to admit of its independence of the old theory, and possible adjustment to the new. We may depend upon it that it is to be thus reconstructed. And this is what we mean when we speak of the Impending Revolution in Anglo-Saxon Theology.

If it be true that so radical a revolution as this is immediately before us, we are summoned, both by a natural curiosity and by the holiest obligations, to acquaint ourselves as fully as possible with its immediate cause and probable consequences. In the present paper we propose to briefly glance at both.

There are, as is well known, two diametrically opposed theories of matter and of nature. According to the first, the ultimate atoms of matter are absolutely, essentially, necessarily inert; according to the second they are absolutely, essentially, and necessarily active. According to the first, every natural movement, change, development, must be referred to some force outside of and extraneous to matter; according to the second, these phenomena find their most natural explanation in physical forces resident in and essential to matter. According to the first, the whole material Cosmos is a vast lifeless mechanism; according to the second, it is a stupendous interacting organism. The first is the mechanical theory of physics in its pure form; the second is the dynamical theory in its pure form.

The first theory, though approached by Leucippus, by his disciple Democritus, and by Democritus's plagiarist Epicurus, was first distinctly set forth and consistently carried out by

Descartes. With him and his school, the antagonism between matter and mind is absolute. No causation can by possibility be referred to the former. Second causes there are none. The universe is nothing but a magnificent piece of clockwork. All its marvelous movements result from impact; all are mere mechanical effects of a "*vis impressa.*" The rapidity with which this philosophy rose to complete supremacy in Europe is well known; and followed, as it was, by Gassendi's demonstration of atomism, Newton's masterly exposition of the laws of heavenly motion, and Laplace's wonderful portraiture of "*La* MECANIQUE *Céleste*," all of which held fast and built upon the Cartesian view, it is little wonder that the mechanical theory of the world came to be regarded as the most fundamental of all axioms in physical science; its denial as the most absurd and wanton of scientific heresies.

Unfortunately, however, for the theory, there were certain obvious facts in array against it, and every attempt to reconcile them with the theory only rendered more manifest the utter impossibility of so doing. The most ingenious expedients were resorted to for the purpose of rescuing the theory; some of them, as for instance those of Dr. Cudworth and Lord Monboddo, running into the extreme of fanciful absurdity. All was in vain. In fact, the most obvious and elementary of all attributes of matter, resistance, was seen to be utterly irreconcilable with the theory of absolute inertia. Hence the first step in the overthrow of the theory was the assumption of a "VIS inertiæ" for the explanation of the phenomena of resistance. This was not only a flat *contradictio in adjecto*, but, what was more important, a surrender of the whole theory, inasmuch as it assumed, in direct violation of the fundamental principles of the old hypothesis, that force can and does reside in matter. The next step was the concession of the existence of a gravitative force — an attraction in matter. Gassendi's explanation of the fall of bodies as due to the impulse communicated from impinging air-atoms, was too irrational to find currency; and yet on the purely mechanical theory no better could be devised. So Kepler's and Descartes's explanation of planetary motion by means of imaginary "vortices," and Newton's*

* It is a grave error to attribute to Newton a belief in the current doctrine that a gravitative force resides in matter. He declares again and again in his works

equally fanciful notions on the same subject, could not stand the ordeal of sober criticism. As a consequence, matter was at last reluctantly accorded an attractive force, and the heavenly motions construed as the resultant of this and the tangential force communicated by the Almighty's hand when he "launched" the worlds forth through the unpeopled solitudes of space. Some fell back upon the immediate agency of God as the simplest explanation of all physical causation;* but the great majority of scientific men, of every profession, united in allowing that not only a force of resistance, but also a force of attraction, must be conceded to reside in matter. Still later, it being seen that if one force be assumed to reside in matter, another and another may be assumed with equal legitimacy until all natural phenomena are duly accounted for, a large number of naturalists proceeded to attribute to matter, in addition to the above-named forces, also a repellant force, and sought to explain all the phenomena of cosmical movement by the antagonism of these attractive and repellant forces of matter, thus avoiding the necessity of a resort to an original "push" from the Creator's hand. Among these there is a difference of opinion as to the distribution of these two forces; some holding that all ultimate atoms are endowed with both; others, that only

that he speaks of attraction only in the mathematical sense. In the closing paragraph of his Principia (whose title, by the way, is not without significance: "*Philosophiæ Naturalis Principia* MATHEMATICA") he says, "I have laid down principles *mathematical*, not *philosophical*; such, to wit, as we may *build our reasoning upon* in philosophical matters." Indeed, in his "*Questiones Opticæ*" he attempts to explain the centripetal tendency of the heavenly bodies as resulting from the impingement of ether-atoms. As to the source whence the ether-atoms derive *their* impulse, however, the philosopher leaves us as completely in the dark as were the East Indians respecting the ultimate footing of their world-supporting elephant. Elsewhere he explicitly rejects the current view as a palpable "absurdity." He says, "That gravity should be innate, inherent, and essential to matter, so that one body may act upon another at a distance, through a vacuum, without the mediation of anything else by and through which their action and force may be conveyed from one to another, *is to me so great an absurdity, that I believe no man who has in philosophical matters a competent faculty of thinking can ever fall into it.*"

* One of the ablest statements and defenses of this theory may be found in Bowen's "Metaphysics and Ethics," Boston, 1850. A valuable summary and criticism of other theories is given in the same book, pp. 170–172. Compare also Dr. S. Clarke. It may be added that this theory has recently lost what little foundation it may ever have had, the late discovery of the monogenesis and reciprocal convertibility of all physical forces having placed its advocates completely and forever *hors de combat*.

the imponderables possess the repellant, and the ponderables the attractive; others, that the distribution is too arbitrary to be fixed by any as yet known principle of classification. All, however, agree in according to all matter an attractive force, and in so apprehending its acknowledged resistive force as to make it repellantly effective beyond the limits of the body in which it resides. So complete has been the departure of the scientific world from the axiom with which it set out some two centuries ago.*

Perhaps the most singular thing in this whole development is, that the vast majority of even scientific writers in the English language have all along tried to shut their eyes to the fact that they stand in open contradiction to their great principle, which they still not unfrequently employ in their argumentations, to wit, the doctrine of the essential and absolute inertness of matter. They have endeavored to conceal their departure from the old paths chiefly by representing the force or forces claimed to reside in matter as mere residents, "tenants at will" of the Creator; that is, as *accidents* of matter, not *properties;* a something superinduced upon or planted in matter for a definite and temporary purpose; a something with whose annihilation matter would remain as truly matter as before. That this explanation fails, however, to afford relief to the adherent to the old theory of material inertness, and accordingly to the old-fashioned theologian, is at once evident. For if all matter possess, as a matter of fact, real force; if causation can therefore be truly referred to it; it is all one to us whether this force be conceived of as original and essential to matter, or as an invariable accident superinduced upon it by an almighty fiat. If it once be established as a scientific fact in physics that matter is, and from the foundation of the world has been, and to its final destruction shall be, endowed with force, simple or manifold, then are all arguments based upon its supposed "natural inertia" based upon a mere hypothesis, which no man ever did or ever can prove.

* It will be observed that we do not pursue the history of this scientific revolution into its latest stages of development in Germany, where perhaps a majority of the leading scientific authorities assert that the very essence of matter is force, not solidity, and that every other view involves inevitable contradictions. We have omitted to do so partly for the sake of brevity, and partly because we wish to keep Anglo-Saxon science mainly in view.

That this great scientific revolution is substantially complete, even among Anglo-Saxon naturalists, is too evident to every intelligent man to need confirmation by explicit proofs in these pages. One can scarcely open a scientific treatise, or even periodical of to-day, without observing at once the altered standpoint. Let no one foolishly dream that it is a revolution which is destined to go backward, and, like an ebbing tide, to land us at length at the point of our embarkment. It can no more go back than the progress of astronomic science. It is a conclusion established by the infallible logic of history. All philosophic and scientific progress has been tending toward and contributing to it ever since the awakening of modern mind. Full twenty years ago, Mr. Morrell, after having surveyed the whole evolution of modern thought in all its divergences, conflictions, and temporary culminations, put on record the following as the result of his studies in the history of philosophy: "To us it appears evident that the whole tendency of philosophy, from the time of Leibnitz, has been to bring us nearer and nearer to a purely dynamic theory of the whole universe."* The two decades which have since elapsed have verified his interpretation of the past, and already fulfilled its implied prophecy. Nor let any one imagine that the superseded doctrine is too self-evident to lose its authority for any considerable period. It is by no means so axiomatic as usually represented. Once grant, as even the most conservative are ready to do, that impenetrability is due to an indwelling resistant *force*, and what primary quality has matter left inconsistent with the dynamic theory? The scientific revolution is an accomplished fact; our physicists will soon accept and act upon it; the psychologist and theologian will be obliged to do likewise.

Turning, then, from this hasty glance at the occasion of the coming revolution in our department of science, we proceed to inquire, What is to be, so far as we can now judge, the effect of the above-mentioned scientific *revolution* upon our traditional theology? Will it induce changes so radical as to justify us in applying the term "revolution" to them? Will the abandonment of the old principle in reality jeopardize any of the historic bulwarks of Christian truth? If so, will it be possible to

* History of Modern Philosophy, p. 333, (New York edition.) Compare the remarks immediately following our quotation; also p. 403.

re-erect them on the new foundation as firm, self-consistent, and imposing as they were of yore? It is well to ask these questions now; well to reconnoiter in advance the field in which we may yet be called to fight hard battles. The cause of truth might have been spared many a hardly-retrieved discomfiture had its appointed champions but intelligently studied the movements of the world's mind, and anticipated the maneuvers of the enemy. We may possibly discover it to be a dictate of prudence to intrench and fortify ourselves in the new position before some desperate battle shall reveal to us the untenableness of the old, and force us to attempt the dangerous experiment of changing our front while under the fire of the enemy.

To answer our inquiries satisfactorily, however, it will be necessary to take up some of those points in our current theological system most likely to be affected by the substitution of a dynamic view of matter and of the universe, and institute an investigation as to the necessary results of abandoning the old ground. In this way we shall soon discover the modifications which the whole system is destined to undergo in freeing itself from dependence on a theory of physics already too generally abandoned to be further relied on as a basis for reasoning. We will begin with the time-honored

ARGUMENTS FOR THE EXISTENCE OF GOD.

Here the question immediately arises, If we must surrender the old theory of the natural inertness of matter, what becomes of the cosmological argument for the existence of God? And if this falls, what avail the other so-called proofs? Is not the whole foundation of Natural Theology gone? and if Natural Theology falls, whereon can Revealed Theology build? It requires but a glance at the character of the traditional arguments for the existence of God to discover good reasons for apprehensions of this kind. Let us review the matter a moment.

The arguments in question aim to show that there exists a real being corresponding to our conception of God, and that we are therefore rationally entitled and indeed bound to believe in him. Now, to this conception there belong several distinct elements, to wit: 1. Unoriginated and necessary being. 2. The efficient causation of the world. 3. Intelligence adequate to

such a work. 4. Holiness, manifesting itself in a righteous and universal sovereignty. When we conceive of a being of whom the above characteristics can be affirmed, we conceive of God. If we can prove the existence of a being possessed of all these predicates, we prove the existence of a God. This is what the elder theologians, especially after the rise of the Wolfian philosophy, undertook to do. The arguments employed are not so many independent proofs, each establishing the same grand conclusion; they are only successive links in one chain, steps in one process, parts of one demonstration, whose object is to prove the existence of God. Not one of them, taken by itself, proves the existence of God; each only proves or aids in proving one of the above-enumerated elements of the conception of God. Thus the ontological argument proves the necessity of assuming the existence of an unoriginated and necessary Being—nothing more; the cosmological, or, better, "aiteological"* argument proves that the authorship of all present and past creations must be referred to this Unoriginated Being; the teleological, that this Being must be possessed of the highest conceivable intelligence; the moral, biblical, and historical, that he is the righteous Moral Governor of the Universe; all combined, therefore, that there exists a being corresponding to our conception of God. Hence it is plain that the invalidation of any one link in the whole chain invalidates the whole argumentation, and leaves us where we were on starting.

The ontological argument, ("something is, therefore something must be assumed to have always existed, the contrary assumption involving an unthinkability,")† would of course remain unaffected by the substitution of the new theory of physics. This, however, is of little account, inasmuch as it proves so little that the pantheist, and even materialistic atheist, employs it in common with the Christian theist. Rising to the second step in the demonstration, to wit, the proof that this unoriginated being is directly or indirectly the efficient cause of all natural phenomena, that it is therefore to be conceived of

* That is, the argument drawn from natural causation.

† That this, and not Anselm's or Mendelsohn's, is properly the *ontological* argument, is self-evident; yet Kant's unlucky perversion of the name to designate what is properly the *ideological* argument has come to prevail among all German and quite too many Anglo-Saxon theologians.

as prior to and above nature, extra-mundane, immaterial, self-active; coming, that is, to the employment of the aiteological argument, we first encounter the difficulties in which the new doctrine involves us. On the old ground we could consistently argue as follows: "Every event must be referred to some efficient cause. The events transpiring in the world around us, the movements of the heavenly bodies, the ebb and flow of ceaseless tides, the rush of torrents and the silent growths of spring, are all *manifestations of exerted power*. They cannot be referred to matter organic or inorganic. Not to inorganic, for inorganic matter is utterly inert; powerlessness is its most essential characteristic. Not to organisms of it, for we cannot conceive of dead, inorganic matter ever moving to form combinations with other matter, or how, if placed together, the mere juxtaposition could generate any kind of force. Hence the power manifestly exerted in the operations of the natural world must reside in something outside of matter. But as this power must be conceived of as everywhere present in the material world, and as having operated from the foundation of the world, we can locate it in nothing else than in that unoriginated and necessary being whose existence has been proved to us by the ontological argument. Furthermore, it being granted that power can only reside in and be exerted by *mind*, we must conceive of this unoriginated and necessary being as an all-pervading and almighty mind or spirit. It is, therefore, justly concluded that the uncreated and imperishable being, whose existence we have before demonstrated, is the efficient cause of all natural phenomena, and as such an omnipotent and omnipresent mind. This last point receives additional confirmation from the teleological argument," etc. Abandon the old ground, however, and it is evident we can argue in this way no more. Once admit that real power can and does reside in matter, and all this reasoning falls to the ground. If inherent forces of matter are competent to the production of all the innumerable miracles of movement in the natural world, what is there in the natural world which they cannot produce? If *all the exertions of power* in the universe can be accounted for without resort to something back of and superior to nature, what is there which can force the mind to such a resort?

Here, as we have before intimated, it cannot help the matter

at all to take the ground that all physical causation is secondary; to say that the force or forces resident in matter are not original, but superinduced properties. On this theory the old argument has been as follows: "The present force-phenomena of the universe are indeed sufficiently explained by referring them to natural forces resident in matter; but as matter in and of itself is absolutely inert, we are forced to the theistic conclusion that there was a definite point of time when matter was first endowed with these indwelling forces, and that there must have then existed an almighty mind by which they were thus endowed." But here again everything depends upon the hypothesis that matter is *naturally* inert. And while the advocates of the theory of direct divine agency can bring a somewhat plausible argument for the establishment of the hypothesis of natural inertia, to wit, the *à priori* difficulty of conceiving force or power to be exerted by any thing but mind, the Natural Theologian, occupying this more common ground, is effectually debarred the use of this argument, inasmuch as for the explanation of current physical phenomena he does conceive of power being continually exercised by something other than mind, namely, by the physical forces which he allows exist in nature. The only conceivable way for him to establish the hypothesis is either to show that there was a time when matter existed and yet possessed no force, or to produce existing matter destitute of the property. In either of these cases he might reasonably argue that force was not essential to matter. The first, however, he cannot by possibility do, inasmuch as no science can carry us back to a time when matter did not manifest all the forces now attributed to it; the second is equally impracticable, for if he grants force to any particle in the universe, he is forced by the same considerations which led him to this step to attribute it to every existing atom. His hypothesis of the *natural* inertness of matter must, therefore, in the eyes of the physicist, be regarded as a most gratuitous and unphilosophical assumption. He would say—and so long as the theologian occupies the ground under consideration he cannot controvert the assertion—that so far as our knowledge extends, the ultimate atoms of matter are as uniformly efficient as minds, and that we have the same ground to regard the force exerted by the one *innate and natural* as that exerted by the other. So

long, therefore, as we grant that every particle of matter in the whole universe is constantly exerting an energy of some kind, and concede our inability to prove on scientific grounds that each has not done so from all eternity, what shadow of ground have we to deny the *natural* efficiency of matter? If it be *not* naturally active, the burden of proof certainly rests upon us, and yet we confess our inability to furnish the first step toward a demonstration. Of course all our arguments based upon assumptions so confessedly arbitrary as this, will never weigh a straw with any mind capable of comprehending the first principles of reasoning.

We see, then, that the so-called aiteological argument falls to the ground the moment we admit the dynamic theory of physics, whether we hold to the doctrine of the immediate agency of God in the world, or assert the existence of second causes made resident in matter. It is also evident that if this link in the chain of argument by which we try to demonstrate the existence of God is lacking, the whole is a failure so far forth as it pretends to be a strict demonstration. We may still be able to prove the psychological necessity of assuming an unoriginated and necessary being, infinite and absolute; we may still affirm that the traces of design in nature can be referred to nothing short of intelligence most perfect; but the link by which we were accustomed to join the one conclusion to the other, and identify the Intelligence with the Absolute, is gone. We can no longer prove that that which we call matter is not that unoriginated and necessary being; that intelligence may not reside in it. Having granted that power, or self-activity, is a natural attribute of all matter, what right have we to deny it intelligence? On this ground we find ourselves over against the pantheist powerless. As a specimen of reasoning, his argument is evidently superior to ours. While his is in strict accordance with all the canons of induction, "Occam's razor" would shave ours clean away.

But let us pass to another point.

THE RELATION OF GOD TO THE NATURAL WORLD.

The three most celebrated views which have been held and advocated by Christian thinkers on this subject are the following:

1. The universe is a kind of clockwork. All its motive force was communicated to it at the beginning, yet so skillfully applied and mechanically economized that the vast machine will run on and on of itself until, at the end of time, like a spent chronometer, its thousand wheels within wheels shall come to a perfect stand-still, and remain at rest.

2. The world is a vast mechanism, but its component parts being utterly inert, it constantly needs the *upholding* and the *actuating* power of God. Without the former it would fall back to chaos, if not to nothingness; without the latter there could be no possible movement or life.

3. All natural phenomena are to be referred to qualities superinduced upon dead, inert matter at the creation of the world. The uniform course of nature requires, therefore, no exertion of power on the part of the Creator; at the same time, however, he pervades every part, can and does miraculously interpose, and overrules many natural causes so as to make them contribute to the attainment of supernatural ends.

The first is the Deistic view; the second that of the advocate of direct divine agency; the third that of the ordinary theistic philosopher. The first may be regarded as completely obsolete, it having been rejected long ago by the theologian as practically atheistic, and by the naturalist as unscientific. The third, though practically admitted and authorized by the language of almost all theological writers when treating of other things, is nevertheless expressly rejected by them whenever in the discussion of Omnipotence, Providence, etc., they are called upon to express themselves unambiguously on the subject of God's relation to the material world. Among all the standard divines who have written in the English language, and indeed in other languages, scarce one can be instanced who has not formally and explicitly repudiated the view in question, and maintained in opposition to it the second. This is, therefore, *par excellence* the orthodox view. The writer is not acquainted with any standard treatise on Providence in which this theory is not maintained; yet nearly every argument in favor of it and in refutation of the others is based upon the old view of matter as absolutely and essentially inert. The following extract from "Watson's Biblical and Theological Dictionary," article, Prov-

idence, furnisnes us with a very fair specimen of the customary treatment of the subject in Bodies of Divinity, the author having summed up the prevailing arguments with brevity and force.

By Providence we may understand, not merely foresight, but a uniform and constant operation of God subsequent to the act of creation. Thus in every machine formed by human ingenuity, there is a necessity for the action of some extraneous power to put the machine in motion; a proper construction and disposition of parts not being sufficient to effect the end. There must be a spring, or a weight, or an impulse of air or water, or some substance or other, on which the motion of the several parts of the machine must depend. In like manner the machine of the universe depends upon its Creator for the commencement and the conservation of the motion of its several parts. The power by which the insensible particles of matter coalesce into sensible lumps, as well as that by which the great orbs of the universe are reluctantly, as it were, retained in their courses, does not admit of explanation from mechanical causes; the effects of both of them are different from such as mere matter and motion can produce; they must ultimately be referred to God. Vegetable and animal life and increase cannot be accounted for without recurring to him as the primary cause of both. . . . Much labor has been employed to account for all the phenomena of nature by the powers of mechanism, or the necessary laws of matter and motion. But this, as we imagine, cannot be done. The primary causes of things must certainly be some powers and principles not mechanical, otherwise we shall be reduced to the necessity of maintaining an endless progression of motions communicated from matter to matter, without any first mover, or of saying that the first impelling matter moved itself. The former is an absurdity too great to be embraced by any one; and there is reason to hope that the essential inactivity of matter is at present so well understood and so generally allowed, notwithstanding some modern oppugners of this hypothesis, that there can be but few who will care to assert the latter. . . . Should it be said that matter, though naturally inert, may be made to be otherwise by divine power, this would be the same with saying that matter may be made not to be matter. If inactivity belong to it at all, it must belong to it as matter or solid extension, and therefore must be inseparable from it.

Thus we find in all our elder standard divines, the grand argument in favor of the constant conservatory and controlling agency of God in the natural world is drawn from the assumed inertness of matter. Deny this assumption and you invalidate their entire defense of the orthodox theory. Admit the new doctrine of matter and this whole *Locus* must be rewritten.

THE IMMATERIALITY OF THE SOUL.

The whole of the traditional argument from reason in favor of the spirituality of the human soul may be briefly expressed in the following syllogism: Matter cannot under any circumstances think, perceive, or act. The soul thinks, perceives, acts, *ergo*, the soul cannot be matter. This has been the mode of reasoning on this subject for generations. Of course sharp-sighted materialists were not slow to remind theologians that their argument proves more than might be desirable, namely, the spirituality of the brute creation, and, so far as spirituality is allowed to imply exemption from dissolution, the immortality of brutes. This could not be denied. If the proposed syllogism be valid, the following must be valid also: Matter cannot under any circumstances think, perceive, act. Brutes think, perceive, act, *ergo*, brutes cannot be mere material beings. Most theologians were consequent enough to acknowledge and accept the consequence of their argument; some disposing of these troublesome immortal bugs, boeves, and behemoths by reference to an annihilating decree of God; (Eccl. iii, 21;) others, like Wesley, indulging the pleasing conjecture that they are destined to an eternity of progress, in which they are to be advanced from one grade of being to another until their natural and moral perfections will surpass everything of which we can now form a conception.

The materialistic philosophers might have gone still further, and pressed the supporters of the above style of reasoning into still more embarrassing straits. For on the mechanical theory of physics the phenomena of vegetable life demand the predication of an individual spiritual principle in every instance just as imperiously as do the phenomena of animal life. These phenomena are just as inexplicable by reference to dead inert matter and force mechanically communicated, as are the phenomena of intelligence. We have just as much ground to believe that power is peculiar to spirit, as to believe that intelligence is. We have the same reason to believe that this vital power is resident in the tree, as to believe that the brute's intelligence is referable to an indwelling principle called soul. Hence, if the phenomena of animal life force us to the admission

of a spiritual principle in the brute, the phenomena of vegetable life render it equally necessary to grant to trees and flowers the possession of spiritual principles or souls. Indeed, we might take the whole argument of Wollaston in his "Religion of Nature Delineated," and without the least embarrassment apply it step by step to the proof of the immateriality of all vegetable growths. He says: "The soul cannot be mere matter; for if it is, then (1) either all matter must think; or (2) the difference must arise from the different modification, magnitude, figure, or motion of some parcels of matter in respect to others; or (3) a faculty of thinking must be superadded to some systems of it which is not superadded to others." Then proceeding to show the inadmissibility of either of these three suppositions, he concludes that the soul is immaterial or spiritual. The ease with which the argument could be applied to the miracles of vegetable chemistry is evident to any intelligent mind, while the monstrosity of the conclusion would probably appal even the adventurous divines, who for the sake of their argument brought themselves to say *credo* to a doctrine which places musquitoes and crocodiles in the rank of spirits, and promises them a possible immortality. Even those who did not revolt from the investment of the dog and horse with the dignities of spiritual life, with all its incalculable possibilities, might shrink back on seeing those dignities claimed by dandelions and cabbage-heads.

Should the old-fashioned theologian attempt to dispute such a sweeping application of his favorite argument by affirming that inherent efficiency does not necessarily imply spirituality, while intelligence does; that it is allowable, therefore, to predicate indwelling forces of organized matter while not allowable to predicate intelligence of it, the materialist could silence him in a moment by reminding him of another philosophical dogma of the old school. The elder divines always asserted that resident natural force DOES imply spirituality; that in predicating energy or force of matter we predicate of it an essential property of mind. The materialist could quote against him from the article already cited such unequivocal language as this: "*Self-moving* matter MUST *have thought and design*, because whenever matter moves it must move in some particular direction, and with some precise degree of velocity; and as there is

an infinity of these equally possible, it cannot move itself without selecting one of these preferably to and exclusively of all others, and, therefore, not without design." This way of escape is therefore effectually cut off. However valid the distinction proposed, the believer in the mechanical theory of matter is by his fundamental principle debarred from its benefit. To him force, power, energy are just as foreign to matter as intelligence, taste, religion. Vital processes, therefore, just as much prove the presence of a spirit as intellectual processes do. Even attractive, cohesive, and chemical forces, if not construed with the old school physicists as merely mechanical, must be taken as valid proofs of the existence of a spirit in every individual atom of matter manifesting the possession of such forces. Hence we see that the advocate of the mechanical view of nature must either content himself with the theory of direct divine agency as the explanation of all phenomena of force in nature, or accept Lord Monboddo's wild and heathenish fancy of a distinct soul in every planet, in every tree, in every atom.

But we cannot pursue these applications of the old theory of physics further. We have said enough to show that our standard divines have relied upon it (1) to refute the doctrines of materialistic pantheism by demonstrating the necessity of locating the power, wisdom, and intelligence manifested in the wonderful works of nature in an omnipresent and omnipotent Spirit; (2) to lay an obvious yet philosophical basis for the doctrine of Providence; and (3) to rescue the doctrine of the soul's spirituality. We have also seen that the abandonment of the theory in question would invalidate nearly the whole system of Natural Theology as elaborated in the last century and inherited by our own. Having thus briefly surveyed the desolations which the new doctrine of physics has wrought or is working in our department of science, it remains to inquire how serious these apparent desolations may prove, and whether they endanger any of the great truths of natural or revealed religion. It will also be in place to glance at the possibilities of reconstructing the dilapidated bulwarks whose ruins we have just surveyed.

As to the first point, to wit, the seriousness of the damage wrought, or likely to be wrought, in our traditional theology by

the prevalence of a dynamic theory of physics, we think the most apprehensive need not cherish a single anxiety.

In the first place, it is plain that the world's general faith in God and immortality, cherished for six thousand years and manifested in more than six thousand ways, is not attributable to the cogency of these philosophical "proofs." Whether we regard this faith as an inborn and necessary belief, or as a result of education, or as an intuition of reason, or as a revelation of the Light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world; however we may please to account for it, one thing is certain, that it is not attributable to the writings of Samuel Clarke or Christian Wolf. Down to the year 1700 no religious teacher ever claimed to be able to rigidly demonstrate the existence of God on rational grounds, and yet, through all these thousands of years preceding, the whole race had believed itself under divine government and destined to retributive immortalities. Since 1800 no prominent theologian has claimed that a rational demonstration of the being of a God is possible, and yet the world holds on to the belief in one as firmly as ever. It is at least suggestive that no age in the world's history has been more fruitful of avowed atheists than just that which boasted of its ability to render atheism thenceforth an outright impossibility to every sane mind. When we further consider the limited number of those who ever mastered the reasonings of Clarke, Wolf, and their successors in England and upon the continent, and how many of these few suspected or openly denied the validity of the new-fangled demonstrations, we shall be ready to confess that the world's faith in God and immortality can still stand firm, even should this artificial trestlework be undermined and topple over.

In the second place, the old-fashioned conservative, who ridicules the new theory of physics as self-evidently absurd, as the whim of the hour, the crochet of a reigning school, has the least ground of all to fear. If the theory be what he calls it, no revolution is to be apprehended in anything. The ephemeral absurdity will pass away with the day which gave it birth, and "sound common sense," recovering itself from the momentary aberration, will resume its wonted sway; natural science will replace her foundation stones on the old hard-pan of dead, solid, inert matter, and the old bastions

of natural theology then loom up as firm and impregnable as ever.

In the third place, it must be remembered that the dynamic theory of matter presents itself in two forms. In the first form it teaches that the substratum of matter is essentially diverse from that of mind, though both are affirmed to possess active properties; according to the other form of the theory the essence of matter is itself force, and homogeneous with the essence of spirit. As, now, all those who embrace the new doctrine in this last form are forever relieved of the troublesome antagonism between mind and matter, and therewith of all temptation to support a materialistic pantheism or psychology, it is plain that the old arguments which we have reviewed are of no further utility, so far as these are concerned, and the whole question of their validity or invalidity becomes one of supreme indifference.

Nor let it be thought that this second form of theory is so potently absurd and inconceivable as to repel every mind save that of a born dreamer. Although we are not able personally to give in our adherence to it, we cannot style it a palpable absurdity. Mr. Morell, with all his clear English sense, advocates the view in the following unequivocal words: "That the phenomena we term material must ever exist is self-evident; that they indicate a substratum is equally certain; but that the real philosophic analysis of this substratum will bring us to no other result *than that of an action and reaction of forces*, appears to me to amount almost to a demonstration. The universe in this light appears far more simple, more harmonious, more beautiful. Instead of a dualism, encumbered with metaphysical paradox, we have a *homogeneous creation*, together with THE ACTIVITIES *of which it is* COMPOSED, rising in perfect gradation from the lowest forms of matter, through all the regions of organic life, to the highest development of mind itself."*

In Germany, so far is the doctrine from being thought absurd and pantheistic, that the very foremost defenders of Christian theism, such men as ULRICI† among the philosophers,

* Hist. of Phil., p. 333.

† Compendium der Logik, §§ 49–52. Leipsic, 1860. Compare with his last work, "Gott und die natur." Leipsic, 1862.

and THOLUCK among the theologians, maintain and advocate it as the true and safest basis for a Christian philosophy. Even in our practical, unsophisticated America, have we not in Doctors Hickok, Tayler Lewis, and their disciples, an able and influential school who take precisely the same ground? To these minds matter is nothing but dead-locked antagonistic forces thrown off by the energy of the divine will and made "space-filling." This is the whole conception. In the words of Dr. Hickok, in a late defense of his "Rational Cosmology:" "In his own agency God can set *activities over against and balancing each other, and herein create real static being which is a substantial world.* He can combine the static forces with such excess of energy in given directions as shall induce motion and give inherent dynamic efficiency. The stable world is thus also a changing world of causes and events passing on orderly and intelligibly under his providential government and guided to the consummation of his purposes."* And this philosophy he and his talented adherents devoutly believe to be "the only door of escape from pantheism, the only philosophical entrance upon a pure theism." We dare not call a view absurd which has won the suffrage of such men, under the most diverse surroundings, themselves of different nationalities, and been unanimously regarded by them as the safest if not the only valid philosophical basis for theism. Much rather do we conclude, from this ready entrance which it has found among able and pious thinkers in different countries, that the general acceptance of the dynamic theory of physics will strongly tend to thin the ranks of existing materialists, and to preclude the rise of others. Should such an inference be just, the disablement of our old-fashioned polemics against materialism will of course be so much the less to be lamented.

But once more. If we are not greatly mistaken, there would be nothing lost by an express abandonment of the old theory of matter, from the simple fact *that we have virtually abandoned it already.* If our latest treatises on natural theology are sound, then are the arguments we have reviewed not essential to the science. The value of these works is in no way dependent on these arguments. It is true, they often presuppose and employ the old axiom of material inertness; but those argu-

* American Theological Review, April, 1862, p. 227.

ments for which they are most prized, and in which they show advances upon elder works, are, to say the least, just as available and just as cogent on the dynamical theory of nature as on the mechanical. We have not space to verify this assertion by an extended review of our latest literature in this department, and we believe it unnecessary. Take Chalmers. How exceedingly careful is he to rule out of the field of his argument for God every consideration respecting the qualities and laws of matter. To what satiety does he reiterate his assertion that the whole force of the cosmological argument is derived from "*the collocations* of matter," not from its attributes. He repeats, in every form of expression, that all questions as to the eternity of matter, its real essence, its *powers and natural laws*, are things of no possible concernment to the expounder of natural theology; "it is *only by its* DISPOSITIONS that we discover God."* Now it is perfectly evident from all this, that if this great authority has rightly apprehended the nature of the problem of natural theology, the argument is just as convincing on the one theory of matter as on the other. Wise collocations of *forces* for the attainment of ends is just as demonstrative of the existence of a designer as wise collocations of gravel stones. Indeed, it has been held the great merit of Chalmers and Brougham that they advanced from the old arguments derived from natural mechanisms to new ones derived from the study of the wise dispositions of *powers* in the human soul. Chalmers even allows—tacitly—that all matter possesses active properties; he believes in second causes; does not attempt, with Paley,† to resolve them into "mechanism" too fine and swift for our gross senses; but we have before seen that to concede so much is, in effect, to concede the dynamic theory. If, therefore, the natural theology of Chalmers is sound, the theory of powerless lifeless matter is not indispensable to a sound natural theology.

So much upon this point. In a subsequent article we will discuss the question of a reconstruction of our invalidated arguments upon a new basis, and the possible advantages which may accrue to our science therefrom.

* Chalmers' Institutes, p. 96.

† Paley's Natural Theology, ch. xxiii. King's Ed., p. 247.

Art. VII.—LAY REPRESENTATION AND OUR ITINERANCY.

The late popular vote on lay representation received an inauguration unknown to similar movements in former times. The episcopal body, in its quadrennial address, opened the subject. Our venerable bishops averred that lay delegation in the General Conference, in a form perhaps satisfactory to the laity, might, in their view, be safely inaugurated. The committee of the General Conference indorsed their view; and the Conference, in its Pastoral Address, recommended the movement to the attention and action of the laity. The adverse action of the Church was very decisive. A majority of forty-seven to twenty-seven in the laity, and of two to one in the clergy, presents a formidable estopment. Prepared though we were to give to affirmative action our cordial co-operation, later developments have slowly brought us to the fixed conclusion that there was a great wisdom, and, we trust, a great providence, in that veto of the Church. It has preserved us from hasty movement into irrevocable results. Whether lay representation be or be not now a question of mere time, depends perhaps upon the wisdom of its friends. Our present notes will therefore be mainly cautionary.

I. Let the Cause of Lay Representation extricate itself from a repudiated Pseudo-Conservatism.

The truth upon this point must and shall be firmly spoken. The Church, as well as the State, has been engaged in a life struggle against that fell power which has aimed to corrupt and master both. Our Church, in that great struggle, was compelled by an almost convulsive effort to throw off the ascendency of principles, measures, and men whose influence was directed to the maintenance of the supremacy of that dark power. The struggle being brought to an apparent close, the large section of the Church overthrown in the result must cast about for some platform on which the fallen fortunes of their cause can be restored, and its ascendency be reobtained. To lay representation they have heretofore

been as sternly opposed as to abolitionism. But by some untold process, born in mystery, a simultaneous conversion has taken place, and the purpose is apparently adopted of appropriating a reconstruction of the constitution of the Church as a simple expedient of partisan ends. How unpartisan is the animus of this entire special inauguration may be judged from the fact that, though the main body of lay representationists have heretofore been found in the antislavery ranks, under the stern ban of old conservatism, yet from all presence at the mystic birth of this new movement the antislavery men have been wholly excluded. To the best of our knowledge, with some advantages for knowing, no leading antislavery man of the Church can guess where and when was the primal inception of the movement, or has been called into its interior counsels, or can tell precisely at what staple the initial end of its wires is hooked. We mention this not as matter of complaint, but as testing the genuineness of its purposes, and to enable our readers to decide whether such exclusion has been by "natural selection" or partisan operation.

In the late convention at St. Paul's Church in this city, while a modest and nearly silent sprinkling in the background was antislavery, both the presiding officers, the chief lay speakers, and the large majority of signers to the call were excellent men, who, during any part of our antislavery contest, would have stricken us down with a cleaver. We respect the high standing of the eminent political magnates who honored the cause by conferring upon it their leadership, little as we admire the wisdom of some of their utterances. But if that condescension of theirs was simply a stepping in to arrest the Church in her career of opposition to "the vile sum of all human villainies," or to rescue her from the ascendancy of her fine old Wesleyan antislavery doctrines, they are welcome to step out again. We could put it to their own candor: Had the Church, during the last period of ten years, listened to their counsels on the great moral question of the age, would they not, until the gun fired upon Fort Sumter, have bound her fast beneath the dominion of the slave power? And through what a career of sin and infamy would they have led her! To what a history of shame would they have consigned her! And at the close of this period of failure on their part to comprehend their moral position, with

what confidence can they stand up now and ask the Church to trust her honor and integrity in their hands? But we think there are too plentiful and evident signs that the very fact that better counsels and higher and purer views have prevailed in the Church, is the very reason why these gentlemen are so zealous for a change, that they are ready to revolutionize the very constitution of the Church for a temporary and subsidiary object. But one man in that convention was bold enough to utter the truth, that the Church would not accept the reascendency of an "effete conservatism," and *he was hissed!* That hiss was fatally audible to the whole Church; it had a dismal copperhead ring to it, a ring in comparison with which the "German silver ring" of which we spake in former days was healthful music. If the cause of lay representation steps to the measures of such music, its advances will be

Funeral marches to the grave!

We give this note of warning; we may have an ampler utterance about it at a future time.

These gentlemen, there is no mistake in saying, MEANT that this should be a one-sided movement. To have had the co-ordinate action of antislavery men, though it had gained lay delegation, would have defeated their aims. They did *not mean* to have or admit the equal co-operation of the opponents of slavery. They would smash their lay representation platform to shivers to-morrow if they supposed it would confirm antislavery ascendency in the Church. They *meant* to inaugurate the movement in their own conclave, keep it in their own hands; and whatever "abolitionist" comes in, comes in under their regime, to be used for the nonce and to be disposed of in due time.

The leading characters and the predominant purpose and quality of that convention, form doubtless a fair type of the lay representation to be installed in the General Conference under their auspices. Bringing in a lay body, whose political, commercial, and pecuniary morality shall be of about the right level, the movers trust that its congenial and grateful feeling will restore them to a triumphant status in the Church.

II. WE ADVISE OUR LAY BRETHREN NOT TO ARGUE REPRESENTATION AS A RIGHT, BUT PURELY AS A QUESTION OF THE BEST PROSPERITY OF THE CHURCH.

We have heard and read many fine periods about the laymen's lost rights; the rights, namely, of the governed to representation. Heroically will they fight for their recovery; never will they be satisfied short of representative equality. They will yield nothing; they will at any rate *demand* all in order to obtain something. Will these magniloquent brethren remember that our ministry sacrifice rights, two to their one? Our system is a compact of mutually sacrificed rights, made for a common success. Under severe pressures our itinerants are heroically silent about their *rights;* quite as heroically as some lay brethren are clamorous for theirs. If our laity demand the withdrawal of their side of the contract, let them do it in becoming phrase, and allow the ministry to make a reciprocal withdrawal. We can give them the items of some weighty chapters in minister's rights. A minister, as a general rule, consecrates himself to poverty and dependence. With ability that probably might win, certainly deserve, an independence, he shuts himself out from fortune and political honors. He is in most respects an exceptional, disfranchised man, a respectable pauper, an abstraction. Secularly at the present day the minister has very little reason to be satisfied with his position. Rarely does he desire his son to inherit his calling. Few wealthy men's sons feel an imperious *call* to the ministry. It is not even in sanctified humanity not to feel the pressure of dependence upon the smile of a man in all but wealth his inferior. Read even the speeches in that convention eulogistic of the ministry, and see what a poor, patronized thing a minister is. You pay your tailor five times as much as you do your minister; and the latter payment you consider a "liberality," for which you are to be lauded and he grateful. But especially our own itinerant must not make his own bargain; and when the Church fixes on him her own price and fails to pay it, the closing day of the year cancels the demand. Let him, however, make his own bargain, and *hold the Church property responsible*, and *he* has then begun to resume a share of his "rights." But two thirds of your country Churches will then be wiped out, and scanty will be the number hereafter

built. And when the itinerant thus secures his rights at the expense of all Church expansion, and makes his own bargain, your bishops will be unnecessary; you will collapse into flat congregationalism, and your career of Gospel glory is closed. So much for this baby-talk about rights.

But the lay brethren in convention at St. Paul's have no idea of giving up the itinerancy—not they! With what eloquence, and with what clappings and shouts, did they scout the idea that they were "disloyal to the itinerancy!" Bunkum hath seldom been regaled with such splendor of rhetoric. Give up the itinerancy? Good, easy gentlemen, why should they? They feel none of its pressures, and their own Church importance is largely swelled by it, with slight cost to their well-stocked pockets. It gratifies their pride of patronage, enabling them to *confer* a visit and a *munificent* "turkey!" upon some poor old starveling, pinched by their penuriousness but glorified by their oratory.

If they were not lawyers and merchants in magnificent St. Paul's, but so many preachers on horseback with saddle-bags, looking by faith for their next dinner, we should appreciate their magniloquent enthusiasm for the itinerancy. We fancy the rural preacher soliloquizing as he reads such outbursts, "Of course these gentlemen purpose to keep me on 'the iron wheel,' but they mean to take everything else as their own 'rights.' I did once hope that by faithfulness and perseverance and patience under penniless toil I might 'purchase a good degree,' and even one day take a seat with my honored brethren in the General Conference. But alas! that honor is now claimed by Judge Such-a-one, or Ex-Senator Such-a-one, or Governor Such-a-one. My unpaid labors have at last made the place honorable, and they are now ready to snatch its honors. One would think that they had routes to dignity and emolument enough without running me off the track. I wish that folks who so adore the itinerancy had a particle or two of sympathy for the itinerant. But I, poor fellow, am to be crowded out." Yes, dear brother, your chance is slim, for these magnanimous metropolitans are millionaire and you are sixpenny.

If our laity base the claim of lay representation on the ground of right, they surely must see that the moment they resume their rights the ministry must be allowed to resume theirs.

The laity in truth have rights, which they have sacrificed for our common system; they have a right to resume those rights; but they have no right to resume those rights and then require that the itinerancy shall not resume theirs. The moment the laymen claim lay delegation, that moment the itinerancy may claim settled pastorates and legal bargains. The itinerancy is under no obligation to exist one hour after lay representation is enacted. The laity have no *right* to lay representation while they require the itinerancy to last. If the General Conference is bound when the laity ask for it to grant them representation in its body, it is bound at the concurrent request of the itinerancy to allow them to unhorse, and have a permanent home like the rest of the world. Let the two demands, then, go up to the General Conference together, and where are we? *The enactment of representation repeals itinerancy.* Disintegrated, dismantled, de-*mitred*, and congregationalized, the Methodist Episcopal Church is dead. You have nothing then to do but elect your delegates, settle your pastors, and down with your bishops.

If our declaimers about laymen's rights will gather a little prudence as well as a little unselfish public spirit, and enter into a generous discussion for *the prosperity of the Church* as a means of saving souls, of diminishing sin and wrong in the world, and spreading truth, freedom, and holiness through every land, there will be no need of these superserviceable but very cheap displays of "loyalty to the itinerancy." We profess no "loyalty" to any mere provisional machinery. Our loyalty is to the results, and to the blessed and unchangeable cause of which the itinerancy is but the changeable servant and means. We believe that at the present moment a modification of the itinerancy is demanded, as indicated by the speaker whose overstatement drew out that laughable display of hyperbolical loyalty. We believe that the next General Conference would act wisely in making such modifications in the system as would, under proper checks and conditions, allow the Churches who need it to retain their pastor by repeated appointments any advantageous number of single additional years. We are glad to believe that such a modification can be made as would rather increase than diminish the value of the itinerancy, and rather perpetuate than terminate its efficiency.

It would save the humblest itinerant many a sad and useless removal. And then, if our wealthy laity, instead of raising their thousands for "agitation funds" to "precipitate" the Church into lay representation, will contribute an amount sufficient to enable every feeble rural Church to build and furnish a parsonage to match, and some security for the itinerant's life insurance or provision for his old age, we think that they might far more easily, generously, and perhaps cheaply, resume their lost "rights" without the itinerant's claiming his. This would be a sympathy, not merely for the machinery, but for the suffering humanity that sacrifices and toils at it.

The minority convention appointed a convention to meet next May at Philadelphia, at the same time with the session of the General Conference. This, we think, was a very unwise move. We trust that every proper effort will be used to evince that there is no purpose to face down the General Conference, the present representative body of the Methodist Episcopal Church in these United States. During the last General Conference something of this sort seems to have been attempted upon the slavery question by gentlemen active in the present business, whom we will not *now* name, and who might think it unkind in us to republish their utterances. We trust that those gentlemen who regard their future standing with the Church will be careful what antecedents they there place on record. If this convention assumes the airs of a co-ordinate body, an anti-General Conference, demanding concessions as a *right*, we doubt not that our General Conference will realize that the Church looks on with interest, and identifies her honor with that of her highest representative body.

III. The Rights of the Majority must be Respected. We must press upon these brethren the modest realization of the stubborn, historical, arithmetical fact that *they are in a minority of nearly two to one.* Their forgetting this fact is awkward from the simple additional fact, that other folks do not and will not forget it. And how much soever they may be disposed to override the majority, the majority has not the slightest purpose of being overridden. "O but if votes were but *weighed* we are the majority." Not the least doubt but you think so, brethren; but can you make the numerical

majority think so, and persuade that majority to concede your superiority? If not, do you or do you not expect that the majority has any "rights which any man is bound to respect?" The writer of this, had he been present when the vote of his conference was taken, would have recorded his vote with that minority. But with what face could he claim that his vote should overbalance the vote of the humblest member of that body? And do not these imprudent brethren damage their own cause by the glaring immodesty of coming before the Church with the unconscionable demand, that all ordinary rules and rights should be overruled in compliment to their unparalleled importance?

The General Conference has, no doubt, the legal power to disregard the decision of the majority; but is it wise to expect, is it reasonable to ask, that such a legal power should be exercised? Can a minority stand up and demand, or even petition that the rights of the majority should be trampled upon in their behalf? Would it not be oppressive in a body of powerful laymen to bring a hydrostatic pressure upon the General Conference, demanding such an act? Is it not bringing a compulsory self-stultification upon that venerable body to require that, after having, in its calm desire to know the will of the Church, taken measures for ascertaining that will and obtained it, it shall disobey and nullify its decision when obtained? That majority is a fixed fact, and the General Conference is in honor and honesty bound by it.

We have indeed heard some unthoughtful lay brethren claim that the very reference of the question to the popular vote, by the General Conference, was wrong, nay, treacherous, and intended to defeat the measure. The General Conference, say they, ought to have made the change just as it adopts any other measure, and the Church would have readily acquiesced. Laymen, however, who can take ground so regardless of the rights of others, must not be surprised if not only the General Conference but the Church itself should be very little desirous of placing themselves in their hands. There is a dictatorial unscrupulousness, a ruthless readiness to trample on the Church, that is a caution and a warning. The majority thus overridden doubtless would, however they might have felt opposed to or alarmed at the change, have loyally acquiesced. But it is a

rare contradiction in these brethren, the professed advocates of popular rights, to demand a disregard and a violation of the popular will. And the rough spirit that could propose thus to override the feelings of the majority of the members of our Church, as if they had no opinion to be regarded and no right to be consulted, greatly damages itself by utterance. If these brethren are so iron-heeled now, what will they be when that heel is on the neck of the Church? There are true, thoughtful, liberal, conscientious laymen who dread so fundamental a change. There are some who are conservative, and believe that so great has been our past prosperity, that such a revolution is a great danger. There are many who dread the introduction of a ruling *money-power*, and believe that its spirit and tone and domination will be sordid and mercenary, and fatal to our purest spiritual prosperity. There are others who say, if we must be governed by any body, we prefer that it should be by the men who visit our humble homes with sympathy and prayer, rather than by those who simply give from abounding plenty a slight surplus for their and our material convenience or splendor. There are others who say, we dread the desolating effect of quadrennial elections, with their intrigues, jealousies, strifes, and dissensions. There are others who say, we fear that our Church, which has thus far run its career of righteousness, maintaining the right as a pure principle, will henceforth become the tool of political parties and ambitious statesmen. There are others who say, the great body of movers in this agitation are old pro-slavery men, dissatisfied because they are overthrown, and ready to upheave our foundations in order to restore the reign of old obsoletism. There are others who say, this very movement is inaugurated in the disloyal support of opposition periodicals, and the very wires of the machinery go forth from the office of an illegitimate "Concern" of this kind. All these opinions may be very mistaken. But in this free country folks have a right to reason badly. Large sections of our Church have a right to hold these views, and the General Conference must justly feel that it has no right, how much soever it has the legal power to overslaugh them.

And now we say that far less has the General Conference any right to overslaugh the legal right of a decisive majority given in obedience to its authoritative orders. That majority

would have just reason to say: For the General Conference to have made the constitutional change by pure absolute prerogative, without consulting our opinion or asking our vote, would doubtless have been in itself a grievous wrong; but then, as we would not in that case have known the measure of our own strength or the number of our co-thinkers, we should not fully have realized our wrong, and we should have submitted in quietude. But *now*, after we have been formally asked our opinion, after we have decently but positively expressed it as asked, after we have been enabled to know that we are the legal majority of the Church, now to have the minority claim that our will should be trampled upon and our opinions treated as *non compos*, and the General Conference grant it, is a gross, deliberate, organic outrage.

The next General Conference is, then, in right and honor, estopped from giving to an enactment for the change the constitutional two thirds vote. They cannot do this, even under condition that the ratification by the popular vote shall be necessary to its taking constitutional effect. The constitution of our Church does not, in this transaction, legally know the people. If the General Conference give the necessary two thirds vote, then the three fourths vote of the annual conference accomplishes the change, and an intermediate vote of the people has no recognizable existence. The next General Conference is therefore conclusively estopped from taking any such constitutional action. What then can it do? And what can be done by the minority in behalf of lay representation?

Let that minority, in a considerate and tempered tone, say to the Church and to the General Conference: We acknowledge that, in a most wise and pure spirit, the question has been put by our General Conference to our people, and our people have, in an honest spirit, voted the measure down. We are in a fair and square minority, and have only the rights of a minority. But, from whatever cause, it is a patent fact that the measure received no such discussion as its importance demanded. Though a minority, we appeal to what the Church is able to know of us, as to our loyalty, piety, intelligence, wealth, and means and purpose of serving the cause of God and man through the Church, as sustaining our request for a fair hearing. We therefore ask the fraternal concession of a second vote. We

appeal from the laity unconsidering to the laity considering; from the laity without discussion to the laity after discussion. This minority believes that such discussion, conducted in a true fraternal, unpartisan spirit, would convince the majority; nay, perhaps, secure a unanimity in the opinion that the representation of the laity in the General Conference would promote the prosperity of the Church in all her religious, humanitarian, missionary, and educational departments.

Such an appeal imposes upon the General Conference no pressure, demands no self-stultification, imposes no swallowing of words, requires no trampling upon majorities, and no arbitrary stretch of prerogative. It becomes us not to say what the General Conference will do. We do not pretend to lay down any programme for that venerable body to follow. We presume it will be considerably wiser than any course we can suggest. It may be that, upon due deliberation, it will decide that there is nothing to prove that the vote was not a fair and final decision. It may say that its own very purpose in proposing the vote was to save the necessity of an agitation, and not to create one. It may decide that such a vote ought to satisfy the Church for twenty years, and that for a minority to demand that such a majority shall be ignored and fail of its full rights, is factious and no longer to be heard. It may ask what ground there is for expecting that such a minority will be satisfied with any action but its own triumph? It may ask, what will be the condition of the Church when such a minority is triumphant? We are certain that the action of the General Conference will be calm, considerate, and firm; that it will realize that the loyal heart of the Church feels that its own honor is identified with its maintenance of its own dignity. If it decide that a second vote shall be put, THEN COMES A DISCUSSION; and we apprehend that *the ministry will not again feel it incumbent to stand aloof from the argument.* The meetings and proceedings may then be less one-sided than they have thus far been. Not merely "friends of lay delegation" may be invited to attend, and others tacitly invited to stay away. And perhaps the clergy will not always be shut out of the debate, as if they had no interest in the matter. Something further may be conceded to the clergy, even in the great conventions, than simply to talk by courtesy on the same side of the subject. May God

pour out upon the Church the spirit of purity and of a sound mind when that day arrives! If, upon a full, free, and, we trust, fraternal discussion, an affirmative lay majority results, we should hold it as a withdrawal of the lay side of the compact. For that, if for no other reason, our personal vote would thereupon go for granting the concession.

IV. The Methods of Action should Accord with Good Faith to the Existing Institutions of the Church.

If our Church is to preserve her prosperity and spiritual power and not prove a fabric of sand, special agitations of incidental questions must subordinate themselves to the main object of our Church existence, and beware of infringing and fracturing the proper organs and methods of the Church. It is from that section of the Church who are pressing the present movement that the most stringent, and perhaps most salutary, lessons of conservatism, conformity, and loyalty have been administered, enforced with the most unflinching, perhaps most wholesome, penalties. We will not ask are they obeying their old lessons, for we do not expect absolute consistency for years from fallible men; but are they now acting with good faith to the institutions of the Church and in accordance with her order and safety?

If they will ask any fine old primitive abolitionist in their ranks, (and the gentleman honored with the aforesaid hiss will proudly and promptly accept that enviable title,) he will tell them that unauthorized conventions and illegitimate organs within our Church were early found to be edged tools, damaging the fingers that handled them, and were abandoned so soon as legitimate methods of action were brought within reach. In that dark hour when northern manhood was for a dreary while completely prostrated beneath the iron heel of the slave power, when the spirit of that infernal despotism seemed to be breathed through the entire body of its northern supporters, and measures of suppression were adopted in New England and New York worthy the darkest corner of South Carolina, revolutionary methods were briefly justifiable by the plea of necessity. When a simple pastoral address from the General Conference advising our people to refrain from the subject was transformed into a mandate of total suppression of all expres-

sion, rendering the utterer liable to decisive ecclesiastical dealing; when candidates for the ministry were put under pledge, and to write a paragraph or to take a certain paper was made penal, illegitimate concerted action had some show of excuse. But as soon as that dark and truly pro-slavery despotism was relaxed, and the periodicals of the Church became accessible, and our conferences were open to debate, irregular conventions and special organs were discouraged and generally dropped. But what excuse have the present gentlemen for these abnormal actions and instruments? They have had the fullest, fairest dealing that ever any minority received. As soon as a sufficient number of petitions from the people suggested that it might be matter desired by the Church, the bishops opened the subject to the General Conference, and the General Conference sent it to the discussion and vote of the people. The periodicals of the Church were expressly laid open by the editors for the purpose, the editors as individuals expressing their own opinions, and then leaving the space for any suitable occupant. The ministers, carefully and delicately standing aloof themselves, presented the topic to the Churches for their pleasure and action. The Churches took it up just so far as they chose; discussed it in a brotherly, quiet spirit, just as much as they pleased; and gave an uninfluenced vote just exactly as they concluded to opine. History cannot furnish a fairer, purer, freer, honester process. And now we ask what excuse has the minority for violent, irregular actions; for formidable conventions, for agitation funds, for encouraging special organs, and for Church-wide machineries to attain a change of our fundamental laws? They may talk of moderation wisely; but the Church will ask, Are metropolitan conventions and conventions appointed to face down the General Conference moderate measures? They may talk of loyalty; but the Church will ask, Is the founding and support of periodicals for private objects trenching on the territories of the periodicals of the Church, and infringing upon our legal system, *loyal?* They may talk of the right of the governed to representation; but do the true advocates of popular rights generally claim that the popular voice should be overruled or left unconsulted by arbitrary prerogative, or a popular majority be overridden by an insisting minority?

They may talk of fair free discussion; but the Church will ask, Is it consistent with fair and equalized discussion within a Church to organize large moneyed endowments of special machineries when the normal organs are open to their use? The newness of the occupation of these brethren, the lateness of their change of character from suppressionists to agitationists, subjects them to all the blunders of inexperience. We would gently whisper in their ear, be assured that the Church does not like to be made the subject of a galvanic operation, especially with an over *metallic* machinery, and from manipulators unselected by it and behind the curtain. As they pursue the process they will find with annoyance, that the only signs of life given by the subjected body will be a certain sort of reactive repellency. The more they administer the shocks, the more reactive shocks will they experience. If they wonder what in nature it means, let them remember our solution. The machinery is disorderly, and the manipulators are disqualified by unfortunate antecedents.

The chief organ of this movement is a periodical founded in our city in a spirit of disappointment and discontent with the position of the Church and the action of the General Conference, both in its enactments and elections on the subject of slavery. Placing at its head our denominational name of "Methodist," appealing to our Church and ministry for its support, sustained by the funds of special and congenial malcontents, it exists by a breach of good faith against the institutes of the Church, in violation of those professions of loyalty heretofore from that quarter peremptorily inculcated, and by availing itself of a platform which furnishes the pretext for its existence and the means of its support. With no ordinary tact, and in the exercise of ability that should do better service to religion and the Church, it has availed itself of a platform attractive to the wealthier laity, calculated to combine and form them into a "class," to inspire them with a desire for special ascendency and power, and to animate them with a purpose of separatism and arrogant faction, especially if their claims should fail to be conceded. Our wealthy gentlemen, furnished with a special organ, are not merely by it prompted to form that natural association among themselves throughout the country which obvious affinities spontaneously produce, and by which the honor and prosperity of the Church

would rather be promoted; but they are incited to form organic "Unions" for politico-ecclesiastical purposes, to control the organic action of the Church. An *esprit de corps* is to be created, with a mutual understanding and haughty exclusiveness, both internal and in their dealing with the ministry. A rich lay Church is thus made to overlie the actual Church. If the real Church does not coincide with its views a bitterness of spirit results, likely to produce a counter feeling in the *many* against the *few;* a discontent arises tending to rob the Church of the hearty aid of her liberal sons, and liable to result in individual withdrawals, in disintegration and partial secessions. In our great Atlantic cities a select body of our wealthy Methodists, by some unhappy means ultra "conservative," persistently and bitterly so, who were once in a position to be honored and prized throughout our connection, have been deserted by section after section of the Church, and are gradually being left isolated from its sympathy and honor. Isolated, too, they are, not only from the Church, but from the spirit of the Christianity and the free spirit of the age. Under the influence of the organ by them sustained the divisive spirit is retained long after, by their own confession, the cause of the division has ceased. Never, in any age, was there a grander field for a generous, comprehensive, effective liberality on the part of Christian laymen than in the wide-spread domain of the Methodist Episcopal Church. If, instead of cliqueism, side issues, and narnow, selfish aims, these gentlemen could enter with an unselfish, broad, catholic spirit into that field, it might be made to blossom like the rose. And the full recompense of honor, of sympathy, of wide-spread success, would richly accrue. That such fails to be the fact, does the blame lie upon the great body of the Church, which has acted in the *highest* spirit of the Christianity of the age, (for so the present antislavery professions of these gentlemen admit,) or upon this "conservative" minority? Is the Church wrong or are they factious? We implore our intelligent and leading Christian laity who are not too deeply committed to this "class" isolation to take this matter into the most solemn and candid consideration. The unity, honor, and future prosperity of the Church of their love, the salvation of thousands of souls, the spread of Gospel holiness through the world, are all involved in the matter. We ask the wealthier

laity of our cities, especially our Atlantic cities, to consider, as in the sight of God, whether it be best to organize a "class" interest in or over the Church, to cultivate the divisive secession spirit, and to cherish the purpose to rule or ruin. Is it loyal in our moneyed laymen to establish or to encourage periodicals against the order of the Church? Is it wise in our statesmanly laymen to be brought forth as the spokesmen of partisan agitation? Is it not far more becoming to cherish the unity of the Church, to endow her institutions, to enrich her liberalities, to maintain her system, and to render her the most efficient instrument of Christian power in the land?

It is a striking fact in the history of our Church, which our laity and all other laities would do well to note, that while the legislation of our Church has been in the hands of our ministers, so pure and just has it been, that it is upon themselves that its severest pressure has been by themselves inflicted. It is by themselves that a life-elected bishop has been placed over themselves, whom they have obligated themselves to obey with a military exactness. It is by themselves that our ministry is comparatively homeless and disfranchised of legal claim upon compensation. And so have they managed to secure the prosperity of the Church, and to satisfy the people of the purity of their sway, that the experience of all lay movements heretofore of the danger of assailing that purity has taught the present movers to observe the most elaborate prudence in measuring the language they use in that direction. Whether a half century of equally unselfish purity would follow under a lay legislation is matter of untried experiment.

V. The System attained must be a true Representation of the Church, and not merely a Representation of the Official Bodies of the Church.

The right and reasonableness that *the governed should be represented in the governing body* is, we understand, the fundamental maxim claimed to be underlying this movement. Let, then, that maxim be wisely and honestly realized in the plan to be adopted, and we may be ready to indorse it. It must be a democratic, not an aristocratic movement. *Every adult communicant in the Church must be allowed a vote in the selection of representatives in the General Conference.*

But the minority convention looks amazingly like a mere aristocratic movement. It is ready to ignore, nay, to denounce all reference of the subject to the popular vote. It stands up and asks that a popular vote already given should be overruled. It proclaims the right of a minority to rule. And all the plans we find published in connection with it, in its apparently *official organ* in Nassau-street, speak only, if we mistake not, of representatives to be chosen, not by the Church, but by the official boards of the Church. It is not then Church representation, but officiary representation that they desiderate. What they ask is not that the governed shall be represented, but that the governors shall be represented. Their views are for the government by the few, not by the whole. Their purposes are not democratic, but oligarchic.

But these brethren, when they really come out before the people with their plan, cannot successfully stand on such a platform. If it is RIGHTS they talk of, every competent member of the Church of Christ, of either sex and of every shade of complexion, has equal original rights. Those rights, they may be assured, when that question comes fairly up, will be firmly asserted and maintained. Upon any plan short of this we shall feel very vigorous to deal the most damaging blows. We have not battled for twenty years to give an oppressed race in our midst its rights, to be slow to maintain its rights in the present movement. And it may serve as a test to decide whether a man be a true representationist or an obsoletist, using representationism as a tool, to ask him, Are you willing that even the oppressed negro shall have his rights in the Church of God? If any one answers *no*, be assured that his representationism has a marvelous copperhead ring. We have no doubt that at the presentation of this test the large share of these gentlemen will start back in disgust, wondering if that ubiquitous African is to meet them in every path they take and be the death of them. And this test may disclose the fact that this discussion is but the continuance of the antislavery battle, the battle of corruption and despotism against purity, freedom, and righteousness.

"But you are a woman's rights man." We are a human rights man. And our mother was a human being. And our wives, sisters, and daughters are all human beings. And that

these human beings are liable as any other human beings to be cruelly oppressed by the stronger sex, and as truly need in self-defense a check upon oppression, the history of all past governments and legislations does most terribly demonstrate. Our own statute books, down to the latest period, are black with the damning proofs. And by some it has been forcibly if not conclusively argued that these human beings just as truly need, and just as truly deserve, and are just as truly entitled to representation in the power by which they are governed, not in order that they may take official positions, but to *hold* a check upon oppression. In our fierce democracy we catch a wild and drunken Irish pauper, and at the earliest possible period put a vote in his hand to send us to a common ruin. We enfranchise blacklegs, pugilists, and debauchees. But the pure soul of woman is disfranchised from sending, even in her own behalf, the mild might of her will into the contest of our destinies. Hence the brutality of the politics, which she could refine, and the ferocity of our governments, which she would soften. Hence the coarse masculine depravation that is bearing us down to the abyss. If the proudest nation on earth can bow to a woman sovereign, it has been plausibly argued, surely we might allow to a woman, in simple self-defense, her single suffrage. If a woman is now the best sovereign in Europe, if some of the noblest sovereigns in history have been women, surely, say they, we might allow her her infinitesimal portion, in protection of her own dearest interests, of the sway of our awful future. What is best in the state is not indeed with us the question; but never, with our consent, shall the Church of the living God disfranchise her who gave to the world its divine Redeemer. When that disfranchisement comes to the debate, may the God of eternal righteousness give us strength equal to our will to cleave it to the ground!

But shall no provision be made to give our *wealthy laity* a weight in the government of the Church? None, we reply, with a special view to the wealthy as a class. Our heart, with the heart of Christ, is with the poor. Wealth cannot be disfranchised, and in our day it never fails to meet its highest due. This is the day when the phrase "the almighty dollar" is almost a true blasphemy. Some say that "COTTON is king," and most of these brethren have labored long and hard

to sustain that kingship. We say that PURSE *is king*, and when rightly disposed a noble king he is; author of the noblest works of our Christian civilization. And in the Church wealth needs no protection, no special immunities or specialties of rank. Give us universal suffrage in the Church and the munificent layman who is genuinely liberal, is felt gratefully and weightily by the popular heart, and is sure, if his piety too shall satisfy the conscience of the Church, to meet his due of honor. And when he receives it by that title it is an honor indeed, immensely superior to the position won by intrigue among the cliques and wire-pulling of Church officiaries. And frankly we say it, we would rejoice to put ten million dollars in the General Conference in the persons of a body of laymen whose piety is sound as the gold refined. For in material wealth is moral power; and if even the silver and the gold be God's, why should not their moral weight be consecrated to the highest moral ends?

But woe be to us if we put our Church into the hands of a moneyed interest, especially of an interest which has won its place by faction, separatism, and lavish pecuniary expenditure. And woe to the purity and prosperity of the Church when a lay body shall sit within the General Conference inspired with a secular and sordid spirit of political and commercial morality, to which the standard of the Church must be lowered and her measures shaped. This will not seem a needless fear to those who hear it claimed that lay representation would have prevented our Church division from the South; would have kept slavery in the episcopacy, and have subjected the heads of our young candidates for the ministry to the smutty hands of a slaveholding bishop. Nor will it appear a false alarm to those who look at the St. Paul's convention, and conceive what would have been the result in the General Conference of 1860 had a laity of which that convention is the type had a seat in that venerable body. From such a demoralization, which must result in the withdrawal of all that is best and purest from her communion, we know no safeguard except in the securing that *the election of representatives shall come directly from the pure bosom and heart of the Church herself*, and of the Church well awakened to the high obligation to give her suffrage and her deep responsibilities for the suffrage she gives. And the elections in each

Conference should be by districts and not by general ticket, in order that rural districts as well as large towns may be represented, and that each voter may have a personal knowledge of the candidate for whom a vote is given, and such pecuniary provisions should, when fitting, be made as that poverty should be no disqualification. By such arrangements we would hope that pure unselfish men would be elected; men of loyal feelings to the Church, of catholic exemption from cliques and juntoes; men who upon any great moral question would vote, not with a low commercial spirit, and not with an eye to the mighty dollar, but with a deep desire for the purity of the Church, and in the fear of almighty God.

Thus by cautionary negatives we have indicated the sort of lay representationism which, with the light we have and subject to the revisals which discussion might suggest, we could readily indorse. A representation sustained not by a partisan movement, but by the spontaneous mind of the Church; based on no clamor for rights, but upon a readiness to sacrifice rights for a blessed cause; forwarded not by special and disloyal agencies, but *growing* by natural and normal advancements through the healthful organs of our body; pressed not by an impatient minority, but waiting a proximate unanimity of the Church; and finally so shaped as to represent the heart, the piety, the poverty, the intellect, the zeal, and the wealth of the Church would, we rejoice to believe, be a happy result through the happiest means.

Art. VIII.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

PROTESTANTISM.

GREAT BRITAIN.

The Rationalistic Controversy.—No event in the current history of Protestantism attracts at present so much attention as the progress of the great controversy which has begun in the Church of England with the publication of the "Essays and Reviews," and has since assumed much larger dimensions by the works of Bishop Colenso. The bishops, the clergy, and the religious associations of the Church are putting forth, for arresting the spreading of such views, an energy which but few supposed she still possessed, and which is likely to have a more than ordinary influence upon the development of the Church. The bishops of England and Ireland, after a long deliberation as to the best course they could adopt with regard to Dr. Colenso, agreed to address to him a joint letter, in which they express the opinion that he himself cannot fail to see that the inconsistency between the office he holds and the opinions he avows is causing great pain and grievous scandal to the Church. They solemnly ask him, there-

fore, to consider the propriety of resigning his see. Only three bishops refused to sign or indorse this letter, and are therefore supposed to sympathize more or less with Colenso—the English Bishop of St. David's, Dr. Thirlwall, and the Irish Bishops of Killaloe, Dr. Fitzgerald, and of Limerick, Dr. Griffin. The Bishops of London and St. Asaph, who in February, at the Convocation of Canterbury, opposed any synodical action against Colenso, have signed the letter.

The reply to this joint letter by Bishop Colenso is a decided refusal to resign his colonial bishopric. He announces that he is as fully convinced of the truth of his theological opinions as ever, and that he intends soon to return to his diocese. And in reply to a public, strongly-reprobatory declaration of the Bishop of Manchester, Bishop Colenso reaffirms his intention "to show in the face of the whole Church and nation that the real value of the Bible as a teacher of divine truth is not affected by the unhistorical character of certain narratives."

The Convocation of York, like that of Canterbury, has put itself on record against the teachings of Dr. Colenso. At its session in April the lower house adopted a resolution humbly to represent to the upper house that it was with sorrow and humiliation, and with strong reprobation, that this house had witnessed the recent publication of two volumes by the Bishop of Natal, contrary to the articles, creeds, rules, and formularies of the Church, and inconsistent also with the truth, and subversive of the confidence of the people in the authenticity of the Holy Bible. The resolution was sent up as a petition to the upper house, but the Bishop of Durham thought it would be premature and unwise to take at present any steps in the matter, as such proceedings ought to be left in the hands of the Bishop of Cape Town, the metropolitan of Bishop Colenso. We learn from a circular letter of the Archbishop of Canterbury to his clergy that the Bishop of Cape Town will soon try whether the charges brought against Bishop Colenso can be sustained.

The Bishops of the Church, besides requesting Dr. Colenso in a joint letter to resign his see, have addressed circular letters to their clergy, in which they forbid Bishop Colenso being allowed to minister in their dioceses. Some bishops express the confidence that a direct prohibition of this kind would not be necessary for their diocese, as they were sure that not one of the ministers under their jurisdiction would be found to sympathize with Colenso.

The action brought against Professor Jowett, one of the seven authors of the "Essays and Reviews," in the Chancellor's Court of Oxford, by Dr. Pusey, Dr. Heartley, and Dr. Ogilvie, has likewise been the subject of an excited controversy. Not only the entire liberal party, but also a number of the organs of the evangelical school, expressed the opinion that the prosecution came very oddly from a man like Dr. Pusey, who is thought to have been guilty, in the Tractarian movement, of the same thing with which he now charges Professor Jowett, namely, to "claim to affix new meanings to words, and so to subscribe the formularies of the Church in senses which they do not bear," and who only a few years since was convicted himself of heresy, and suspended for two years from his clerical functions. Among those who came out against Dr. Pusey were Mr. Maurice and Canon Stanley, whose letters greatly increased the interest taken in this controversy. The prosecution, after obtaining the opinion of several eminent jurists, has been abandoned.

The position which Bishop Colenso has assumed with regard to the doctrines of his Church is so abnormal that no theologian of note has dared to express an entire agreement with his views. Yet it is supposed that there is a great deal of latent sympathy with him in the liberal or broad Church party. The learned Church historian, Canon Stanley, is, in particular, suspected of such a sympathy, and this suspicion has been greatly increased by a letter addressed by him to the Bishop of London, in which he proposes to do entirely away with the subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles. This proposition is seconded by Mr. Maurice. The fact that Canon Stanley, Professor Kingsley, and two clergymen of the broad Church party have been appointed chaplains of the Prince of Wales has caused some fear, both among the High and the Low Church parties, that the liberal school may in future meet with encouragement from the government.

THE ANNIVERSARIES.—Many of the great religious societies of England show this year a falling off in their receipts,

owing principally to the great distress still prevailing in the manufacturing districts. Otherwise the interest in the societies appears to be unabated, and their extensive operations have, on the whole, suffered but little from the decrease of funds. Thus the Church Missionary Society, which has suffered more than most of the other societies, having had to announce a falling off of nearly £8,000 in its subscriptions and legacies, employs only one missionary less than it did before, and can number seven additional native agents.

None of the societies seems to have passed through a more prosperous year than the Wesleyan Missionary Society, whose receipts for the past year amounted to £141,638, or about $700,000, being more than the receipts reported in any former year, and exceeding those of the year 1861 by the sum of £4,357. Of the receipts about £89,000 were from the ordinary sources at home, £33,000 from foreign auxiliaries, and the remainder from miscellaneous sources. The society has, in various parts of the world, 605 principal stations, with 4,618 preaching places, and 889 ministers and assistant missionaries, who are assisted by a host of Sunday and day-school teachers. 142,789 full and accredited members, and 13,804 probationers attend the services of the missionaries, and 146,457 scholars receive instruction in the Sunday and day-schools. The reports from the missionary fields show a considerable progress. In Germany the meetings are crowded; satisfactory instances of conversion are reported from nearly every circuit; the increase in the number of members amounts to 300; in that of probationers to 121; in that of hearers to 600. A brilliant success has attended the opening of a new mission in Italy. A church has been opened in Parma, which has 250 regular attendants, 90 of whom are reported as seeking admission to Christian fellowship. A good account is also given of the missions in India. In the Mysore district the colporteurs have visited 125 towns and villages, containing about 10,000 houses, sold about 274 portions of the Scriptures and 850 tracts, besides holding very many interesting conversations and discussions with the people. Steady progress is visible in every part of the work of the eastern province of the Cape, including the Kaffraria and Bechuana Missions. A request for a missionary was received by the society from the President of the Dutch republic. The number of Church-members in this district is 4,443, and those of attendants at public worship is estimated at 30,000. In Fiji and New Zealand, and other islands of the South Seas, great progress has been made toward the total Christianization of the natives.

An interesting proof of what the great religious societies of England have already been able to accomplish was furnished in the annual Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society. It was stated in it that the Bible Society formed in 1804 had become the parent of many others, and they were now in connection with 3,825 societies in Great Britain, 1,024 in the colonies and other dependencies, 480 in Ireland, and about 4,000 foreign societies and branches. When the society was first established the translations of the Bible were about 50, but they were now 164. The circulation of the Bible also showed a great increase. During the first four years the number was 81,157 copies; last year alone 2,133,860; and the total from the commencement was 43,044,334. Assistance had been given to other societies in the distribution of 30,000,000 copies more. During the past year the receipts from all sources were £158,750. Highly interesting statements on the history of the circulation of the Bible were read by Mr. Bergne, the secretary of the society. It was remarked that during the fifty-eight years the Bible Society had been in operation no less than 3,000,000 copies of the Holy Scriptures had been circulated by the society in France alone, which does not include what has been done by other Bible societies, or in the ordinary course of the book-trade. If that one fact was put in contrast with another fact, namely, that from the year 1504 to 1804, when the Bible Society was begun, the Christian Church during those three centuries, so far as it is known, in all countries and languages, had managed to get altogether about 4,000,000 copies of the Word of God, it would be seen that the Bible Society alone, in the course of its brief history, had done, in France only, more than the whole Christian Church had been enabled to do in the three centuries before the time of the Bible Society's formation.

PRESBYTERIAN UNION.—An important union movement has been for some time

at work in the Presbyterian Churches of Great Britain and the British colonies. It began in the British provinces of North America, where several offshoots of the Free Church and the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland succeeded in effecting a union, and where a fusion of all the Presbyterian denominations into one "Presbyterian Church of the British Provinces" has many warm friends and the best prospects of success. In Australia the union movement began in 1859, in Victoria, and has since been followed by the Churches of New South Wales and New Zealand, each of which English colonies has organized a Presbyterian General Assembly, uniting the branches of the several British Presbyterian bodies. In Scotland the subject of union between the different bodies of Presbyterians is beginning to occupy much attention, and it is expected that the consummation of this project may be attained at no very distant period, in so far as the non-established Presbyterian bodies are concerned. There have been several meetings in Glasgow of elders of the United Presbyterian and Free Churches; and the Free Church Presbytery of Dalkeith adopted an overture to the General Assembly urging it in strong terms. Among the warmest advocates of the scheme are Dr. Cairnes and Dr. M'Farlane. The latter stated at the meeting of the Presbytery of Dalkeith, that the aristocracy and the landed proprietors of the country were fast going over to Episcopacy, and that the Established Church of Scotland was veering in the same direction. It is thought that a union of these two bodies in Scotland would soon be followed by a union between the English Presbyterian Church and the United Presbyterian Church of England, and that the movement will ultimately eventuate in a Presbyterian Church of England, Scotland, and Ireland, embracing all the different Presbyterian denominations of the three kingdoms, except a part of the Church of Scotland and a portion of the Covenanters. (The Reformed Presbyterian Church.)

The majority of the synod of the latter body, at the recent annual meeting, have removed one of the principal features of their system, by which they distinguish themselves from the rest of the Presbyterians. They adopted a resolution offered by the Rev. John Kay, that members of the Church who exercise the elective franchise, or take the oath of allegiance, shall not be visited with the infliction of ecclesiastical penalties, either by suspension or expulsion from the Church. The resolution, which was adopted by a vote of forty-six yeas to eleven nays, is as follows: "The Synod having read the reports from Presbyteries and sessions anent taking the oath of allegiance and exercising the elective franchise, find that all the Presbyteries and a majority of sessions, confining themselves to the consideration of the point of exercise of discipline for the acts therein specified, have adopted said overture only to this extent. Synod, therefore, in accordance with these reports, enact that, while recommending the members of the Church to abstain from the use of the franchise and from taking the oath of allegiance, *discipline to the effect of suspension and expulsion from the privileges of the Church shall cease*, and earnestly enjoin upon all under their charge to have respect to this decision, and to follow after the things which make for peace, and things wherewith one may edify another."

Seven members of the minority offered a protest against this resolution, declaring it to be opposed to the word of God and to the testimony of the Church; they also claimed for themselves and for those adhering to them to be constitutionally the Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland. The Synod refused to receive the document on the floor of the house.

In view of the importance which the union movement among the Presbyterian bodies of the British isles is likely soon to assume, the following statistical information on their condition at the beginning of the present year will be of interest to our readers:

The Established Church of Scotland had 16 synods, 84 presbyteries, and 1,204 congregations. The Lay Association, in support of the schemes of the Church, reported an income of £1,181; the committee for colonial missions, £6,000; the committee on Jewish missions, £3,961.

The Scottish Free Church has 16 synods, 71 presbyteries, 843 churches, 3 colleges for the education of theological students. The funds raised by the Church during the year 1862 were as follows: Sustentation of ministers, £112,887; building fund, £38,518; congregational fund, £105,341; missions and education, £59,815. Total, £337,204.

The United Presbyterian Church, composed of a union constituted in 1847 of the Secession (formed in 1732) and Relief (originated in 1752) Churches, had in 1862 a membership of 167,558, and an aggregate amount of £205,167 collected for congregational, missionary, and benevolent purposes. The Church has 31 presbyteries in England and Scotland, 540 ministers, 1 theological hall at Edinburgh.

The Reformed Presbyterian Synod, which originated in 1706, which has just split into two bodies, had last year 6 presbyteries, 44 churches, and 36 ministers.

The Synod of United Original Seceders was dissolved in 1852 and united to the Free Church. Twenty-five congregations, however, refused to join that Church, and still continue a separated body, divided into 4 presbyteries.

The Presbyterian Church in England, which was instituted in 1836, has now 7 presbyteries and 105 churches.

The Presbyterian Church of Ireland had in 1861 37 presbyteries, 530 churches, 57,000 communicants.

The Reformed Presbyterian Church in Ireland 9 presbyteries, 55 churches, 40,000 communicants.

FRANCE.

THE ANNIVERSARIES.—The religious anniversaries of Protestant France are far from having the dimensions and the importance of these meetings in England and America; still they have a special interest for Protestants, because, next to those of England and America, they are the best organized of the Protestant world, and they are a faithful reflex of the progress of Protestantism in the most powerful Roman Catholic country of the globe. During the past few years they have acquired an additional importance from the discussions relating to the two great theological parties in the State Churches. The conviction is growing that the Evangelical and the Rationalistic parties will not forever be able to remain in the same organization, and that the Churches must prepare for a split on the Rationalistic question.

The chief battle-ground for the two parties during anniversary week of the present year has been the pastoral conferences. Their proceedings were of greater importance than ever before. After a remarkable speech by Pastor Beroice, declaring that true science, true light, true liberty, true progress was on the side of earnest faith in revelation, in the atonement, etc., Pastor Rognan read and the president put to the vote the following protest:

The conference—considering that the faithful may be troubled by systems of the present day, attacking the very basis of Christianity and the Church; that these negations are produced in the name of science, and given as the definitive results of the elaboration of modern thought—protests in the name of Christian faith, of Christian conscience, of Christian experience, and of Christian science against every doctrine which tends to overturn the existence of supernatural order, of the divine authority of the Scriptures, of the divinity of Jesus Christ, and all that touches the very essence of Christianity; such as it has been professed in all times by all Churches marked with the seal of religious power and fruitfulness. The conference invites the faithful to beware of those systems of science, a thousand times contradicted by the incessant transformations of the human mind; and exhorts the different Churches to make efforts and sacrifices to favor the development and progress of Christian science.

This was voted by the president and ninety-four other members.

One of the most important among the other anniversaries was that of the Society for Promoting Primary Instruction, which was presided over by Mr. Guizot. It has founded during the year thirteen new schools, but great is the work still before it. In 2,000 communes, in which there are 1,200 Protestant places of worship, there are yet only 400 Protestant schools. The receipts of the society were 112,093 francs. The philanthropic societies for the juvenile offenders at the St. Foy colony, the apprentices of Paris, and the Deaconesses institution show progress and blessing. Closely allied to this society, so far as its objects are concerned, are the two societies for home missions — the Evangelical Society of France and the Central Society. The former, during the thirty years of its career, has spent upon French evangelization 3,580,000 francs. The two Bible Societies together had circulated over 100,000 copies of the Scriptures, and the Tract Society had disseminated 541,392 tracts. The almanac published by this society—*Almanack des bons Conseils*—has the (for France) immense circulation of 200,000 copies. The report of the

Sunday-school Society stated that the number of Sunday-schools in France is about 660, and that of scholars 33,000. Among the speakers at the anniversaries were again most of the eminent representatives of French Protestantism. The active participation of the younger Guizot and a number of the society was especially noted.

FRENCH PROTESTANTISM AND SLAVERY.—The clergy of the Protestant Churches of France have recently given another proof of their earnest opposition to slavery and their sympathy with the success of our cause. More than seven hundred and fifty of them have signed a letter to the English ministers on the subject of the war in America, in which they urge that the success of the cause represented by the Confederate States "would put back the progress of Christian civilization and of humanity a whole century;" and call upon the ministers and pastors of all denominations in England to take the lead in calling forth "a great and peaceful manifestation of sympathy for the colored race so long oppressed and despised by Christian nations." The signers of the address represent every Protestant denomination of France, and every theological school. The address has already borne a good fruit. The following reply was adopted by a conference of ministers held in London and presided over by the Hon. Rev. Baptist W. Noel:

DEAR BRETHREN,—We, whose names are undersigned, share in your views, rejoice in your zeal, and are thankful for your exhortations. It is honorable to France, and to French Protestantism, that you so heartily wish the destruction of the slave system, which makes four million of negroes wretched, which debases their masters, which has been a vast calamity to a great Protestant nation, and which dishonors Christ, by whose professed servants it is upheld. Like yourselves, we feel a deep compassion for the slaves, who are a part of the human family; we wish by all means in our power to discourage those who are seeking to found an empire on their degradation; and we wish success to all just and humane measures for their deliverance. With these sentiments, we beg to assure you that, following where you have so nobly taken the lead, we shall do what we can to accomplish those benevolent objects to which you invite our attention. Accept our fraternal wishes that you may enjoy the favor and blessing of God, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

Within a few days upward of fifteen hundred ministerial signatures to this address were received by the London and Manchester emancipation societies, and large numbers continued to be received every day. The signatures include many clergymen of the Churches of England and Scotland, and non-conformist ministers of every denomination.

SPAIN.

THE IMPRISONED PROTESTANTS.—All the efforts made by the Evangelical Alliance and other friends of religious liberty in behalf of the imprisoned Protestants of Spain have been of no avail. The court in Granada has confirmed the sentence passed by an inferior court against Matamoras, Alham, and Trigo. The former two have been sentenced to nine years, and Trigo to seven years of imprisonment. The discussion of this case in all the leading journals of Europe has, however, shown this gratifying fact, that public opinion is everywhere in favor of religious toleration. Thousands of Roman Catholics have signed the petition to the queen for the release of the prisoners. Even the Emperor of France had written to that end an autograph letter.

ROMAN CATHOLICISM.

ITALY.

INTOLERANCE OF THE CHURCH OF ROME.—The world, even the Roman Catholic countries not excluded, is gradually emancipating itself from the thralldom of religious intolerance; but it is certainly not owing to the influence of the pope and the bishops if the Catholic nations, in common with the rest of the world, are progressing in this question in the right direction. On the contrary, the pope is furnishing himself the most unmistakable proofs that the whole influence of the Church of Rome, as far as the pope and the bishops can control it, is still being used for maintaining those intolerant laws which disgraced the Christianity of the middle ages. The pope has recently addressed a letter to the Bishops of the Tyrol fully approving the efforts made by them for depriving the Protestants in that province of the right of meeting in public for religious worship, and of acquiring landed prop-

erty. He also announced in a recent allocution that he had succeeded in concluding with the governments of the Central American republics of Nicaragua and Salvador concordats which maintained the Roman Catholic Church in possession of her former prerogatives as the only religion of those states.

This continued adhesion on the part of Rome to the principles of religious intolerance has, however, the most happy effect upon public opinion in the Roman Catholic countries. The number of those who dare to advocate persecution and exclusiveness with regard to other creeds in the legislative assemblies and in the press are becoming fewer every year. Italy, in particular, is setting a good example. The Parliament shows itself a watchful guardian of the maxim of the illustrious Cavour: A free Church in a free state. Father Passaglia is now a member of the Parliament, and in his maiden speech, made in the first days of May, brought in a bill requiring all priests to take an oath of loyalty, guaranteeing protection to such priests as are subjected to ecclesiastical censures on account of their sympathy with the national cause, or with other reformatory movements, and providing for the education of priests in the state colleges. It shows the good sense of the government and the majority of the Parliament that this motion, however commendable its intention may be, was not adopted, but that both government and Parliament declared themselves in favor of letting the pope and the bishops have their own way in matters purely ecclesiastical, while their encroachments upon the sphere of political affairs will be, as before, strenuously opposed. Italy bids fair to be the first state of Latin Europe which will carry through the American principle of the mutual independence of Church and State.

GERMANY.

THE ULTRAMONTANE PARTY IN AUSTRIA.—The Austrian government has been compelled to cease its open opposition to modern civilization, and, at least, to profess a wish to pursue a progressive policy. Most of its statesmen, and the emperor himself, have arrived at the conclusion that any other policy would endanger the very existence of the empire. One of the first fruits of the new policy is the establishment of religious toleration for the Protestants, or, at least, the Reformed and Lutheran State Churches in every Austrian province. It need hardly be said that the representatives of the people are, on this question, far ahead of the government, and demand not only religious toleration for the two Protestant Churches, but an unreserved recognition of the principle of religious liberty. Only in one province, the Tyrol—perhaps the most fanatical portion of all Europe—the ultramontane party has dared to make an attempt for defeating the new imperial policy. The three bishops who are members of the Tyrolese diet moved a resolution to petition the emperor for exempting the Tyrol from the law providing for religious toleration. As the representatives of the Tyrolese peasants are generally the blind tools of the priesthood, the diet, although by only a small majority, adopted the motion, and resolved, in particular, to petition the government for the following points: 1. That no non-catholic commune can be formed in the Tyrol. 2. That Protestants can only have private worship, and that consequently all public worship is forbidden them. 3. That the Protestant Church at Meran, which has been recently organized under the operations of the toleration law, should be considered as a place of private property. 4. That no Protestant should acquire an estate in the province without asking the permission of the authorities every time he wishes to make a purchase. The representatives of all the important towns voted against this resolution of medieval intolerance, and there is no doubt that the central government in Vienna will refuse to confirm it. Since the adoption of the resolution the Protestants of the capital, Innspruch, have completed their permanent organization and publicly met for worship. The Catholic inhabitants of the town showed a great interest in their meeting, and behaved with entire propriety.

ART. IX.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY.

THE second part of the great work of Professor Tholuck on the *Ecclesiastical Life of the Seventeenth Century* until the beginning of what is commonly called the Period of Enlightenment, has been recently concluded. It treats of the second half of the seventeenth century, and completes the history of the time preceding the rise of Rationalism. (*Tholuck, Das Kirchliche Leben des 17 Jahrhunderts.* 2 vols. Berlin.)

Professor J. Köstlin, formerly at Göttingen and now at Breslau, has completed his work on the theology of Luther in its historical development and inner connection. (*Köstlin, Luther's Theologie.* 2 vols. Stuttgardt, 1863.) An exhaustive work on the theological views of the great reformer of the sixteenth century as they gradually developed themselves by his emancipation from and his lifelong struggle against the Church of Rome is, of course, of the utmost importance for a correct understanding of the whole reformatory movement and the history of Protestantism in general. Professor Köstlin, who belongs to the evangelical school of Germany, was well qualified by his long studies on the history and literature of the Reformation for undertaking so important a work. From a high Lutheran standpoint the same subject has been recently treated by Professor Harnark of Erlangen.

Professor Beck, of Tübingen, represents in Germany the strictest school of a purely biblical theology. He demands greater freedom of the Churches from the traditional doctrines and practices of their several denominations in order to be guided, entirely and unbiased, by the word of the Bible. His *Compendium of Christian Doctrines* (*Leitfaden der Christlichen Glaubenslehre.* Stuttgardt, 1862) recommends itself to all Bible students as the work of a man whom all evangelical schools highly esteem for the earnestness with which he has devoted a whole life to the cultivation of a system of biblical theology.

In no Protestant country is the predominance of Rationalism at present so general as in Holland. The center of the theological controversies are in Holland, to a still higher degree than in Germany, the universities, of which there are in Holland three, Groningen, Utrecht, and Leyden, each of which represents a particular school. A man of considerable influence in the modern theology of Holland, Hofstede de Groot, has recently published a work on the theologians of Groningen, (*Die Groninger Theologen.* Gotha, 1863,) which gives full information of one of the theological schools of modern Dutch theology.

Of the cheap edition of the works of Neander, Tholuck, Ullmann, and Umbreit, which Mr. Perthes of Gotha is now publishing, eight numbers have appeared, containing Neander's *History of the Apostles* and *Life of Jesus Christ*, and Tholuck's *Doctrines of Sin* and *Sermons.*

Dr. Volbeding has published a work on the celebrated traveler and exegetical writer, Constantin Tischendorf. Besides a biographical sketch, the work contains a commentary to the important publications of Tischendorf, and reviews the results which have already been obtained for biblical science from the discoveries of Tischendorf, or may yet be expected from them. (Volbeding, *Dr. C. Tischendorf.* Leipzic, 1863.)

An important work for all who wish to study the New Testament in the original language is the new and entirely revised edition of Wilke's *Greek-Latin Lexicon to the Books of the New Testament*, which is now being published at Leipsic. The editor, Prof. Grimm, of Jena, himself well known as an exegetical writer, has made it an entirely new work, embodying in it the results of the numerous and excellent literature which has appeared since the first edition of the work on Greek lexicography on the one hand, and on biblical exegesis and biblical theology on the other. (*Wilkii, Clavis Novi Testamenti.* Leipzic, 1863.)

Among the important continuations of theological works which are announced by Mr. Perthes, of Gotha, are a fourth volume of Polenz's *History of French Calvinism*, and a fourth volume

of Dr. Gildemeister's work on the celebrated mystic philosopher of Germany, Johann Georg Hamann.

The *Evangelical Calendar*, which Prof. Piper, of Berlin, has now been publishing for fourteen years, is gaining every year more friends in and out of Germany. The volume for 1863 contains contributions, among others, from Ehrenfeuchter, Hundeshagen, Krummacher, Lübker, Moll, Van Oosterzee, Schenkel, Schmieder, and Ullmann. Among the articles it contains we notice one by the editor on the Tree of Life, and shorter ones on the Entrance of Christ into Jerusalem, on the Resurrection of Christ, biographical sketches of the two apostles, Simon and Jude, of Francis of Assisi, of Jerome of Prague, of Thomas à Kempis, and of the two reformers, Speratus and Ursinus. (*Evangelischer Kalender*. Berlin, 1863.)

The biblical commentary to the Pentateuch, by Dr. Keil, has been completed by the appearance of the second volume. This work forms the first part of a commentary to the entire Old Testament, which is to be published by Dr. Delitzsch and Dr. Keil. Both authors are well known as being among the most learned representatives of the old Lutheran school, and the work is expected to be the best from the standpoint of verbal inspiration that the German theology of the present day could produce. The next volume, being a commentary to the Book of Job, by Dr. Delitzsch, is announced as being in press. It will be followed by a commentary to the Books of Joshua and the Judges. (*Biblischer Commentar über das alte Testament*. 2 vols., 1862, 1863.)

Professor Zezschwitz, at Leipzic, has commenced a manual of Christian catechetics. The first volume, which has just appeared, has the special title: *The Catechumenate; or, Ecclesiastical Education according to Theory and History*. A Manual especially for Ministers and Pedagogues. The second volume, containing the "Method of the Catechism and of Catechetics for Students and Teachers," will appear before the end of the year 1863.

FRANCE.

M. DE TRIQUETY, to whom the Protestant literature of France is already indebted for several valuable works, has recently published a treatise on the works of Christian charity, which have been established by the Protestant Churches of France since the beginning of the present century. (M. de Triquety, *Exposé des Œuvres de la Charité Protestante*. Paris, 1863.) The Christian charity, according to Triquety, manifests itself chiefly in three forms—instruction, assistance, and evangelization. It is the two former with which he principally occupies himself. "I share," he says, "with the most enlightened spirits of this time the opinion that we can improve the condition of the people only by instructing it, and that we can only moralize it by strengthening the family ties. But I believe, moreover, that a sound instruction can be imparted, and the love of family be revived only by restoring to the depraved hearth and the unbelieving school the Gospel of truth. Fruitful and lasting works I have seen only among those which are produced by men attaching no merit to works, but working only in an humble spirit of children toward their Creator."

The author gives a sketch of the Protestant schools in France, which number about fourteen hundred, though the origin of some of them exceeds the beginning of the present century, from which time dates the legal existence of Protestantism in France. They are all in a flourishing condition and are conducted on a religious basis, while the state, under the pretext of being impartial toward all denominations, excludes religious instruction from schools altogether. Several societies make it their special object to found Protestant schools wherever they are needed, and under their patronage they are rapidly increasing in number. Sunday-schools are now connected with nearly every Protestant Church of France, and a special society has been organized in Paris for the purpose of founding a Sunday-School Library. Of still greater interest is the information which the author gives us on the numerous institutions which have been founded by the French Protestants for the benefit of the poor, the wretched, the sick, the depraved, the orphans, and other classes of society needing the aid of Christian charity. Some of these institutions, as those of Pastor John Bost at La Torre, have acquired a world-wide reputation.

Mr. GUEROULT, the editor of one of the Paris dailies, the *Opinion Nationale*,

has published a volume of essays on religious questions under the title, *Etudes de Politique et de Philosophie Religieuse.* (Paris, 1863.) The work is, in the main, a vindication of Saint-Simonism. It contains some brilliant articles against the Church of Rome in her present condition, on the Mortara affair, and some similar topics. But it also disparages Christianity in general, by charging it with indifference or even hostility as to the material progress of mankind and the industrial progress. Like most of the antichristian publications of modern France, it has a leaning toward the system of the Positive Philosophie, whose influence among young scholars has by no means yet ceased. The importance of works of this class consists not so much in any new ideas, as in the fact that they come from men who in other questions exercise a considerable influence upon our age. The great majority of them are in search of some kind of religion which they wish to substitute for Christianity; but the more candid among them will not deny that the effect produced by all the novel religious and antireligious systems of the nineteenth century is as yet insignificant.

Professor ROSSEEUW SAINT-HILAIRE, of Paris, has published a volume of religious essays under this title, *Etudes Religieuses et Literaires.* (Paris, 1863.) Many of these articles had already appeared in the *Revue Chretienne*, to which the author is a frequent contributor. He is in every respect one of the most prominent representatives of evangelical Protestantism in France.

A similar work has been published by Mr. Michel Nicholas, a leading man of the Liberal school of French Protestantism, (*Essays de Philosophie et d'Histoire Religieuse.* Paris, 1863.) The author analyzes the chief works on modern German theology on the origin of Christianity, and, like other writers of his school, he insists that a radical distinction must be made between the dogma and religion. One of the chief characteristics of this writer is his great clearness, which makes his work valuable for those who wish to acquaint themselves with the substance of this part of modern German literature without the trouble of studying all the original works themselves.

A great sensation has been made in the highest literary circles of France by a pamphlet of the Bishop of Orleans, Dupanloup, against four of the leading representatives of antichristian literature in France, Littré, Rénan, Taine, and Maury. The former was a candidate for a vacant chair in the French Academy — the highest ambition of a French scholar. His prospects of an election appeared to be good, for he had just commenced the publication of a great French dictionary, whose superior literary merits were acknowledged on all sides, and which promises to become one of the most eminent works of French literature. Mr. Littré is, however, an avowed follower of the school of Positive Philosophy, which some years ago was founded by Auguste Comte, and which openly discards and denies all the distinctive doctrines of Christianity. The Bishop of Orleans charges him with disguised atheism, and the effect of his pamphlet, which was published a few days before the election, was such that Mr. Littré remained in a minority and was defeated by Mr. de Carné, a historian and statesman belonging to the liberal Catholic school, of which Bishop Dupanloup, Montalembert, Prince Broglie, the present Archbishop of Paris, and others are leaders. Among those who voted on this occasion for Mr. de Carné were Guizot, Villemain, Cousin, and M. de Lamartine; while Thiers, de Sacy, Mignet, Ampère, de Remusat, and the Duke of Broglie cast their votes for Mr. Littré.

Mr. Rénan has in press a work entitled, *The Life of Christ; or, the Origin of Christianity*, which it is expected will make as great sensation in France as the work of Strauss made a few years ago in Germany.

Art. X.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES, AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Quarterly Reviews.

American Presbyterian and Theological Review, April, 1863. (New York.)—1. Miracles the Proof of Christianity. 2. Philosophy and Theology in Conflict. 3. Freedom Betrayed by the Evangelical Alliance of England. 4. Dörner on the Sinless Perfection of Jesus. 5. The Zoroastrian Religion. 6. Lyman Beecher, D.D. 7. Bishop Colenso on the Pentateuch.

American Quarterly Church Review, April, 1863. (New York.)—1. Stanley's Lectures and the Oriental Churches. 2. Religious Novels of New England. 3. The First Bishop of Connecticut and the Episcopal Recorder. 4. Mr. Harwood's Convention Sermon; and Recent Biblical Criticism. 5. Bishop Colenso versus Historical Christianity. 6. General Convention of 1862.

Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review, April, 1863. (Philadelphia.)—1. The Manner of Preaching. 2. The Life of Edward Irving. 3. Recent Explorations in Africa. 4. The Fathers of Ross-shire. 5. Mercer County Teachers' Institute. 6. The True Place of Man in Zoology.

Congregational Quarterly, April, 1863. (Boston, Mass.)—1. James L. Kingsley, LL.D. 2. English Congregational Statistics, for 1863. 3. Ohio Congregationalism. 4. Colonial Schemes of Popham and Gorges. 5. A Song against the Friars. 6. The Problem of Christian Union. 7. The Old Meeting-House of the South Parish, Andover, Mass. 8. The Way to Sing Truly. 9. Lay Ruling Elders.

Danville Review, March, 1863. (Danville, Ky.)—1. Inquiry of Human Society. 2. Commentary on Ecclesiastes. 3. Politics and the Church. 4. Credibility of the Resurrection of the Dead. 5. The New Life of the Redeemed; Part I.

June, 1863.—1. Studies on the Bible, No. IV—The Exodus; Passover; Priesthood; Borrowing the Jewels. 2. The Element of Admonition in the Epistle to the Hebrews. 3. The Peril and Duty of the American People, with respect to the Foreign Relations of the Country, impending War with England and France, and the threatened Humiliation and Partition of the United States. 4. Chaplaincy in the Army. 5. The Puritans and their Principles, by Edwin Hall. 6. The True Mission of the Church. 7. A Manual of Worship.

Freewill Baptist Quarterly, January, 1863. (Dover, N. H.)—1. The English Pulpit of the Seventeenth Century. 2. The Freewill Baptist Foreign Mission Society. 3. Life and Character of Nathaniel Emmons. 4. The Eighteenth General Conference. 5. The Proclamation of Freedom.

New Englander, April, 1863. (New Haven, Conn.)—1. The Causes of History. 2. Early English Literature. 3. Reply to Professor Parker. 4. Address Commemorative of the Life and Services of Hon. Roger Sherman Baldwin. 5. On Man's Zoological Position. 6. Correspondence of Rev. William Patton, D.D., with the Secretaries of the Evangelical Alliance on the Subject of the American War. 7. Loyalty and Disloyalty Interpreting the Constitution.

BOSTON REVIEW, May, 1863. (Boston, Mass.)—1. Atonement—Steps Downward. 2. George Herbert. 3. The Sword and Christianity. 4. Fasting. 5. Christ's Testimony to our Canonical Scriptures. 6. Our Lord's Third Temptation. 7. John Calvin. 8. Sinners' Rights. 9. Short Sermons.

The Boston Review is established by a body of Christian gentlemen who believe that "Calvin, the Westminster Divines, and Edwards, furnish the best human symbols of Christian doctrine." "It is the design of this Review to keep both their terms and their original import living and fresh before the Church of our times." We fully indorse the sentiment that "old Calvinism is none the worse for being old." We have our argument against its theodice, as being the embodiment of self-contradiction. But one contradiction, so strange a thing is human nature, may be happily balanced by another. Whatever may be our view of the doctrinal error, and of the baleful effects in most directions of the error, it is grateful to our feelings to acknowledge the great power of Christian life manifested by the Calvinistic body of our land at the present hour. We look to it as a stronghold against the incoming flood of that flashy Pelagianism which, under the garb of neology, is seeking to rob faith of its strength and religious experience of all depth.

The following passage we quote as an incidental glance at the results which the latest researches of geology profess to furnish in regard to the antiquity of man:

> And here, writing for persons of all creeds and of no creed, we shall not appeal to the third chapter of Genesis. Whether that chapter be history, allegory, or myth; whether Adam's moral character was changed, or only exhibited, in eating the forbidden fruit; whether his sin was imputed to his posterity, or inherited by them, or both; whether there was only one Adam, the parent of all men, or half a dozen, or half a thousand Adams, all so much alike that the history of any one of them is substantially the history of all the others: these are important questions on which we have very decided opinions; but we need not urge them here.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA AND BIBLICAL REPOSITORY, April, 1863. (Andover, Mass.)—1. The Roman Empire and Christianity. 2. The Denial of the Supernatural. 3. Buckle's History of Civilization. 4. Whence came the Quotation in Hebrews i, 6? 5. The Old School in New England Theology. 6. The Church and Churches. 7. The Historic Character of the Pentateuch. 8. Owen's Commentary on the Gospels. 9. Works of Rufus Choate.

The article on Old-School New-England Calvinism, by Prof. Lawrence of East Windsor Theological Seminary, is in its statements of the doctrines of Methodism candid, and in the general correct. Some of its references to our own statements induce us to give it a brief notice.

1. The "freedom" ascribed by Prof. L. to a responsible agent is, so far as we can see, the freedom attributable to a machine.

Just as a clock-hammer possesses in its given antecedents no power for a different stroke instead, so the agent has no power for "a different volition instead." The agent can in the given case give none but a one solely possible volition, just as the clock-hammer can give none but a one solely possible stroke. This is true of every volition that ever takes place, just as it is true of every clock stroke that ever takes place. It is true of the entire series of volitions of every single agent, as it is true of the entire series of the strokes of every single clock. Just as, should a clock have an eternal existence, each stroke would be a solely possible stroke, so, should an agent have eternal existence, each volition would be a solely possible volition. As the clock could not, in a single one instance of the infinite series, help giving the given stroke, so the agent could not in a single instance help giving the given volition. If the volitions were all wicked, still, the agent gives the solely possible. No sinful volition that ever takes place could in the given antecedents have been withheld. No sin ever committed could have been helped or avoided. Sin and damnation are as inevitable to the sinner as the clock-stroke is to the clock.

This the professor calls "freedom." It is just the freedom of a machine. It excludes guilt, responsibility, just retribution from existence, and makes a just, retributive divine government impossible.

2. A clock-hammer can give a different stroke, if it inclines or is moved to. That is, it can strike differently sequently upon different antecedents. Just so, Calvinists admit that the agent can will otherwise IF—the antecedents are otherwise. That is, he can will differently *in different cases;* which nobody was ever so unwise as to deny. Thus to our making a man's Arminianism or Calvinism depend on his answer to Fletcher's question, "Is the will at liberty to choose otherwise than it does, or is it not?" Prof. L. replies, "A man is at perfect liberty to choose otherwise than he does, *if* he *wishes* to." A clock-hammer is perfectly at liberty, we reply, to strike otherwise if it is *inclined* to. But Prof. L. teaches, with all other necessitarians, that this anterior "*wish*" of the agent is just as absolutely necessitated and controlled by antecedent causes, as this *inclination* of the clock-hammer is controlled by its antecedent mechanical causes. Each lies as a link in the chain of necessary causations. So that the volition, *in the given* CASE, is as solely possible as the clock-stroke in the given case. And that excludes all responsibility or possibly just retribution.

3. Prof. Lawrence endeavors to exculpate the elder Calvinism from the logical difficulty of teaching that "it is divinely just

to create one being bad, or a race bad, and then damn them for being bad." Of this dogma he affirms that Calvinism "ignores it and abjures it as cordially as do our Methodist brethren."

Prof. Lawrence possesses that manly equanimity which prevents his construing our pushing a doctrine to its logical consequences into an attack upon the doctrinary himself. His love both of discussion and of truth would prompt him to say to us, "Push our views into a logical or moral absurdity if you can, and let us see how fairly and conclusively it can be done." Very well. We say that in his own statement of the doctrine of the Will and Responsibility, as we are obliged to understand it, is wrapped the very doctrine that he "abjures."

Calvinism teaches that *subsequent to the fall the race comes into existence necessitatedly sinful; and without any claim for power to be or do otherwise, it deserves damnation for being what it is, as thus brought into existence.* That, we say, is holding that *God may damn a creature for being what he makes him be.*

Prof. Lawrence in reply says, 1. "God created . . . man 'very good;' he never created any being or race bad." 2. "He condemns men only for the evil they were free in producing." 3. All attributable to God is "he did not annihilate it," namely, the race. We reply to these in the same numerical order, 1. God created man with a nature which in his circumstances according to Calvinism was necessitated to sin. He was created volitionally unable, under the actual antecedents, to avoid sin. For he had no power of contrary choice. And for that created unavoidability in the conditions he is damned. The subsequent race is brought into existence deserving damnation for being what they are as thus brought into existence, and without any claim to power to avoid that nature and that damnation. The fact that they are created through second causes, namely, the processes of generation, cannot come into a moral consideration, so long as those secondary causations are the mere media of successive necessitations started from the first cause. If I am necessitated into existence by a necessitating cause, which necessitating cause is necessitated by a line of necessitating causes, started by a first cause, I am necessitated into existence by that first cause, no matter how long the chain or how many the links. The first cause is author of the last effect. Birth, then, in this argument differs nothing from creation. If I am guilty for being born bad, I am equally guilty for being created bad. To be born is to be created through a series of necessitative secondary causes. 2. God, according to necessitarianism, condemns men for the evil "they are free in producing;" just as free in producing, we reply, as a clock-hammer is

free in striking. The being, *in the given case*, can no more avoid sinning than the clock-hammer can avoid striking. In both cases it is a freedom *to* without a freedom *from*, the act. Hence, if in either case there is damnation, it is damnation for what the actor cannot help. He is created to act, under those conditions, as he does; and for being created such, both in necessary being and necessary action, he is damned. 3. But all that Calvinism affirms is that God "did not annihilate" the race. No, Prof. Lawrence, it is not merely *non-annihilation*, nor non-prevention, nor privative non-interference that Calvinism teaches. It teaches that God is the necessitative first cause, through a straight inevitable line of necessitating second causes, of the man's existence, and of his every act, and of his final damnation for that being and act. Necessitated to be what he is, to do what he does, of that necessitation God is the necessitator, the necessitator who not only negatively precludes any different results from any possible existence, but positively necessitates that sole result to come into existence. That is, God necessitates his existence, his nature, his sin, and his damnation for that necessitated nature and sin. Man has no adequate ability for different existence, choice, act, or destiny. And that is the most appalling fatalism.

Prof. Lawrence expressly denies the power of contrary choice or volition. When a man volitionates sinfully he had no power to volitionate otherwise; he could not help willing as he did. He is created a necessary sinner, a necessary heir of hell.

And without power for "contrary volition instead," there can be no power for "contrary action instead." If a man cannot will otherwise than a given way, he cannot corporeally act otherwise than a given way. If through his eternal existence a man has power but for a certain series of volitions, then he has power but for a certain series of corporeal motions. What a man must will, that he must do. What a man cannot will, that he cannot do. The power of willing but thus excludes the power of doing otherwise. So that if there be no *moral*, that is, volitional, ability for different choice, still less can there be *natural*, that is, corporeal, power for different action.

English Reviews.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, April, 1863. (New York: reprint.)—1. Kinglake's Invasion of the Crimea. 2. Worsley's Translation of the Odyssey. 3. Tithe Impropriation. 4. Simancas Records of the Reign of Henry VII. 5. The Black Country. 6. India under Lord Canning. 7. The Bible and the Church. 8. Sir Rutherford Alcock's Japan. 9. Professor Huxley on Man's Place in Nature. 10. The Greek Revolution.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1868. (New York: reprint.)—1. Industrial Resources of British India. 2. The American War, Fort Sumter to Fredericksburg. 3. History of Cyclopædias. 4. The Salmon Question. 5. Biblical Criticism—Colenso and Davidson. 6. Poland. 7. Sensation Novels. 8. Kinglake's Crimea.

NATIONAL REVIEW, April, 1868. (London.)—1. The Irish Church Establishment. 2. Kinglake's Invasion of the Crimea. 3. Passages from the Life of Erasmus. 4. Chronicles of Carlingford. 5. Stanley's Lectures. 6. Bolingbroke as a Statesman. 7. Roba di Roma. 8. Lady Morgan. 9. Early History of Messianic Ideas. 10. The Attitude of Parties this Session.

NORTH BRITISH REVIEW, February, 1868. (New York: reprint.)—1. Convicts and Transportation. 2. Recent Attacks on the Pentateuch. 3. Professor Wilson. 4. Professor Faivre's Scientific Biography of Goethe. 5. Greece during the last Thirty Years. 6. Novels and Novelists of the Day. 7. Domestic Annals of Scotland. 8. Dr. Cunningham's Historical Theology. 9. The Prospects of Parties.

May.—1. Disintegration of Empires. 2. Danish Literature, Past and Present. 3. Kinglake's Invasion of the Crimea. 4. Vegetable Epidemics. 5. Hill Tribes in India. 6. Modern Preaching. 7. M. Saisset and Spinoza. 8. British Intervention in Foreign Struggles.

WESTMINSTER REVIEW, April, 1868. (New York: reprint.)—1. Austrian Constitutionalism. 2. The Reformation Arrested. 3. The Resources of India. 4. The Jews of Western Europe. 5. Lady Morgan. 6. Truth versus Edification. 7. The Antiquity of Man. 8. Cotemporary Literature.

The Westminister makes its utmost of the somewhat insufficient argument for the high geological antiquity of man, but puts in the following salvo for the biblical chronology:

From the definiteness with which 4004 B.C. has been assigned as the date of the creation, one would suppose it to have been clearly stated in some part of the biblical record; yet it rests upon no other authority than *two genealogies*, which profess respectively to record the birth and succession of the sons of Adam, ending with Noah, (Gen. v;) and the birth and succession of the sons of Shem, ending with Abraham, (Gen. xi, 10–26.) Now, to say nothing of the marked discrepancies running through the whole series of numbers in these genealogies, as they come down to us in the Hebrew text and in the Septuagint version respectively (discrepancies amounting to a difference of six hundred and six years in the antediluvian period, between the "longer chronology" of Eusebius and Hales, and the "shorter chronology" of Petavius and Usher,) and accepting those of the Hebrew text as most authoritative, the question arises, how far we are justified in assuming such genealogies to have any chronological value. This question was long since very carefully and candidly discussed by Dr. Prichard, in a note on the biblical chronology at the conclusion of his "Researches into the Physical History of Mankind," a work which strongly advocated the derivation of all the races of men from a single pair, by a masterly combination of physiological, historical, philological, and psychological arguments. And this eminent scholar, whose general views on theological subjects were strongly orthodox and conservative, did not hesitate in announcing it as his well-considered conclusion, that there is no such evidence of the continuity of these genealogies, as affords any kind of basis for the computation of the age of the world, or for the assignment of a date to the creation of man; and that while the date of the arrival of Abraham in Palestine may be computed with a near approximation to truth, "beyond that event we can never know how many centuries, *nor even how many chiliads of years* may have elapsed since the first man of clay received the image of God and the breath of life."

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, (Wesleyan.) April, 1863. (London.)—1. Mr. Miall on Church Property. 2. The Rejection of Fiji. 3. Irish Annals. 4. The Life and Writings of Béranger. 5. The South Ceylon Wesleyan Mission. 6. Greece and the Greeks. 7 Kinglake's Invasion of the Crimea. 8 English Rationalism. 9. The American War.

The article on America is an ignoble descent from the high level of the manly utterances of William Arthur. There is as much deterioration in the style of language and the grade of intellect as in the moral dignity. All this is of far less consequence to us than to the unfortunate authors.

We have had very little to say for some time past upon the tone of the English quarterlies toward the United States. The English nation, from motives of selfishness, desires our dismemberment. They wish the failure of the Northern arms, because they wish the diminution of our power. This wish is the nucleus of all their utterances, upon which all their logic, their moralities, and philosophizings crystallize. Such being the palpable facts, it becomes us to accept them with just the defiance and disregard due to a determined *enemy*, who has the disposition but lacks the courage or the opportunity to *strike* a blow. All the hostile insolence, the sneaking hypocrisy, and the affected philosophic assumption of the certainty and the humanitarian desirableness of our disunion, are born of the occasion. They will pass when our crisis is past. So far as the temporary language and temper are concerned, they are little worth record or future recollection. But America will not soon forget the hostile precedents that England shall have set. And we believe that the time is coming when our nation will demand that the laws of nations shall be brought to a close adjudication of her acts, and if they bear not the test, the last iota of reparation be exacted. If a half century of enmity has not been stored up in the heart of the American people against her it is not England's fault. What compensation she obtains for her folly it will perplex her wisdom to tell.

BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1863. (London.)—1. Indigo, Rent, and Ryots. 2. The Ethics of Periodical Criticism. 3. Taxation and Expenditure—Peto and Northcote. 4. Madagascar and its Christianity. 5. On Convict Management. 6. The Railway System and its Inventors. 7. Christopher North. 8. Antiquity of Man—Sir Charles Lyell. 9. Revolutionary Poland. 10. English Thought and the English Church.

The article on the Antiquity of Man reviews all the geological evidence hitherto furnished, and adds the following conclusion:

The discovery of a whole cemetery of skulls like those of Engis or Neanderthal, or of a collection of microscopes and other philosophical instruments in some preglacial formation, would not shake our faith in the veracity of Scripture for a moment. It would indeed be necessary to revise our construction of the opening

chapters of Genesis. But since it is nowhere expressly asserted that Adam was the first intelligent creature whom God produced on the earth, we should surely have no right to charge the book with untruthfulness because it contains no allusion to the owners of those "ape-like" crania, or to the manufacturers of those miserable flints. To do so would be as unfair as it would be to assert that it spoke "the thing which was not" because it records the appearance of the rainbow after the deluge, though the sun, and clouds, and raindrops—all the factors of the phenomenon, indeed—were in existence long before the flood. Geology has already constrained us to interpret the Mosaic narrative as our forefathers did not. Fifty years ago there was scarcely a divine who would not have been shocked had he been requested to believe that the creation of the world occupied more than six literal days; now there is hardly a lettered man to be found in the three kingdoms who would not consider the proposition just as hopeless as if he were to maintain that Rome Imperial was built in four-and-twenty hours.

If, therefore, any of our readers should feel reluctant to relinquish the ordinary chronology, there is one supposition, already half suggested, which it appears to us perfectly lawful to advance. Few can fail to have been struck by the fact that man is the sole acknowledged species in the genus *Homo*. Mr. Lawrance and others go further, and "put him into a separate order by himself." But of what other creature can we say the same? Looking at him zoologically, simply as the chief mammal, we might expect to find that the law which has regulated the appearance of other animals would have applied in some measure to him. Whatever may be said with regard to the doctrine of progressive development, the successive geological platforms which have been reared have obviously been employed as exercising-grounds, new species having been introduced from time to time, while others have been permitted to expire. Each particular order has broken up into various genera, as if to give it a fair trial under the most favorable circumstances. But man, as historically known, has always been specifically one and indivisible. Varieties exist, but these are all of the same flesh and blood. Is it not permissible, therefore, to suppose, if the case should ultimately require some revision of our views, that other *species* of this proud genus may have preceded us on the earth? and as we may safely assume that they would be inferior to ourselves in mental organization, would there be any impropriety in fastening the low-class skulls to which we have so frequently referred upon their shoulders, and placing the clumsy flint implements about which so much has been said in their unskillful hands?

But, however this may be, all that Scripture requires us to believe in reference to Adam is, that he was the progenitor of the existing race. It does not assert that no other species ever belonged to his genus, nor does it even affirm that the extant tribes of human beings are the only tribes of human beings which have ever appeared. It is silent on such subjects; but its silence may be simply of the same kind as that which omits all mention of the sun until the fourth "day," and all reference to death until after the fall. That such previously-created races may have wholly disappeared before Adam was introduced is no unreasonable presumption; on the contrary, it is suggested by the argument on which, as we have seen, the case of the antiquarians chiefly turns, namely, that these primitive men were coeval with the mastodon, cave-bear, and other *extinct* quadrupeds. The bipeds may have succumbed to the same adverse influences under which their four-footed cotemporaries perished. Not only from the state of the climate which then appears to have prevailed, but also from the barbaric conditions under which they lived, we are entitled to assume that they must have had great difficulty in making head against the miseries of their position. Until, therefore, it can be shown that the flint men of the Somme have left issue which now forms part of the human family, or until the heirs of the Natchez veteran can be traced into the Adamic line, we do not see that the existence of savages twenty or a hundred thousand years ago, even if fully established, could in the slightest degree impair the credit of the sacred Book. But for the present we do not feel that we are obliged to surrender the received ideas on this question. When adequate proof on the side of concession shall be before us, the concession shall be made. We reverence the past or conform to the present on all such questions according to the law of evidence, and on no other ground.

French Reviews.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES.—January 15, 1862.—1. KLACZKO, The Union Movement in Germany. 4. L. REYBAUD, Primary Instruction, and the Children of the Poor Classes in England. 6. LAUR, The Gold Fields of California. 7. MICHELET, Six Months of the Regency.

February 1.—1. AUBE, the Three Years' Campaign on the Senegal. 2. DUPONT WHITE, The Local Administration in England and France: Centralization and Liberty. 7. BLENZY, Submarine Telegraphs.

February 15.—1. ESQUIROS, England and English Life, (nineteenth article.) 2. EMIL DE LAODAYE, The Religious Crisis in the Nineteenth Century. 5. LAVOLLEE, Colonies and Modern Colonization.

March 1.—2. AMEDEE THIERRY, Three Ministers of the Roman Empire under the Sons of Theodosius. 3. DELABORDE, Horace Vernet, his Works and his Style. 5. CH. DE MAZADE, Italian Unity, the Papacy, and France. 8. L. DE LAVERGUE, The Relative Power of the Principal European States.

March 15.—1. RECLUS, The American Negroes since the beginning of the Civil War, (first article.) 5. SCHERER, Confessions of an Anglican Missionary. 7. CH. DE MAZADE, The Polish Insurrection before Europe.

April 1.—1. MICHELET, Paris and France under Law. 5. CH. DE REMUSAT, Democracy and Liberty. 7. RECLUS, The American Negroes since the beginning of the Civil War, (second article.)

April 15.—2. AMEDEE THIERRY, Three Ministers of the Roman Empire under the Sons of Theodosius. 4. DES VARANNES, China since the Treaty of Pekin. 6. BLENZY, Submarine Telegraphs.

May 1.—3. LINDAU, Japan since the Opening of its Ports. 4. REVILLE, The Origin of Christianity according to the Tübingen School. 6. DUPONT WHITE, The Local Administration in France and England. 7. LAUGEL. The Primitive Man according to the Recent Works of English Authors.

The large number of articles which the Revue des Deux Mondes, by far the most prominent and influential representative of the literary world of France, continues to devote to the discussion of theological and religious questions, is a conclusive proof of the great interest which the present generation of the French people, and in particular the higher and educated classes, take in the subject of religion. The Revue has no particular standpoint; it has among its contributors orthodox Catholics and Protestants no less than rationalists and freethinkers. In the numbers whose contents we have stated above, we find two articles on important theological subjects from leading representatives of the liberal school; one from M. Reville, on the Origin of Christianity according to the Tübingen School, the other from M. Scherer, on the Confessions of an Anglican Missionary, which title he chooses for a review of the Colenso controversy.

M. Reville, who is the pastor of a French congregation at Rotterdam, Holland, has labored hard for many years to make France acquainted with the chief results of that class of German theology of which Dr. Strauss and Dr. Baur are the best known representa-

tives. In this article for the Revue des Deux Mondes, he gives first a brief account of the life and works of the late Dr. Baur, of his followers and associates; and he then proceeds to develop the theory by which this Tübingen school has tried to explain the growth of Christianity as not differing essentially in its origin and development from any other religious system. Like most of the eminent French writers of the present day, M. Reville writes with a pleasing clearness, and without doubt successfully accomplishes his object, which is, to explain to those who have heard of the Tübingen school and its labors, without, however, knowing any of its results, the whole system which that school has tried to substitute for the views which both Roman Catholics and orthodox Protestants have of the origin of Christianity. M. Reville writes, on the whole, objectively, without direct polemics against other views; yet he does not conceal his entire sympathy with the tendencies of the Tübingen school. In order to show their impartiality, the editors of the Revue ought to follow up this article with one from either a Roman Catholic or a Protestant theologian, reviewing the claimed discoveries of the Tübingen school, from the standpoint of those whose faith in the historical truth of the Bible record has remained unshaken.

The article in the number of February 15, on "The Religious Crisis of the Nineteenth Century," treats of the irrepressible conflict between the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church and the spirit of modern times, which has taken hold, more or less, of the masses in every Catholic country. The author arrives at the following conclusion:

> The actual crisis will not bring on the great changes of Catholicism which the one party desires and the other fears. The laity have followed their way; the Church has followed hers. Both have made progress, but in an opposite sense; and it would be necessary for the one or the other to wheel about completely in order to make it possible for them to meet. Pius IX. recently stated this divergence in clear terms; and it would be difficult to deny his assertions, at least as a matter of fact. We have seen that while within the Church religion has been more and more materialized in the splendors of festivals, the variety of symbols, the manifoldness of ceremonies, out of the Church the religious sentiment has become more inward, more personal, more independent of the forms which may serve to manifest it. While on the one side the circle of questions decided by dogmatical authority, and thus withdrawn from discussion, is becoming larger, on the other side an immense need is being developed to discuss everything, to examine everything, without any other guide than the laws of reason, without any other aim than to discover the truth. There, the principle of authority is being fortified, and the supreme power is becoming more absolute; here, on the contrary, the democratic instincts and the love of liberty awake. Without doubt it is difficult to predict the future, and no one can have the pretension to determine the consequences of an event so considerable as the fall of the temporal power of the Holy See would be; but everything indicates that in the spiritual domain that shock will cause the Church to seek new strength, not in a transformation which would rejuvenate her too much, and make her unrecognisable in the eyes of her own members, but rather in a more energetic

affirmation of her infallibility, and in a greater exaggeration of her principles. The progress of ultramontane sentiments, the revival of faith and mysticism, the meetings and the proselytism of the clergy, the need of concentration and of a dictatorship in times of trial, all the circumstances resulting from the actual crisis must push, it seems, the papacy in this direction. The desires expressed by some sincere Liberals, and by some eminent spirits among the Roman Catholics, will not be realized, to their great regret, but to the no less great satisfaction of the official defenders of orthodoxy; the (Roman Catholic) Church will probably be hereafter what she has been heretofore. Be it remembered, that the greatest trials, the long residence of the popes at Avignon, the Reformation, the French Revolution, nothing has been able to arrest her in the development of her principles, or to bring her nearer to modern thought.

REVUE CHRETIENNE.—*January* 15, 1868.—1. DELABORDE, Chancellor De l'Hospital. 2. EDMOND DE GUERLE, The Religious Opinions of Milton. 3. A. SCHAEFFER, Saint Martin and Mysticism in France about 1800, (second article.)

February 15.—1. A. SCHAEFFER, Saint Martin and Mysticism in France, (third article.) 2. G. FISCH, On the Actual Condition of the American Crisis. 3. ROSSEEUW SAINT-HILAIRE, Fragment of a Lecture at the Sorbonne. 4. J. F. ASTIE, The Religious Revival in the French Protestant Church.

March 15.—1. LICHTENBERGER, Ludwig Uhland. 2. E. PRESSENSE, Sitting of the French Academy of February 26, 1868. 3. J. F. ASTIE, The Religious Revival in the French Protestant Church, (second article.) 4. F. ROLLER, Italian Correspondence.

April 15.—1. KUHN, Essay on Voltaire, (third article.) 2. CAILATTE, On the Actual Condition of the Anglican Church. 3. ROSSEEUW SAINT-HILAIRE, Protestant Charity. 4. F. B., The Lectures of the College of France and the Sorbonne in 1868.

The last article of the above four numbers of the Revue Chretienne gives an interesting sketch of the religious condition of the two celebrated Paris High Schools, the College de France and the Sorbonne. In consequence of the centralization which still prevails in all branches of public life in France, it may be said that the public opinion of the country is still, to a very large extent, being moulded at the high schools of Paris. The writer in the Revue considers the moral condition of the thousands of young men who annually flock to Paris to complete their education as on the whole superior to what it was formerly. They are, he says, showing a noble independence of mind. They love liberty, and have given severe "warnings" to those professors who thought they could renounce with impunity their former liberal faith. They also show a greater interest than formerly in religious questions, although the predominance of skeptical influences has not yet been entirely overcome. A considerable portion of the students are practical and sometimes fanatical Catholics; but the majority still show some inclination toward Voltairean principles, and a disposition to regard a bold denial of Christianity as a proof of liberalism.

Passing over to the teaching of the leading professors, the writer speaks of the success of Professor Laboulaye as one of his consolations at the present time, as he considers it to be "the success of a form of toleration, the most elevated and the most free from the revolutionary and centralizing prejudices of France; as a triumph of a union between liberty and the Gospel, a union on which depends the future." Laboulaye shows himself an ardent admirer of American institutions, and has given a course of lectures on the American Revolution, the character of which he greatly recommends in preference to that of the French Revolution.

The writer of the article regrets that the government still prohibits the lectures of M. Renan, the well known opponent of Christianity; "for," he says, "we desire liberty of speech for none more earnestly than for our opponents." M. Frank, a Jew, and a brilliant writer on philosophical questions, has devoted several lectures to an explanation of the ultramontane ideas of Bonald and Maistre. The ultramontane portion of the students for some time tried to interrupt these lectures, but these disturbances have had no serious results. Saint Marc Girardin is still one of the favorite professors of the students, and an appeal of his in behalf of Poland led this winter to one of the greatest political manifestations of the Paris students.

A considerable portion of the article is devoted to the two chief representatives of the "spiritual philosophy," M. Saisset and M. Janet. This school is so called in opposition to the atheists and materialists, against whom they defend the existence of a God and the principles of natural religion. With regard to Christianity, they treat it, on the whole, with great respect; they speak with emotion and enthusiasm of some of the doctrines of Christianity, and some of its great men; still they do not conceal the fact that they do not adopt the whole of the Christian system. M. Saisset lectured this year on the Skepticism of Modern Times, especially of the seventeenth century, and M. Janet on the Principles of Theodicy. Both had numerous and attentive audiences, and the influence of both on the students is said to be marked. M. Saisset devoted several of his lectures to Pascal, and produced a deep impression upon his audience by reading the account which Pascal gives of his conversion, when for the first time he could invoke "the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; the God, not of philosophers and scholars, but the God of Jesus Christ;" and when he exclaimed, "Assurance, assurance! Joy, joy, tears of joy!" M. Saisset paid an eloquent tribute to the greatness of Pascal, still he undertook to defend against him the sufficiency of philosophy and of natural

religion. Not that he thought they were sufficient for the entire human race, but it was claimed for a certain class, of superior merit, such as Socrates, that they could be and were entirely satisfied with what philosophy can give to man.

The cause of Protestant Christianity has an eloquent champion among the professors of Paris in Professor Rosseeuw Saint Hilaire, who lectured this year on the History of the Jews. He has the reputation of being one of the best historians of France, and has, besides, an interesting and attractive delivery.

German Reviews.

ZEITSCHRIFT FUR HISTORISCHE THEOLOGIE. (Journal of Historical Theology. Edited by Dr. Ch. W. Niedner. Second Number. 1863.)—1. HOCHHUTH, Contributions to a History of the Protestant Sects of the Church of Hesse. 2. LAURENT, History of the Moravians in Livonia. 3. WINTER, The Church Visitation in the District of Wittenberg in 1528.

The second article is a brief survey of the history of the Moravians in one of the Baltic provinces of Russia. These provinces—Livonia, Esthonia, and Courland—were among the last countries of Europe into which Christianity was introduced. As they were more conquered for it by the warrior than converted to it by the missionary, remnants of paganism maintained themselves for many more centuries among the lower classes of the people. A decree issued by the Supreme Consistory of Riga, on May 1, 1677, enjoins the preachers to report to the Superintendent "the house-gods, the 'oracula' in the trees, under the earth, and in the ashes, the sacrifices at the fairs, and all other kinds of idolatry practiced under the trees, as well as the sorcerers, conjurers, and 'salt-blowers.'" Not longer than about thirty years ago, the Rev. Mr. Carlblom, at Ermes, destroyed a number of sacrificial places devoted to the "mahjas kungs," house lords or house idols. Many pagan notions have been blended with Christian in the minds of the natives. Thus, the Lettish peasants have identified St. John the Baptist with the pagan flower and love god Ligo. On the eve of St. John's, a national festival, the Letts sing extempore hymns, which always terminate in the refrain, "Ligo-Jahnit." How generally the people were addicted to these pagan practices may be seen from the fact that, in 1736, there were in one single parish from sixty to eighty sacred places, of which the pastor of the parish destroyed about twenty-four in the course of two weeks. The ignorance and spiritual destitution of the people greatly increased at the beginning of the eighteenth century, as the Northern war had thinned the

ranks of the clergy. In Esthonia, of fifty ministers, only fifteen had been left; in the other Baltic provinces, about one third were fit for service. To aid them, a number of young clergymen from Germany, belonging to the new Pietistic school of Spener, joined them. The intimate relations existing between Spener and Zinzendorf led to the call of some Moravian brethren, who soon gained a firm footing, especially in Livonia, where they gradually exercised a greater influence than in any other country of Europe. The Church authorities of Livonia had welcomed them in the hope that they would only work as home missionaries within the established Lutheran Church; but as soon as it was feared that their operations would lay the foundation of an independent Church system, the relations between the national Church and the Moravian brethren became unfriendly. Both the Rationalists and High-Church Lutherans tried, and generally with success, to enlist the aid of the Russian government in checking the progress of the Moravians. At present, the government of the Lutheran Church of Livonia is entirely in the hands of an ultra High-Church party, which makes the utmost efforts to undermine, and if possible to destroy, the missions of the Moravians. This struggle has of late attracted considerable attention among the German theologians, and two elaborate works have been published on the subject, one, from the high Lutheran standpoint, by Dr. Harnack, Professor in Erlangen, (Die Lutherische Kirche Livlands und die Herrnhutische Brüdergemeinde, Erlangen, 1860,) and the other, from the Moravian standpoint, by Rev H. Plitt, (Die Brüdergemeinde und die Lutherische Kirche in Livland, Gotha, 1861.) The article of which we have now briefly indicated the contents is based on these two works, and on the synodal proceedings of the *Unitas Fratrum*.

DORPATER ZEITSCHRIFT FUR THEOLOGIE UND KIRCHE. (Dorpat Journal for Theology and Church. Edited by the Professors of the Theological Faculty at Dorpat, Russia. First Number. 1863.)—1. DR. A. VON OETTINGEN, Regeneration by Infant Baptism. 2. SOKOLOVSKI, The Co-operation of the Congregations at the Introduction of Liturgical Innovations. 3. WILLIGERODE, Letter from Neuendettelsau. 4. HANSEN, The Nineteenth General Assembly of the Gustavus Adolphus Society. 5. HANSEN, The Church Diet at Brandenburg. 6. SCHWARTZ, The Twenty-Eighth Provincial Synod of Livonia.

The Dorpat Journal devotes a considerable space in every number to articles on the current history of the Protestant, and in particular of the Lutheran Church; and in this respect it is probably the most interesting and valuable of the German Quarterlies. The above number contains no less than four articles of this class, which sketch prominent occurrences and institutions in the Lutheran

Church of Germany and the German provinces of Russia. The article on Neuendettelsau is devoted to the operations of a Lutheran village pastor of Bavaria, Mr. Löhe, who, by his numerous literary works and the missionary and charitable institutions established by him, has become one of the strong pillars and highest authorities among the High Church Lutherans. It is common—as also the author of the above article does—to call Löhe and L. Harms (also a village pastor in Hanover, and well known as the founder of a foreign missionary society) the "Dioscuri" of the present Lutheran Church. Löhe has extended his influence also to our country, as in our western states the Lutheran missions established through his exertions have become a numerous synod, having its center in Iowa. They have been able to carry into execution here, on a larger scale, the peculiar views of their master, like whom they display an abundance of zeal and earnest piety, but also an abundance of exclusive and narrow-minded fanaticism.

JAHRBUCHER FUR DEUTSCHE THEOLOGIE. (Year-books of German Theology. Edited by Dr. Liebner, Dr. Dorner, and others. First Number. 1863.)—1. LÖWE, The Modern Investigations on the Christian Idea of God, and in particular of the Trinity. 2. On the "Groaning Creation," Romans viii, 19–23. 3. ZÖCKLER, The Unity of Origin of the Human Race. 4. STEITZ, The Penitential Discipline of the Eastern Church during the First Centuries.

STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Essays and Reviews. Edited by Dr. Ullmann and Dr. Rothe. Second Number. 1863.)—1. SACK, Characteristic of the Heidelberg Catechism. 2. RICHTER, The Essence of the Lord's Supper. 3. SCHRIEBER, The Gregorius of Hartmann von Aue. 4. GODET, The Profundity of the Book of Job. 5. KIRCHNER, The Eschatology of Irenæus.

ART. XI.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

The Pentateuch Vindicated from the Aspersions of Bishop Colenso. By WILLIAM HENRY GREEN, Professor in the Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. 12mo., pp. 195. New York: John Wiley. 1863.

The English Bishop figures unfortunately in the hands of the American Professor. Most things are good for something. What a Colenso seems to be good for is, to draw out such defenses of biblical history as Professor Green can furnish. And the present defense displays a complete mastery of the learning of the subject, an unusual ability to adduce logical analogies, the practical skill of an accomplished debater, and a full command of a clear, terse English style.

We learn with pleasure that Professor Green has in press a Chrestomathy for his Hebrew Grammar. He also announces in his preface his intention at some future day to prepare a more extended work upon the criticism of the Pentateuch, and perhaps upon that of the Old Testament generally. Such a work from his hand we should most heartily welcome. He is competent in his department to sustain the honors of old Princeton. There is a plentiful vacuity to be filled in that field at the present hour. Our biblical professors have an abundance to do in Old Testament commentary; and sooth to say, a wondrous little is at present (we would like to say *being done*, if the verbal pedants would let us use the only phraseology that concisely and accurately expresses our thought) under process of accomplishment.

Professor Green having noted the fact that Scripture chronologies are often abbreviated by omissions, adds the following note:

> If scientific research should ever demonstrate what it cannot be said to have done as yet, that the race of man has existed upon the earth for a longer period than the ordinary Hebrew chronology will allow, we would be disposed to seek the solution in this frequent, if not pervading, characteristic of the scriptural genealogies. The Septuagint chronology, to which many have fled in their desire to gain the additional centuries which it allots to human history, is, we are persuaded, a broken reed. The weight of evidence preponderates immensely in favor of the correctness of the Hebrew text, and against the accuracy of the deviations of the Septuagint. But it must not be forgotten that there is an element of uncertainty in a computation of time which rests upon genealogies, as the sacred chronology so largely does. Who is to certify us that the antediluvian and ante-Abrahamic genealogies have not been condensed, in the same manner as the post-Abrahamic? If Matthew omitted names from the ancestry of our Lord in order to equalize the three great periods over which he passes, may not Moses have done the same in order to bring out seven generations from Adam to Enoch, and ten from Adam to Noah? Our current chronology is based upon the *prima facie* impression of these genealogies. This we shall adhere to until we see good reason for giving it up. But if these recently-discovered indications of the antiquity of man, over which scientific circles are now so excited, shall, when carefully inspected and thoroughly weighed, demonstrate all that any have imagined they might demonstrate, what then? They will simply show that the popular chronology is based upon a wrong interpretation, and that a select and partial register of ante-Abrahamic names has been mistaken for a complete one.

This may meet all the difficulties arising from historic and linguistic evidences of human antiquity. But will it solve the difficulty of the "*fossil man?*"

The Last Times and the Great Consummation; an Earnest Discussion of Momentous Themes. By JOSEPH A. SEISS, D.D., Author of "The Gospel of Leviticus," "The Parable of the Ten Virgins," etc.

From the day of the Crucifixion to the present hour, almost without intermission, there have been excellent Christians, often intellectual and learned men, who have held that in but a few days the Son of Man will make his personal appearing. It is an impressive

thought, capable of deeply stirring the emotions of the pious heart and awakening the imagination to startling conceptions. And it contains a great truth, if we will only remember St. Peter's rule of interpretation on the very subject of the duration of the intervening period, namely, that "one day is with the Lord as a thousand years." Nothing is clearer than that in New Testament language the advent was held vividly and conceptually near, so vividly that the literalists of the apostolic day were deceived by it, yet truly and historically it was held to be, and explained to be, indefinitely distant. The mistakes of the apostles before the ascension, on this subject, of the early Christians, and of mistaken interpreters of every succeeding age, ought to have bequeathed a lesson of caution to our day. Dr. Seiss's work is to us tedious reading, pious and eloquent though he is, from the fact that we find on every page or two of his argument palpable fallacies, that are powerful invitations to stop. How can we condemn ourself to read eight mortal pages, for instance, discussing the question whether Louis Napoleon is not the Antichrist?

Good Thoughts in Bad Times, and other Papers. By THOMAS FULLER, D.D. 12mo., pp. 397. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1863.

Meditations on Death and Eternity. Translated from the German by FREDERICA ROWAN. 12mo., pp. 414. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1863.

Broadcast. By NEHEMIAH ADAMS, D.D. 12mo., pp. 210. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1863.

We rank together these three works from the same press, belonging each to the same class of sacred contemplative thought, but derived from very different quarters. The first is a fine old English classic, the product of "one of the wittiest and wisest divines that ever ascended the pulpit." That he should be witty was no estopment upon his being wise, thoughtful, and profoundly pious. His sentences and paragraphs are generally the expression of occult reflection drawn out by surrounding events, and take their character from the sad vicissitudes of the great rebellion of England against the first Charles.

The second is a series of more extended single essays on interesting topics connected with our human destiny. The author was a pure-minded Christian, of a subtle genius, and sometimes, it is said, of a sort of clairvoyant temperament. Reference has already been made, in a former number of our Quarterly, to the work, as being a favorite manual of Prince Albert, and translated by the queen's command. It is an interesting fact; but the volume needs no royal imprimatur to recommend it to the reader's study.

The last, by a cotemporary and an American, is the product of a professional habit. The author, being accustomed to put on paper the chance "bright thoughts" that shoot into the mind, with the purpose of homiletical use, has given them in their paragraphic form to the public. Each paragraph is the slight presentation of a thought, sometimes a striking thought, felicitously expressed.

Lectures on the Symbolic Character of the Sacred Scriptures. By the Rev. ABIEL SILVER, Minister of the New Jerusalem Church in New York. 12mo., pp. 287. New York: Appleton & Co. 1863.

In the pages of Swedenborg we find unequivocal evidences of a great philosophic intellect. But in his narratives of conversations in the interior world, and in his doctrine of biblical interpretation, we find upon brief examinations no presumptive evidences of truth to entice or to obligate us to further procedure. In the mixture of striking thought with the puerile, we are intuitively led to the conception of a great but damaged intellect. His doctrine of correspondences seems to us simply a curious tracing of verbal and other analogies. As to its being a primitive science, forfeited by the moral degradation of our race, the specimen of its restoration in the present volume, as exhibited in an interpretation of the first chapter of Genesis, impresses us with the feeling that its forfeiture was no very damaging loss. It does indeed remove all scientific difficulty from the interpretation of the first several chapters of the Bible; but why the platitudes which emerge should need to be inclosed in such an envelope we cannot conjecture. And how much they add to the value of our present stock of moral and religious knowledge, we are not prepared to say.

The New Testament, with Brief Explanatory Notes or Scholia. By HOWARD CROSBY, D.D., Professor of the Greek Language and Literature in Rutgers College. 12mo., pp. 543. New York: Charles Scribner. 1863.

Commentaries so brief as this will be utterly unsatisfactory for reference; and yet for the superficial readers of the present day they are not without their use. The notes of Professor Crosby present about as much matter, and as well selected, as could easily be condensed into so small a compass.

A Collection of Theological Essays, from Various Authors. With an Introduction by GEORGE R. NOYES, D.D., Professor of Sacred Literature in the Harvard University. Third edition. 12mo., pp. 512. Boston: Wise & Co., Publishers for the Unitarian Association. 1860.

Professor Noyes intends this collection for the use of students in divinity, for Sunday-school teachers, and for all desirous of correct views of Scripture and in religion. Most of the essays are from

Jowett and Stanley. Among these are interspersed single productions from Guizot, Baden Powell, Tholuck, Dr. Thomas Brown, the celebrated Edinburgh metaphysician, and others. There are three from Rowland Williams. Among the topics discussed are Inspiration, Atonement, the Characteristics of Scripture, the Resurrection, and Miracles. The book is doubtless a standard for those who believe and those who wish to understand the doctrines of the school whence it issues. Its ability, style, earnestness, and doubtless sincerity, commend it to the attention of inquirers in that direction.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

The Gentle Skeptic; or, Essays and Conversations of a Country Justice on the Authenticity and Truthfulness of the Old Testament Records. Edited by the Rev. C. WALWORTH. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1863.

Triumphs of the Bible, with the Testimony of Science to its Truth. By the Rev. HENRY TULLIDGE, A.M. New York: Charles Scribner. 1863.

The new phase of the controversy respecting the Christian Evidences is calling out an abundant harvest of apologetic or defensive books; some valuable, and some less able than well-intentioned. The two whose titles we here give are among the better class of these, though not the most elaborate and scholarly.

The Gentle Skeptic is an attempt to popularize the usually-given arguments in favor of the Scriptures and of the truth of Christianity generally. It is chiefly remarkable for its methods, which may allure a class of readers to its examination who would be repelled by a more direct mode. Without any specially marked originality of thought or matter, it depends for its success especially upon its manner of putting its views and arguments. Under his assumed homely guise the author evidently carries a well-trained hand and a well-supplied armory, as well as some skill in controversy. He prudently abandons as untenable certain points that have sometimes been claimed as essential articles of faith, and which the assailants of the faith have chosen to recognize as such because of their vulnerability. The so-called "plenary inspiration" of the Scriptures is thus quietly given up, though a real but less mechanical and inflexible form of inspiration is insisted on. The assertion of the literal six days of creation is also waived, as unnecessary, and perhaps improbable, without at all conceding any damage to the general credibility of the Bible. A real service to the cause of religious truth has been rendered by the assaults of its adversaries upon the untenable and unwarranted points which some of its mistaken friends have sought to include within the citadel of the faith.

The second of these books responds directly to the questions respecting the credibility of Christianity as they are presented in recent discussions. Its first part, "Triumphs of the Bible," presents an argument of great force and pertinency, though it has seemed to be almost entirely ignored by skeptics and but little used by Christian writers. The Bible as an aggregate individuality has a historical record of its career and influence in the world that strongly attests its superhuman origin. As the ever-burning but unconsumed bush of Horeb evinced the divine presence, the triumphs of the Bible among men are a very palpable proof of both its divine original and its inherent divinity.

The second part discusses the testimony of science to the truth of the Bible; and astronomy, geology, physics, chronology, ethnology, and history are in turn made to bear their corroborative testimony to its utterances, and in doing this, also to interpret and illustrate what they incidentally and collectively confirm.

Both of these works are able, quite up to their pretensions; they are also especially timely, not only as to their dates, but more so as to their adaptation to the demands and exigences of the times. They are books easy to be read, even by the comparatively unlearned, and in their style and methods well suited to meet the specious but superficial objections against revelation now so much in fashion.

C.

The Races of the Old World: a Manual of Ethnology. By CHARLES L. BRACE, Author of "Hungary in '51," "Home-Life in Germany," "Norse Folk," etc. 12mo., pp. 540. New York: C. Scribner. 1868.

Mr. Brace's work presents the pre-eminent advantage of being a complete *summary* of the subject; the only one, perhaps, to be found. All the scattered items and facts from an immense number of authors and a large variety of sciences, all the literature and all the science, indeed, of the matter, he has collected and put into compact form. It is clear in style, Christian in spirit, and independently scientific in position. It is the only work we can name adequate to supply the demands of the inquirer for a statement of the whole subject at the latest date, in a science of great importance but not yet finished.

Mr. Brace first explores the earliest historic origin of races, and finds in the facts of archæology strong demands for greater amount of time than our accepted chronology allows. He traces the history of primitive races as they appear in the records of succeeding ages. By the light of these historical facts and principles, he is enabled to analyze the composition of the different nations and peoples of the

present day. He furnishes very decided tests by which almost every individual may fairly conjecture to which great primeval family he belongs. He then analyzes the latest proofs of human antiquity which Geology has furnished, and inclines to the belief that while the origin of the human race from a single pair is the most scientific conclusion, there are *nearly* decisive proofs of human existence at a period geologically distant. These geologic human aborigines are to be viewed, as he thinks, as either races who have been destroyed in the process of fitting the globe for its present master, or *more probably* the childish ancestry of the present man.

Mr. Brace enters upon no theory of reconciling his views with the Old Testament or New, and seems to ignore the existence of any discrepancy. He concludes with the following slight statement of his religious theory:

> The great design of the Creator, in the world, we reverently believe to be the development of each human being into "the perfect man in Christ Jesus," and the building up of an organic "*Kingdom of God.*" And as God hath been once especially manifested in humanity that he might draw all things to himself, and as all human history is henceforth only the course of the slow working of this Divine Life among men, may we not hope that, after the long lapse of ages, the Spirit of Christ shall so fill the individual men, that at length a Race shall be born who shall embody and transmit divine ideas and inspirations, and thus an organic "Kingdom of God" be formed among nations, and so the goal of Humanity be reached?
>
> Then shall the mysterious property of Inheritance—the center of so many theological problems—which had transmitted the effects of the first violation of conscience and the first indulgence of a selfish will, through innumerable generations with constantly increasing power, at last be turned to the side of goodness and purity, and truth and holiness be equally inherited and embodied among men.

Evidence as to Man's Place in Nature. By THOMAS H. HUXLEY, Professor of Natural History in the Jermyn-street School of Mines. 12mo., pp. 184. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

Professor Huxley is a young gentleman of undoubted science, whose case illustrates how truly the reputation of even a savant may depend upon eloquence of style and a felicitous audacity of temper. As a bold assertor of a theory not complimentary to the pride of the human race, he has somewhat endangered the laurels of Professor Owen, and gained a notoriety not purely creditable, but rather dashing. Professor Huxley early adopted the theory of Darwin, and his utterances on that subject were at the time out up with a masterly execution in the Edinburgh Review.

His further doctrine that man is corporeally a member of the ape species, would naturally appear to result from his Darwinism. Yet not quite so. If species are but narrow streams of living existence, shooting up from a common primordial germ in a past period transcendentally distant, there is nothing to show that the

human stream may not have shot up alone in its glory. All Professor Huxley can show is that science must classify according to phenomena, but can know nothing, at any rate as yet, of history.

The present work consists of three parts: The Natural History of Man-like Apes, The Relations of Man to the Lower Animals, and The Fossil Remains of Man. Professor Huxley's ground is that the lowest type of man is anatomically less distant from the gorilla than the gorilla is from the lowest types of ape. Putting it nearly in the terms of a late article in the Edinburgh, if the apes are as 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, man is as 15. Man is less distant from 10 than 10 is from 1. This does not strike us as proving much.

Annual of Scientific Discovery; or, Year-book of Facts in Science and Art, for 1863. Exhibiting the most important Discoveries and Improvements in Mechanics, Useful Arts, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Astronomy, Geology, Zoology, Botany, Mineralogy, Meteorology, Geography, Antiquities, etc.; together with Notes on the Progress of Science during the year 1862, a List of recent Scientific Publications, Obituaries of eminent Scientific Men, etc. Edited by DAVID A. WELLS, A.M., M.D., Author of "Principles of Natural Philosophy," "Principles of Chemistry," "First Principles of Geology," etc. 12mo., pp. 348. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1863.

It is a sad fact that in this nineteenth century of the era of Christ, the highest scientific mind of the age should be engaged in perfecting the art of destruction. It is, moreover, a curious fact, that in this art a battle is going on between the science of defense and the science of attack, with ever-alternating results.

In the science of zoology, the main points furnished by Mr. Wells in regard to the antiquity and relations of man in nature have been already furnished to our readers. We quote from his Annual the following extract from the London Times:

> It is conceivable, though improbable in the highest degree, that scientific research may discover what has been presumptuously called "the missing link" between the human skeleton and the skeleton of the highest class of apes; but what will have been gained by such a revelation? Nothing, except an evidence that the external form of two orders of beings differing in all that can constitute a difference of nature, may approximate more closely than has hitherto been supposed. The step from resemblance to filiation is one that can never be made legitimately, and if it could, the only problem that has more than a scientific interest would remain unsolved. The history of the human race must begin with the first creature endowed with a human soul; and no structural affinity will ever justify us in acknowledging as man a being which has left no traces of reasonable agency. Between the highest efforts of instinct and the rudest manufactured implements which geologists have detected in caves or gravel-beds, there is an interval which cannot be bridged over. While we are what we are, and learn from history and philology that no material change has passed over our mental organization since language was used to express thought, we can dispense with the assumption that our physical organization is unique. Experience has already told us that we live under the same physical conditions with other animals. Like them, we need air, sleep, and food; the constituent

parts of our bodies and the modes of growth are the same; the processes of digestion and secretion, and the tendency to disease, are common to us with them; and we share with them all the senses and many of the affections. It is a small thing, then, to admit the existence of other features of similarity, such as osteology attests. The recognition of these features is as old as Aristotle, and the use now made of them comes too late to shake our faith in our pretensions to an exclusive rank among animals. That we should unite a conscience and a spiritual nature with a bodily framework inferior in strength and little superior (if it be so) in delicacy to some other mammalia, would be the strongest possible confirmation of our title to this rank. Nor would this title be the least affected by any theory about the mode of our creation, gratuitous and worthless as such a theory must ever be. There would be nothing more derogatory to Omnipotence, or even to human nature, in the conjecture that man did not become a living soul till he had passed through several lower stages of animal life, than in the doctrine that he was formed immediately out of the dust of the ground; nor would he cease to be a little lower than the angels if the elements of his body could be analyzed into an original monad. The difference between the two views is, that we have the highest authority known for the one, while the other has no basis but a set of disputed facts which cannot possibly prove more than that something which was not human once existed in human shape. It is one thing to show that a brute may have organs as perfect as a man; it is another thing to prove that man is nothing but a highly-educated brute.

History, Biography, and Topography.

Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church. Part I. Abraham to Samuel. By Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D.D., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Oxford, and Canon of Christ Church. With Maps and Plans. 12mo., pp. 572. New York: Charles Scribner. 1863.

These Lectures, being addressed by the Regius Professor of Oxford to the candidates for orders in the Established Church, go forth as a very authoritative expression of the views of Biblical history, for better or worse, likely to obtain ascendancy in England. The view differs materially from that universally held before Milman sent forth his History of the Jews, a work soon to be issued in a remodeled form from the hand of the accomplished author. The perusal of that work in our earlier days, we can safely say, exerted a beneficial effect on our views of Old Testament history. How far the more advanced views of Stanley, short as they are of the still bolder positions of Davidson, will be acceptable to the more evangelical and earnest part of the Church, we cannot say.

The work is a successful specimen of the writer's gorgeous language and pictorial imagination. Whether in portraiture of character or photography of scenes and events, every page is fresh and vivid, and the whole work is a series of highly finished pictures. Abraham, in loftiest primeval grandeur, rises before us as founder; Moses, the lawgiver, succeeds; and Samuel, the prophet, head of a great transition, closes this initial volume, which is to be succeeded by two others. And then in succession we are made to dwell in the most picturesque scenes of successive ages. The simplicity of

the patriarchal age, the abode in the land of the Nile, the stirring scenes of the exodus, Sinai and the law, the conquest and the settlement, the myth-like age of the Judges, the fall of the house of Eli, and the rise of the prophetic order, are topics adequate to call forth the hand of the master, and in the hands of a master to hold the reader in rapt enchantment.

Perhaps the key to Stanley's biblical views may be found in the statement, that he holds more emphatically to the belief in Israel as an inspired people, than to the Old Testament as a plenarily inspired book. In the true special call and relation of that nation, by God, as a preparation and a harbinger of the Incarnate, he seems to be an unhesitating and hearty believer. In the true historic character of the Old Testament he has full faith. Abraham, Moses, Samuel, are no myths, but living characters; drawn indeed with an antique rudeness, but with a most lifelike truthfulness. But to the Hebrew text he is ready to allow the most searching criticism, in the true spirit of historical criticism, to be applied. He is no way discomposed at the traces of a later age, or the admission of a contradiction, or the reduction of a myth to a prosaic fact. All these constitute no detraction from the fixed facts of the divine call of Abraham, the divine legation of Moses, the divine inspiration of the prophets, the divine mission of the Jewish nation, to prepare the way and to produce the person of the divine Redeemer.

The vastness of this subject, its relation to the fundamentals of Christian truth, its position under the view of the mind of the present day, oblige the mind to pause before pronouncing a peremptory decision. We must say, as we have elsewhere said, that our professional investigators into the Old Testament records have a work to do, tasking their highest energies, in meeting the demands of the age upon this great subject.

Memoirs of the Rev. Nicholas Murray, D.D., (Kirwan.) By SAMUEL IRENÆUS PRIME. 12mo., pp. 488. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1863.

This is a very pleasant book, interesting to most classes of readers, and especially so to those who knew Dr. Murray, either in his public or private life.

Nicholas Murray came to America in the year 1818, being then about sixteen years of age, a poor friendless Irish Roman Catholic boy, "seeking," as the story books say, "his fortune." He obtained employment in the printing house of the Messrs. Harper, and became an inmate of their mother's family, where he was treated with great kindness, and where, by the pious words and holy life of Mrs. Harper, as he often declared, he was first led to doubt the truth of

the religion he had been taught in his native land. He began to attend the ministry of the Rev. T. Spicer, in the John-street Church, and finally professed conversion, in a revival then in progress. He united with the Church, and so remained for a year or more. He afterward united with the Presbyterian Church, (Dr. Spring's,) and by the aid of friends, began study with a view to the work of the ministry. He was graduated at Williams College, in 1826; studied theology at Princeton; and in 1829 was licensed to preach by the Presbytery of Philadelphia, and settled as the pastor to two small Churches at Wilkesbarre and Kingston, Pa. In July, 1833, he was called to the pastorate of the First Presbyterian Church, Elizabethtown, N. J., where he preached with great power and acceptance nearly twenty-eight years, and on the 4th of February, 1861, died in great peace.

The biographer traces the whole life of Dr. Murray; the boy, the student, the man, the distinguished minister of Christ, the author, the friend, the husband and father; and though nowhere employing words of faint praise, does him no more than justice. The only two points we feel disposed to criticise are, first, the author's carelessness in regard to dates; and second, his preposterous magnifying of certain gossiping communications which Dr. Murray, when a young man, just out of the seminary, wrote for a Philadelphia periodical concerning the doctrines and measures of the Methodists of Wilkesbarre. This trivial matter, of which the Wyoming Methodists never heard, is represented as creating an excitement, and calling out a formal deputation of Methodist ministers, who call upon the editor, and are met with a rebuff and a defiant declaration, while the series of letters proceeds "with great vigor and effect." That the artist in painting his picture should now and then get a little "too much red in the brush," is natural enough; but this case seems to show an undue anxiety to make a little capital for one Church, and cause a little disparagement to another. We know that there are men who never let slip an opportunity to damage those whom they choose to deem rivals; but this attempt to borrow a dead man's hand to strike the blow with, is *odium theologicum* in a new phase. The whole thing is an exaggeration scarce short of imposture. C.

Chaplain Fuller: being a Life Sketch of a New England Clergyman and Army Chaplain. By RICHARD B. FULLER. 12mo., pp. 342. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1863.

We have perused with absorbing interest, not without a compulsory tear, the pages of this biography. Against Mr. Fuller's creed we

have our ample argument; but we attempt not to sit in judgment upon his acceptance with God until we have outrivaled his love, zeal, and earnest labors in behalf of God and man.

The Story of my Career as Student at Freiburg and Jena, and as Professor at Halle, Breslau, and Berlin. With Personal Reminiscences of Goethe, Schiller, Schelling, Schleiermacher, Fichte, Nevalis, Schlegel, Neander, and others. By HENRICH STEFFENS. Translated by WILLIAM LEONHARD GAGE. 12mo., pp. 284. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New York: Sheldon & Co. Cincinnati: George S. Blanchard. 1868.

Steffens was one of the trio, with Humboldt and Ritter, of great geographers, who, according to Professor Guyot, "have breathed a new life into the science of the physical and moral worlds." The present work is extracted by Mr. Gage from an autobiography of ten volumes. It possesses the fascination belonging to an artless narration of the feelings and views of a sensitive and observant mind in becoming acquainted and associated with a large number of men whose singular greatness has left a strong impression upon the thoughtful world. Mr. Gage has in preparation a translation of the Geographical Studies of Karl Ritter.

African Hunting, from Natal to the Zambesi, including Lake Ngami, the Kalahari Desert, etc., from 1852 to 1860. By WILLIAM CHARLES BALDWIN, ESQ., F.R.G.S. With Illustrations by James Wolf and J. B. Zwecker. 12mo., pp. 397. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1868.

Mr. Baldwin seems to be a characteristic specimen of the John Bull sort, bent on raising and enjoying an excitement among the Zulus, by whom Bishop Colenso was converted, in the native region of those acknowledged cousins of Professor Huxley, the baboons. We cannot pretend to have read his pages very faithfully, having exhausted our taste for hair-breadth escapes in our younger days. But judging from the numerous pictorial exhibitions of the same Mr. Baldwin, (distinguishable in picture by his pantaloons,) very picturesque must have been his adventures among apes, elephants, hyenas, lions, hippopotami, buffaloes, and ostriches; in some of which he has the decided advantage, while in others it is remarkable that he should have survived to write his book.

Politics, Law, and General Morals.

On Liberty. By JOHN STUART MILL. 12mo., pp. 223. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1868.

Mr. Mill belongs to the sensational school in philosophy, and is a theologian of the type of the Westminster Review. His views on the American question in England, as presented in his usually clear,

solid, compact English style, have rendered his name noted and acceptable in this country. Nevertheless, the present work is, to our view, about as available a defense for libertinism as for liberty. Its misrepresentations of Christianity, Christian morality, Christian history, its plea for the largest legal liberty for every wickedness claimed to be injurious to none but the sinner himself, would render him a fit philosopher for rumsellers, brothel keepers, and antisabbath associations. On the whole, the book is a worthy classic of the Thomas Paine school.

Educational.

The Standard Phonographic Dictionary. By ANDREW J. GRAHAM, Conductor of the Phonographic Academy, New York, Author of "The Handbook of Standard Phonography," "The Synopsis of Standard Phonography," "The First and Second Phonographic Readers," "Brief Longhand," "A System for the Rapid Expression of Numbers," etc. 12mo., pp. 1043. New York: Andrew J. Graham. 1868.

This volume is intended as a guide and standard for the pupil in phonography to the most perfect brief forms. The wide range of selection which the art allows is here narrowed, not by accident or arbitrary caprice, but by the most perfect science. The work presupposes a training through the Handbook, both phonotypic and phonographic. The forms are indicated phonotypically. It will be an invaluable guide to the aspirant for a perfect style of the art. We may add that the above list of works following Mr. Graham's name will indicate the series which the independent learner would need to order of him by mail.

Belles-Lettres and Classical.

The Poems of Adelaide A. Procter. 24mo., pp. 416. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1868.

Miss Procter is a poetess, the daughter of a poet. Her father's name, Bryan Waller Procter, lost itself in literature under the fictitious title of Barry Cornwall. He was the schoolmate of Byron at Harrow, and his dramatic productions, but more especially his lyrics, assumed an honorable stand in English literature.

Any five lines of Miss Procter's will authenticate themselves to you as the work of a true poet. Strange is that power of genius, that its briefest accidental utterances betray its divine brogue. It may not be the very highest strain of genius, for it is not true that there is no medium flight of the true inspiration. Without being at the summit of the art, there may be the unequivocal quality, the true magic, in every syllable of every line. Miss Procter is by no means as *great*, but she is as *genuine*, a poet as Byron.

Even the feminine writer of verse at the present day must be the poet of a great cause, of a high moral interest, or of a great political or moral movement. Miss Procter is a Catholic; and though some of her utterances, such as her unequivocal Mariolatries and her bigoted appeal to England against the Protestant missions in Ireland, are little acceptable to our Protestant ears, yet we accord her, as such, more respect than we could yield to any unthoughtful trifler in mere poetic fancies and sentimentalities.

Tales and Sketches. By HUGH MILLER. Edited, with a Preface, by Mrs. MILLER. 12mo., pp. 369. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New York: Sheldon & Co. Cincinnati: G. S. Blanchard. 1868.

These Tales and Sketches have all the grand music of the stonecutter's style. There is, to our ear and spirit, hardly its superior in all the range of English literature. There are two chapters, the one upon Ferguson the other upon Burns, of special interest.

Miscellaneous.

Two Pictures; or, What we think of Ourselves, and What the World thinks of Us. By M. J. M'INTOSH. 12mo., pp. 476. New York: Appleton & Co. 1868.

The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua Critically Examined. By the Right Rev. JOHN WILLIAM COLENSO, D.D., Bishop of Natal. 12mo., pp. 230. New York. 1868.

Principia Latina, Part I. A First Latin Course, Comprehending Grammar, Delectus, and Exercise Book, with Vocabularies. By WILLIAM SMITH, LL.D. Revised by H. DRISLER, A.M., Professor of Latin in Columbia College. 12mo., pp. 187. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1868.

Science for the School and Family. Part I. Natural Philosophy. By WORTHINGTON HOOKER, M.D. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Life in the Open Air, and other Papers. By THEODORE WINTHROP, Author of "Cecil Dreeme," etc. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.

The Poems of Oliver Wendell Holmes. Blue and gold. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.

The Leslie Stories. Up the Ladder; or, Striving and Thriving. By Mrs. MADELINE LESLIE. Boston: Graves & Young. New York: Sheldon & Co. A beautiful Juvenile.

Pamphlets.

The Confederated Republic of Israel; a Sermon preached in the Seventh-street M. E. Church, New York, on Thanksgiving Day, November 17, 1862. By EDWARD THOMSON, D.D. Published by request. 12mo., pp. 27. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1863.

Dr. Thomson's great reputation as a preacher and thinker is well sustained in this very admirable production. Its originality of

thought, purity and vivacity of style, unique steps of argument, and forcible practical deductions, render it well worthy the study of our young ministry and the deep attention of our laity. Well would it have been if our congregations in New York had in years past listened with cordial acceptance to lessons of eloquence and wisdom such as are recorded in these pages!

The Crisis. 12mo., pp. 95. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1863.

There is one thing very consistent in this production, namely, that genuine nonsense should be expressed in bad English. Take a characteristic specimen: "The incoming administration should plainly declare what course *she* intended to pursue." There is, in the midst of much stupidity, one very original imitation of blasphemy; namely, the introduction of Washington, talking like a copperhead. The talk is introduced by an imaginary Bostonian, who asks Washington "and his associates," "*Do you approve of slavery?*" To which Washington, in behalf of all, answers, "*Yes, we do.*" Yet, with the sinuosity of most of the snaky race, this twaddler denies that he is himself "a friend to slavery." Such a mixture of folly, falsehood, and demoralization dishonors the shelves of the princely Appletons.

CORRECTION.—In our notice of "Institutes of Medicine" in our last Quarterly, the author's name was given as *Thomas* Paine, instead of Martyn. A once popular New England poet, whose name was Thomas Paine, petitioned the legislature to change Thomas to Robert Treat, "that he might have a good *christian* name." The learned professor is entitled to his *christian* name.

Notices of the following works are postponed for want of room:

Letters on the Ministry of the Gospel. By FRANCIS WAYLAND. Gould & Lincoln.

Three works, entitled, *The Patience of Hope; Two Friends;* and *A Present Heaven.* Ticknor & Fields.

Mrs. Browning on the Poets. Ticknor & Fields.

Cochin on Slavery; and *Paris in America*, by Laboulaye. Scribner.

THE

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW

OCTOBER, 1863.

ART. I.—"NEO-CHRISTIANITY," AND ITS LESSONS.

Westminster Review, October, 1860. Art. I. Neo-Christianity.

Replies to "Essays and Reviews," with a Preface by the Lord Bishop of Oxford. American edition. 12mo., pp. 438. New York: Appleton & Co. 1862.

Aids to Faith, a Series of Theological Essays, by several Writers, being a reply to "Essays and Reviews." Edited by WILLIAM THOMPSON, D.D., Lord Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol. American edition. 12mo., pp. 538. New York: Appleton & Co. 1862.

Tracts for Priests and People, by Various Writers. American edition. 12mo., pp. 372. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1862.

THE intelligent Christian hails every trial of his faith with joy. Ignorance and insincerity breed myriad fears, but he who has genuine, intelligent faith rejoices in the storm which proclaims that his house is founded on a rock. If a man believes in Christianity because he desires to have it true, because it is for his interest, because he has been thus taught, because great and good men of other ages have thus believed, because of all systems it seems most likely to be true, or further, if he believes it merely on intellectual evidences, his faith will melt like wax in the hour of real trial; when first he attempts to use the wings which he has flattered himself were fleet and strong, they will droop like the pinions of Icarus, and his heaven-essaying voyage will end in the cold and hungry sea.

The panic which the "Essays and Reviews" have produced in our motherland is by no means honorable to the Christian public of England. This "rebel raid" around the entire line of their fortifications, and into the very heart of their fortresses, does no credit to engineer, sentry, or general. It is a sad, solemn lesson which we should thank God has come now, and not when too late forever. It tells how low, how imperfect, how false has been the idea which thousands of Christian teachers have had of Christianity itself; how utterly ignorant have many Christian clergymen and teachers been of its most essential characteristics; how men on whose lips and lives millions hang, could take on them the most binding vows that man can know, and make the most solemn declarations that man can ever utter, with mental reservations which not only change, but utterly annihilate the meaning of the words spoken; it tells how the muttering of *credos* and the babbling of formulas has usurped the place of genuine Christian faith; how frozen formalities have chilled the life out of Christian work; how hollow is the ground beneath the State Church of England, if it be not indeed, as its enemies claim, wholly honeycombed throughout with unbelief. That Christian men should fear to have the objections, theories, and hypotheses of this volume, any or all of them, flung against their faith, that they should shrink from the fair free discussion of all the questions here proposed, that they should not rather welcome all inquiries, in whatever spirit proposed, that search after the foundations on which Christianity reposes, is to the last degree discreditable, not only to their courage, but even to their honesty and sincerity. The sudden rally to repel this attack has a hurried, panic-stricken appearance; men catch the weapons that first come to hand, and strike without aim or plan. A weak and disgraceful fear of the statements and opinions of the essayists, and disposition to repress the utterance of these objections, or rather to crush the objectors instead of their objections, is a sad and painful sign of the times. As the reader, who has but a cursory acquaintance with Paulus, Eichorn, and De Wette, can meet with little to interest him in the "Essays and Reviews," and finds his predominant feeling to be compassion for the timidity of the writers, so one who has read "Christian Apologies" of the past age is somewhat disappointed as he moves through these extens-

ive lines of defense just reared, to meet so many old soldiers in new uniform, rallied hap-hazard for the emergency. But in the "Aids to Faith" we encounter live, vigorous, thorough-going minds, hampered sometimes by Churchism, surprisingly tender now and then for ancient formulas, but who in the main, with exceptions to be noted perhaps hereafter, grapple manfully with the great themes before them; in fact perhaps it is too good a book for the work it was meant to do; it is too scholarly and profound for the minds whose faith is most endangered by the volume that called it forth. Prof. Jowett will scatter doubts where he is but half understood, while Dean Ellicott must be studied to be understood at all, and studied by collation with the Greek Testament.

But, to pass immediately from this literature to its subject, one thing is certain, that this "Neo-Christianity" of the essayists and reviewers is but a passing phase of theological opinion. It can never commend itself to the common sense of mankind as a compromise between Bible Christianity and Deism, (Deism, we say, knowing well enough that "Theism" is the modern euphemism,) if indeed it can ever succeed in making itself even understood. It will be rejected on both sides, perhaps with compassion for the weakness of its followers, but oftener with contempt. The Westminster, while bestowing this name on the infant, yet declares it to be a still-born child. The reviewer's words deserve careful notice. "The public will never be brought to believe that the Bible is full of errors, *or rather untruths;** that it does not contain authentic, or even cotemporary records of facts, and is a medley of late compilers, [all of which the essayists and their American followers would have us believe,] and yet withal remains the Book of life;" and he adds most truthfully, that when this does become the public conviction, "the Hebrew Scriptures will take their place on the book-shelf of the learned beside the Arabian and Sanskrit poets." Strauss may write, "The supernatural birth of Christ, his miracles, his resurrection and ascension remain eternal truths, whatever doubt may be cast on their reality as historical facts,"† and these words may have a sort of meaning to the man who can also write, "The infinite Spirit is real only when it discloses itself in finite spirits, as the finite spirit is true only when

* The italics are ours. † Life of Jesus. Am. Ed. Preface, p. 4.

it merges itself in the infinite;"* but it is certain that to men who are so unphilosophical as to believe in personal identity, (and most of mankind are liable to be such fools for some time to come,) to such men these statements are incoherent jargon. And so of all the compromises between science and religion proposed by the founders and followers of this "New-Christianity." It is but a way-station at best, where men who know how to think and do not fear to think will never stop: the resistless trains of logical inference hurry them past without a glance of interest, and soon no solitary passenger will ever think of being landed there; its very site will be forgotten. Let us turn, then, to something of more enduring interest, the terminus, whither logical deduction carries those who travel in this direction; and that is the denial of all positive religion whatever. To this the Westminster points fearlessly, and urges the essayists to cast off fear and travel on. It is refreshing to turn from the timid cavilings of these would-be compromisers to the frank denial and fearless consistency of the Westminster. We would not be uncharitable, and would feel all sympathy with manly souls wrestling with honest doubts, and such, we hope, are two or three at least of these now famous seven; but for that sniveling cant which masks Deism and Pantheism under the phrases of the creeds and of the Scriptures we have but just one feeling, unmitigated contempt. Give us robust infidelity a thousand times rather than a puny, puling Christianity.

Now the Westminster states the case well, and "liberal Christians" in America would do well to hear. "The Bible is one; it is too late to divide it. Scripture has a supernatural basis or none at all. The gospels assert a miraculous incarnation, resurrection, and ascension; the epistles teach original sin and a vicarious sacrifice; . . . the moral value of the Gospel becomes suspicious when the whole miraculous element is disregarded."

But we would not present the consequences of the "Neo-Christianity" as objections against it, much less brandish them as arguments *in terrorem*. Dethroning the Bible will be to disown all revelation, in the present meaning of that word; and discarding the Christian religion is now to discard all positive religion whatever; yet if truth leads that way let us go. Who

* Life of Jesus, American Edition, vol. ii, p. 892.

would be in love with a dream, build his grandest hopes on a falsehood, or launch out on the last great flood on a frail raft of myth and legend? If the Bible cannot endure the attacks of the most relentless logic, then let it fall. If the time has come when we must cry for quarter to the critic, archæologist, and geologist, then the time has come for us to strike our flag and make an unconditional surrender. Let it be well understood that no flags of truce can pass; we are engaged in a war of extermination, we must destroy or be destroyed; from the very nature of her claims Christianity can give no quarter to her enemies; if she triumphs they all will be as the mire beneath her chariot wheels, and she scorns to ask what she can never give. Let us then look fearlessly on to the ultimate results of what we profess to believe, and not deceive one another and ourselves also by juggling with the double-meaning phrases of compromisers. The lines are drawn across Christendom more distinctly to-day than ever before, and as the smoke lifts the outlines of two great contending hosts appear, and only two; the smaller parties in the field are soon to be swallowed up in one or the other, or to be crushed between them. And this is the grand distinction between them, the one asserts and the other denies the influence of the supernatural in the world. The Bible question in our day takes the generic form, "Is revelation possible?" and this question again merges into the still wider one, "Is there any supernatural influence traceable or possible in the history of man and of the universe?" This is the root-question from which spring all the controversies of our day, and it is unnecessary to add that a graver, more momentous question has never taxed the human mind of any age.

But before surveying the present aspects of this infinitely important question, let it be premised that religion is not to be confounded with any man's theory of religion. Theology is a systematic arrangement of religious facts and doctrines with intermingled deductions, all adjusted according to a theory. It is then a science, and like all other sciences advances or retrogrades, broadens or narrows, according to the fluctuations of universal human nature. Religion is by no means synonymous with theology. Call up in succession the theology of the ages of Calvin, Aquinas, Augustine, and Athanasius, remembering that all recognized the same facts and doctrines of Christianity,

and the distinction is strikingly apparent, as between the deep settled foundations, and the edifices reared upon them by successive master workmen. Whether the objector admits the validity of this distinction or not, it is but fair for him to allow that from the Christian point of view it is exactly the distinction between the divine and the human.

A historic sketch of the doctrines of the atonement, and of the incarnation of Christian revelation and inspiration, or of eschatology would furnish cogent illustrations of the importance of separating Scripture facts from the theories built upon them. It is a great mistake to imagine that the eternal facts of the Christian religion will sink with the decay of any system of human deduction. The theories change, but the facts are eternal. And now are we to assume that the fathers have perfected all this work? Has scholastic or reformer, Wolfian, Lockian, or Kantian, finished any one of these theories into ultimate perfection? Shall we look with fear or jealousy upon any new facts of physics or metaphysics, which threaten (or rather promise) to remodel some system which we have received, perhaps from middle age scholastics? No; if honest Christians, we shall welcome *facts* from every quarter of the material and immaterial universe; and with an eagerness, too, proportional to the incalculable consequences of mistaking error for truth in the sublimest of all sciences. Theological are no more sacred than geological theories; but when erroneous they are a thousandfold more dangerous. Let the light pour in upon our systems and reveal every flaw and seam, and though it may be to our mortification it will also be to our edification; and, if honest Christians, will awaken in us the most profound and adoring gratitude. What though our pride be cast down, if God's truth be vindicated? New light from sciences of mind or matter may show identity where we have made distinctions, or may distinguish what we have identified; may reveal distorted truths in errors long since anathematized, and may make fatal errors spring forth from what have long been accepted as truths; and it is either foolish pride of opinion exalting itself above the love of God, or cowardly doubt of the real strength and beauty of Christianity, that would bar out the light from the temple of Christian theology. Every man must have his theory on religious facts; his intellectual nature necessitates it; but let him not

confound his conception of facts with the facts themselves; let him not dream that the truth perishes, when his theory, which only half embodies it, falls; let him not imagine that the sun has moved from its place, because he has built his house where the light does not pour into the front hall all the year round.

Criticism, archæology, and all the sciences, physical and mental, have modified theological theories and Scripture exegesis, and will do so to the end. The Bible, like nature, can never have all its truths comprehended in the science of a single age. Bengel quoted 1 John v, 7 as a clear proof-text on the doctrine of the trinity; but he would not do it now. Turrentin quoted "Thou Lord of old hast laid the foundations of the earth," as conclusive against the Copernican system; but he has few followers indeed to-day. There are commentaries now on our shelves, which interpret the first two chapters of Genesis, as describing the creation of the whole visible universe in six days of twenty-four hours each, about six thousand years ago; but no commentary hereafter published, or to-day unfinished, at least in Protestant lands, will risk this exegesis. In the Bible, as in nature, there are unexplored continents, undiscovered mines to reward the diligence and enterprise of the future voyager; there are nebulæ which no telescope can to-day resolve, perturbations which no formula can yet express, but which other and wiser generations will see sweep majestically into the universal harmony.

These thoughts are prefatory to a survey of the great conflict of our day, in which views will be presented with which we cannot hope that all or even most readers will at once agree; not because there is by any means anything especially novel or original in the thoughts themselves, but because they may perhaps be here found in unfamiliar associations and connections.

The denial of the supernatural is, as before stated, our one great enemy to-day. As all error is formidable mainly by reason of the truth mingled with it, so with this. Christian divines have, as a general thing, drawn a rigid line of demarkation between the natural and the supernatural, and have strictly and jealously allotted to each province its respective phenomena. Had they always strictly observed their own distinctions not much harm would have come of them. But the difficulty has been that some phenomena were now assigned

to the natural and now to the supernatural, and so have arisen not only apparent but real confusion and contradiction. For example, man has sometimes been reckoned in one province and sometimes in the other. The growing corn, falling rain, rolling planet, are sometimes declared to show the power of nature and sometimes of God. Both statements may be accepted as in a certain sense true, until we begin to reason; but then precision of statement is imperative. Two forces are usually assumed to be acting through the universe; the one guided by uniform and inflexible laws, this is the natural; and the other irregular and arbitrary, this is the supernatural. These forces are supposed to interact perpetually, and sometimes the latter counteracts the former, giving rise to what are called the phenomena of Providence and miracles. In this counteraction and in the primeval adjustment of the laws of nature, that is, in exceptional and widely separated phenomena, God is deemed to be immediately manifested; while the steady and uniform processes of the universe reveal what is called the force of nature. Now, when any events which have been named "providential" are shown to depend on natural causes, this is popularly deemed tantamount to a disproval of their providential character; that is, to prove the natural is effectually to disprove the supernatural. Hence it is in those phenomena of nature which seem most irregular and capricious, that Providence is deemed to have its special domain; as in winds, storms, pestilence, famines, and earthquakes. And it is not too much to say, that modern theology has regarded with extreme jealousy and suspicion all attempts to bring these apparently irregular phenomena into the universal order. It seems to have been assumed that the supernatural loses all that the natural gains. And, while we work under this theory, it is of course inevitable that every fresh conquest of science is exactly so much loss to religion. Antagonism and enmity between science and a religion bound up with such a theology as this, are things of course. Take two illustrations of this popular assumption. The first shall be from Macaulay's History of England. He has just given a graphic account of the landing of William of Orange in England, and of the series of fluctuations in the weather which insured the success of his enterprise, and thus proceeds: "The weather had indeed served

the Protestant cause so well, that some men of more piety than judgment fully believed the ordinary laws of nature to have been suspended, for the preservation of the liberty and religion of England. Exactly a hundred years before, they said, the Armada, invincible by man, had been scattered by the wrath of God. Civil freedom and divine truth were again in jeopardy, and again the obedient elements had fought for the good cause."* He then proceeds to relate how these weak, though pious men, appointed a day of thanksgiving, which "had an excellent effect," in making the people think themselves "the favorites of heaven." The passage is quoted here only to call attention to the historian's assumption, that unless the "ordinary laws of nature" were "suspended," no divine oversight was manifest. When each fluctuation of the wind on that memorable day is shown to have depended on meteorological causes, stretching back in unbroken chain to the original collocation of land and water on this planet, and, we might say, almost infinitely beyond, then the phenomenon is assumed to have been wholly removed from the domain of Providence.

Another illustration shall be from an eminently useful, and deservedly popular work of a far different character, and which, it is needless to say, recognizes the divine government on every page, though by no means free from the error of which we here treat, the commentary of Dr. Barnes. Take the note on Job xxxviii, 4–6: "Where wast thou when I laid the foundations of the earth? Whereupon are the foundations thereof fastened?" etc. Says Dr. Barnes, "The question proposed for the solution of Job is, 'On what is the earth founded?' On this question a great variety of opinions were entertained by the ancients, and of course no correct solution could be given of the difficulty. *It was not known that it was suspended and held in its place by the laws of gravitation.*" Now, if the commentator wished to avoid the (apparently) unphilosophical word "foundation" as applied to the earth, has he improved upon Job by speaking of *suspension*? If Job's word implies a solid bed beneath, does not the commentator's word imply a firm peg above? But passing this, it will be noticed that the comment seems to take it for granted, that as soon as a phenomena is classified under the category of some natural law, (for example, gravitation,)

* History of England, (Phillips and Sampson's Ed.,) vol. ii, p. 378.

it is then explained and at once removed from the supernatural. That is, we are actually told here that an American schoolboy, who has read some little manual of natural philosophy, could triumphantly meet the challenge that the Almighty flung to Job out of the whirlwind! But how does "gravitation" in any sense answer the question? If the earth is "suspended and held in its place" by the sun's attraction, (balanced by another imaginary force,) what holds the sun? "Another sun," it is replied. And what holds that? Must we not have "rocks all the way down," according to the schoolboy's proverbial solution, or does the ancient fable seem more graceful and dignified, the earth on the elephant, the elephant on the tortoise, and the tortoise on nothing? However long a series of second causes we may imagine to be active in preserving the stability of the universe, must we not come to God at last? And is Newton then better able than Job to answer the Almighty's question? The comment assumes that Job was compelled to admit the divine power simply from his ignorance of modern science. Is not this conceding that the advance of science removes God from the universe? Are we prepared to make this concession? Has it not been made unawares? Is it necessary? And if there be no such necessity, what error in our theology has led us to imagine that just as law, order, and harmony advance, God recedes? The fact is, that while our theology embodies these notions of the natural and supernatural, every new discovery and generalization of every science is its natural enemy, crowding it steadily backward from the territory it has occupied during less enlightened ages, into the unexplored regions which have not yet furnished opportunities, or are not yet deemed worth the labor of survey and conquest. Here, then, is our weakness; we have so defined the supernatural in creation and Providence as to identify it with the arbitrary and irregular; and so, when phenomena claimed to be supernatural are discovered to be under the dominion of law, that moment our claim is invalidated; we are driven from our ground; or rather we proclaim beforehand that we are ready to surrender any territory where regular laws can be proved to be established. All the artillery of our enemy is now converged upon the weak spot in our defenses, and that is this very word "supernatural."

What now is the real idea that we are groping after when we call an event "supernatural?" Not (we should say) that the event is out of the order of nature, lawless or capricious, much less uncaused; but that it brings distinctly to view the First Cause, through whatever chain of so called second causes He may operate; that to the soul that possesses spiritual insight it distinctly reveals His design, His will. But it will be said at once that the devout mind sees God everywhere, and that to him therefore all events will appear supernatural; and this is true; also that the undevout man sees God nowhere, and to him all events will appear natural; and this is true also. Therefore "seeing God," or faith, is something for which man is reponsible, according to the Scriptures, because it depends upon character. Events, and we do not in this term here include volitions, setting them aside at present, and events are natural or supernatural, according to the observer's position; viewed simply as sequences of previous events they are natural; viewed as indications of the divine design, as the results of the divine will, they are supernatural. The little cloud that rose out of the sea, "like a man's hand," and poured its treasures of rain upon the parched land of Israel, ascended and spread over the heavens in perfect accordance with all the laws of meteorology, and yet in direct and immediate answer to Elijah's prayer. In one word, we regard this distinction between natural and supernatural as wholly subjective, or in Kantean phrase, a distinction of *form* and not of essence. These remarks are of course not applicable to miracles; these will soon be considered; but we meanwhile remark that "supernatural" is not a sufficiently distinctive epithet to characterize miracles.

To set the subject in a clear light, it is necessary to attend more closely to the meaning that we attach to the word "cause." Here, too, is great confusion; for the word is incessantly used in two totally different senses, and not unfrequently it occurs in both senses in the same sentence. Baden Powell has well shown what contradictions have arisen from the double use of this word, and his illustration is simple and clear. A man throws a stone, and the stone kills a bird. The man is said to be the cause of the stone's flight, and again, the impact of the stone is called the cause of the bird's death. The first he calls

the moral and the second the physical cause, and by these names marks this important distinction. It is hardly possible to attend too closely to this distinction; it straightens out manifold metaphysical mysteries, and lies at the very basis of this whole subject. In the illustration given there is but one moral cause, the man; while there is a whole chain of physical causes, in the bodily machinery which the man uses, in the stone, in the atmosphere, etc.; such as the nervous and muscular actions, closing of the fingers upon the stone, stretching out the arm, and so on to the final impact of the stone, and then another series of physical causes terminating in the death of the bird. If any link of the chain had broken, the result would have been different; yet we attach the responsibility of the result solely to the moral cause; after this has operated all the others follow mechanically. All our experience bids us expect these physical causes to follow each other in unbroken succession; but the volition which preceded them we are conscious need never have been. We become cognizant of the physical cause by looking without, of the moral by looking within. The physical causes are mere sequences, antecedents and consequents in invariable succession; why they follow one another is a problem too deep for all our philosophy; we can only say, "The world is so made that this event invariably follows that;" and when we speak of these physical causes as "active," "acting," "agents," etc., it is only in a figurative sense, while to the moral cause we always assign the idea of power. In inanimate nature there is but One Moral Cause; all natural causation is mere sequence.

Neglect or ignorance of this distinction has led to manifold philosophical errors; as, for example, Hume and all the materialists ignore moral causation. One school assigns the idea of causation to an induction from external phenomena, another to our consciousness of causative energy. Are not both right, and both wrong? One is speaking of physical, and the other of moral causation. Now, while looking at material nature, we observe simple successions of phenomena, mere sequences; these are all the causes which the naturalist as such sees; that is, all that the powers which, as a naturalist, he exercises, can discover or discern. Hence, if the man has been lost in the naturalist, he may decide that there are no others, because the faculties which he has exclusively exercised, to the dwarfing or practical

extinction of other faculties, cannot discover them. So a blind man might deny the existence of colors, or a deaf man of sounds, or a man possessing sight alone might declare and really believe that the universe consists entirely of colors. But while the intellectual faculties can apprehend only sequences in material nature, the moral sense, equally indispensable to a fully developed human being, apprehends a Power behind them all, a Moral Cause. But unless this faculty be brought into exercise, no such idea will arise. And hence it is that Comte tells us truly that his science can find no First Cause, for the "positive philosophy" uses only man's intellectual nature, in fact treats him as a mere thinking machine.

Now when any event in material nature is apprehended by our intellectual faculties in its regular connection with physical causes, it is termed natural; but the same event, as viewed by our moral faculty in its connection with the One Moral Cause, may be termed supernatural. If the man's faculties be all in normal and healthy action, he will see every outward event in both aspects. Hence the springing of the grass, the growth of the olive and the vine are dwelt upon with adoring gratitude by the inspired Hebrew poet as supernatural events. "*He causeth* the grass to grow for the cattle, and herb for the service of man, . . . and wine that maketh glad the heart of man, and oil to make his face to shine;" but, of course, the inspired poet was not ignorant of a long chain of intermediate physical sequences, into which modern science has simply interpolated new links, stretching from the First Cause to the final effect.

Thus far material nature only has been considered. Man is partly within and partly without this sphere; and here has, therefore, been another fruitful source of difficulty and confusion. Some, in treating of this subject, have placed man within, and others without or above nature, and, still worse, others sometimes within and sometimes without, thus giving nature a double sense in the same discussion. Bushnell proposes to include man's will in the supernatural; but the usage which makes the supernatural also superhuman will hardly yield, even to so clear and strong a thinker as he. It is doubtful if language will submit to this innovation of styling what is most distinctively human, supernatural; but the idea which seeks expression in this innovation is of incomparable value. We

prefer to designate the phenomena of volitions as *human*, in distinction from those which we have discussed as natural.

Man connects the two spheres of moral and physical causation; his will is in the former, and all the rest of his nature in the latter sphere. His will is a power, whose action is original, uncaused; it is, in fact, a first cause; but, when in action, it operates through a long chain of physical sequences. The action of the will is man's own; there is responsibility, sin, and virtue; but all the physical sequences that follow that action are to be regarded as in the same rank with the events of material nature. Why they succeed one another as they do we can never tell; we can only say, "The universe is so constituted." All the outward actions of men are thus woven into the web of Providence as surely as rains or winds. Man designs as he will, but cannot act outwardly save as God wills, and thus even his wrath praises Him. But the body is no more the man than the engine is the engineer. Events depending on the decisions of the human will may thus be regarded as human or superhuman, according to the point of view; that is, according as our attention is fixed upon their real cause, the will of man, or upon the Power which moulds them into their final outward shape. The sale of Joseph was human, considered as the result of the envy and malice of his brethren; superhuman as woven into the web of providence. Thus is Joseph's statement true, "God did send me before you to preserve life;" and Stephen's statement is also true, "The patriarchs, moved with envy, sold Joseph into Egypt." Thus was the sword of the Assyrian the judgment of *God* upon sinful Israel, and the sword of Cyrus *his* mercy to the same people repentant. Thus, as taught by the Scripture, we praise *God* for benefits which man confers, and pray to be delivered from calamities which man's malice threatens. But neither these prayers or praises suppose any interference with the human will. All the manifold events recorded in the Scripture history, dependent on human volition, and yet declared to be manifestations of the power, wisdom, justice, or mercy of God, may be regarded as natural, human, or superhuman, according as we regard them in the line of physical succession, the results of human volition, or shaped into their final outward form by the divine hand. The mere naturalist sees only the natural, the mere metaphysician only the

human; but the Christian philosopher sees both these and the superhuman also. Thus, then, do "all things" in nature and in human history "work together for good to them that love him." Thus, too, could the great apostle say to his brethren, "All things are yours." Thus was the haughty monarch of Assyria the "rod" of God's anger, the "staff" of his indignation, the "ax" with which God hewed down the princely cedars of Lebanon; yet says the prophet Isaiah, "Howbeit he meaneth not so, neither doth his heart think so; but it is in his heart to destroy and cut off nations not a few." Isaiah x, 7. And, in this view of providence, there is no interference with physical or mental laws; much less any suspension of either. God uses these chains of physical sequence just as man does on the smaller scale.

But while, in what we call providence, God acts through ordinary physical causes, in the miracle he acts through new lines of sequence. Here, then, where the First Cause operates through a new chain of physical causes, we find a higher supernatural, which we designate the miraculous. And yet even a miraculous event may appear natural when these physical causes are discernible. And since no reason can be given for the ordinary sequence of physical causes, except "God wills it," what reason can be offered against any other if he will it? "Why should it be thought impossible that God should raise the dead" from the dust, if it is believed that he created, yea, in a sense now creates, man from dust?

But we do not regard miracles as any violation or suspension of natural law. The grand objection of Baden Powell and all his school is, that, to their view, miracles are violations of the order which science proclaims to be universal; they are blots on the cosmos, breaches of law, perpetrated by the lawgiver himself. Our current theological literature certainly warrants this representation to a great degree. Standard treatises on systematic theology constantly treat of the miracle as a "suspension" or "violation" of natural law. But in these representatives we have wandered far from the philosophical conceptions of Augustine, Abelard, and Aquinas. The miracle, rightly apprehended, is as normal and orderly as any other event.* The

* Non *contra*, sed *super*, aut *praeter* naturem, in the scholastic phrase. So Origen, who characterizes it as ὑπὲρ καὶ παρὰ, τὴν φύσιν.

First Cause, we believe, operates in as regular and systematic a manner in turning water into wine, or in raising the dead, as in the ordinary events of nature. They are under law, just as the special and extraordinary acts performed by great and good men at some critical period in their lives, are as much under law as the ordinary routine of their daily life. The event is extraordinary, as is the total eclipse of the sun, the appearance of a comet, or the disappearance of a Pleiad; but it is no more irregular and lawless than these astronomical phenomena. We speak of the "irregularities" of the planetary orbits, but these irregularities are as regular as the orbits themselves. We speak of the earth's pole as swaying and rocking to and fro through thousands of years; yet it traces regular curves among the constellations, which festoon round and round, and return into themselves after myriads of ages. The word "perturbation" is a fossil of an extinct astronomy; for as the horizon of facts has widened, the perturbation is reduced to a calculable formula. Now, as a wider view of the relations of the earth to the remainder of the physical universe has banished these ideas from astronomy, so a more enlarged apprehension of the connection of the natural with the spiritual universe will banish them from theology; for as our earth is to other worlds, so is the natural to the supernatural.

The miracle is an event which, under precisely the same circumstances, would come round again, like a transit or an eclipse. Here God, the great Moral Cause, sets in motion trains of physical sequence which never followed each other before, but he does it in view of circumstances which never existed before. So a physician, once in his life, or say once in the whole history of medicine, makes a certain prescription to save a patient's life, who is suffering under a form of disease nowhere described in the books. In that special emergency he, a finite moral cause, sets in motion a train of physical sequences which never followed each other before, and as the consequence, a result appears that never emerged before. And cannot God do the same thing? The physical is interwoven with the moral universe, and critical events or periods in the one demand the same in the other, by that all-pervading harmony which blends both into one cosmos. But the man who can see only the material, and is blind to the moral universe, will of course

declare that "miracles are impossible." They are impossible to him, for in the direction in which he is looking no adequate cause for them is visible. Even should he witness a miracle, it would not prove to him a First Cause; for the only faculty by which God can be apprehended has lost its healthfulness and vigor. Thus, when Lazarus was raised from the dead, while we read that "many of the Jews believed on him," we also read, "But some of them went their ways to the Pharisees, and told them what things Jesus had done." John xi, 45, 46. Even in the record of the great miracle of Christ's resurrection stand those two most instructive words, "some doubted." The miracle, however astonishing in its character, is no miracle, or rather no "sign" of the divine presence, to the man who is destitute of true spiritual insight; it may bewilder and overwhelm, but it will not bring him to God. The Pharisees, whose moral sense was so utterly dead or dormant as to allow them to call Christ's pure and self-sacrificing life a manifestation of the prince of devils, stood where no "sign" could reach them; and even Infinite mercy abandoned them, for truth could find in them no foothold.

We see here the truth, which Baden Powell has distorted, in stating that a proposition may be false to the reasoning faculty and yet true to faith; a statement that involves the absurdity that a man may both believe and disbelieve the same thing at the same moment. No such absurdity as this is interwoven into our laws of thought and belief. The real state of the case is, that the record of an event that involves a superhuman cause must appear incredible to man, if man be assumed to be all intellect. No amount of testimony can prove a miracle to such a man; and so far Hume is right, and his famous position is impregnable, if his idea of causation be admitted. But the moral is as real and reliable a portion of our being as the intellectual nature; and faith is as legitimate and trustworthy an exercise of our faculties as reasoning. When the whole man is brought into activity, the superhuman is as really apprehended as the human and the natural.

There is an excessive hauteur assumed by the mere naturalists of our day, a scornful pity for the devout souls which have not been sufficiently broadened by the discoveries and generalizations of physical science to apprehend how impossible are all

alleged miraculous events. Let it be judged how far this allegation may fairly be retorted upon men who can apprehend no causation but invariable succession, who see nothing out of their own workshops, and declare that there are no facts except the facts of their science.

If the foregoing views are correct, the tactics of the Christian apologists need essential modification. We should learn from our enemies and by the reverses of the past. Let us thank our foes for showing us that there are flaws in our weapons and in our armor. To say that a treatise on the Christian evidences is illogical, is by no means to say that Christianity is false. Christianity has had in it that divine vitality which has made it survive not only the assaults of enemies, but the fatal errors of friends. She has not only taken care of herself, but of her defenders also; and while they strangely imagined themselves to be a bulwark around her, the fact has been that often they have been saved from ruin behind her invulnerable shield. The "evidences" have not preserved Christianity, but Christianity has preserved the "evidences." It is mainly Christian *work* that has carried conviction to the hearts of men; the steady shining of Christian character has dispelled the shades of unbelief, and when illogical arguments have come limping up to offer their aid, they have fortunately arrived too late to do any material damage.

If, as Christians, we believe what we profess, we shall never act under the delusion that Christianity needs any "apologies" from us. Think of an artist apologizing for his Apollo! The "Essays and Reviews" sadly reveal how far the English Church has lost the genuine inspiration of her divine beauty. To defend Christianity we must see that we need invent no weapons, but simply use those which she furnishes us. Men who really feel her immortal energy throbbing through all their being, dare to risk her anywhere. Our theories may vanish, but God's truth will stand. Above all, let us not betray our cause by fears, which reveal that our faith is lacking in depth or in sincerity.

In application of the foregoing several vital defects in the popular "evidential" literature may now be noticed. And first, many books of "evidences" are written under the assumption that Christianity can stand on intellectual evidences alone,

historical or intuitional; that the facts of Christianity can be received by man as he receives the facts of geometry or history. The Gospel addresses both the moral and intellectual natures, and so must its "evidences."

The historical and scientific arguments brought out in such fullness and freshness by the research of our day cannot be overestimated in value, provided that we do not imagine them sufficient of themselves alone to make men Christians. It is impossible for the bare intellect to see the truthfulness of the Gospel, either by intuition or ratiocination. All attempts to reduce the "evidences of Christianity" to naked scientific formulas are not only deceptive and illusory but suicidal. For, if these efforts should succeed, they would deprive faith of all its virtue, and unbelief of all its sin; they would convict Christ of injustice when he declared, "He that believeth not shall be damned." A willfully wicked man cannot believe the Gospel truths. Mere science calls into exercise one set of faculties, mere ethics another; but Christianity appeals to the whole man, and while all the energies of human nature are brought into activity by the contemplation of its truths, all are demanded for the proper study of its evidences.

Great anxiety is now manifested in regard to the harmony between Scripture and scientific theories and discoveries. The multitude and novelty of the physical facts that now throng upon us, are so bewildering as to result in much crude and hasty reasoning on both sides of the subject. As examples on the one side may be cited the discussions of the Mosaic cosmogony in the "Replies to the Essays and Reviews," and in the "Aids to Faith." Both of these productions may be leniently characterized as weak; the authors have evidently picked up their science from books, more likely "crammed" for this "single effort."* Baden Powell furnishes an example on the other side, who quietly assumes that almost all the physical sciences flatly contradict the express statements of Scripture. It is exceedingly sad to see how several of the articles in Smith's generally most admirable "Dictionary of the Bible" are tainted through and through with Baden Powell's error. Christian critics have shown an undignified and unworthy anxiety to fit

* Compare the clear view and firm handling of Dana in his new Geology, just published.

Scripture exegesis into the ever varying patterns of scientific theory. There are various Scripture statements concerning physical things which have been a riddle to the science of every age thus far, and can we not bear suspense as well as past ages? Is this to be the favored period when all such difficulties are to be finally settled? New facts are arriving every moment, and an exegetical theory formed to fit half the facts must necessarily be crude and imperfect. For example; the creation of light before the sun has puzzled the commentators from the very beginning, and all manner of theories have been devised in successive ages to solve the mystery. A like riddle in the same narrative is the creation of the heavens and earth before the sun, moon, and stars were "set in the firmament;" and let it be noted that these are difficulties not between the text and science, but between different portions of the text itself. But the hypothesis of cosmogony, to which has been attached the great name of La Place, though long anathematized by Christian divines, now seems likely to solve this exegetical riddle! Whether the nebular hypothesis, in its present shape, is to stand or not, it is a significant fact that the last and most authoritative declaration of astronomical theory sets out the literal interpretation of the Mosaic record more clearly than ever. So it is most noteworthy that the words, "Let the waters be gathered together in one place and let the dry land *appear*," and the kindred statement from the same inspired pen in the ninetieth Psalm, "Before the mountains were brought forth," * never conveyed intelligible meaning, till Leopold von Buch, a geologist of our own time, first showed that all mountains and continents were upheaved, literally "born" out of the deep. And further still, the expressions, "Let the earth, . . . air, . . . waters bring forth," etc., never had their present fullness of meaning till modern chemistry had shown that all organic bodies are literally composed of the elements which form the earth's crust. Such facts should encourage us to calmly wait for an interpretation to grow, where our knowledge is at present so imperfect that plainly no consistent one can be made. These are, many of them, long standing difficulties by no means first starting up in our time; Origen and Augustine were puzzled with the creative days as much as we.

* Compare also Psalm civ, 8, "The mountains ascend;" so LXX and Vulgate.

It would be deemed by many highly dangerous and unscriptural, to say that creation itself may have been a natural work. For, as already intimated, such a theory of creation would, in the popular apprehension, set aside its supernatural character. The gain of the natural, as shown before, is at once assumed to be the loss of the supernatural. On creative theories we have nothing here to offer, and only remark on the *animus* of certain objections which so generally are hurled against them. We are accustomed to think of all created things springing suddenly into existence at the divine fiat, without any intervention of natural causes. A contrary view is generally deemed to rob the Creator of all his glory. But is not the common interpretation gathered rather from poetry, like that of Milton, than from a careful study and comparison of the Scripture statements?

> "Out of the ground uprose,
> As from his lair, the wild beast—
> The grassy clods now calved; now half appeared
> The tawny lion, pawing to get free
> His hinder parts, then springs as broke from bonds,
> And rampant shakes his brindled mane."*—MILTON.

So general an opinion, on so important a subject, should not be rashly or rudely disturbed; yet if well founded it need not fear fair and free investigation. What then is its ground? The text at once flies from a thousand tongues, "He spake, and it was done; he commanded, and it stood fast;" and this is deemed to settle the question conclusively; but do we not also read, "He commandeth and raiseth the stormy wind?" Is not the statement here precisely parallel, where the same inspired poet speaks, or rather sings, of what God does along the lines of natural causes? "God said, Let there be light," we read in Genesis; God says to the snow, "Be thou on the earth," we read in Job; and may he not act through chains of physical sequence in the one case as well as in the other? In one word, all through the Scripture, all the phenomena of the nature now surrounding us are as explicitly declared to be wrought by the direct divine agency as the creation itself. In the one hundred and fourth Psalm, poetry it is true, but as poetic in the first verses as in the last, we read, "He laid the foundations of the earth," and then immediately after, "He sendeth the springs

* Paradise Lost, Book vii, 456, etc.

into the valleys;" "He watereth the hills from his chambers;" "He causeth the grass to grow for the cattle," and so on, through manifold "operations of nature." On what exegetical theory are the first statements to be made literal and the following ones figurative? To interpret the first statements, according to the popular theory, is deemed eminently orthodox; to follow out the same theory into the following statements is branded as Pantheistic! * No one supposes that Moses would teach us that God audibly uttered the words, "Let there be light," in English or Hebrew or any other human tongue; nor that Job would teach us that he audibly commands the snow to fall; but the truth behind the drapery is in both cases the same. But creation *per saltum* is familiarly assumed to be a far more striking manifestation of omnipotence than creation through natural laws. We have shown that it is not thus presented in Scripture. There the falling rain, springing grass, tossing sea, rising and setting sun are appealed to as equally striking proofs of omnipotence. Suppose that now each successive generation should spring from the clod, as Milton paints the scene in the lines above quoted, would that be a higher or lower manifestation of the divine wisdom and power than we now behold in the marvelous arrangements by which he brings us into being? Paley, in his well-known argument from the watch, after detailing the various evidences of contrivance that it manifests, asks if a far higher skill would not be required to contrive a watch, which, by its own movements, should bring into existence another like itself; and surely there can be but one answer to the question. We have no theory of creation to present, and cannot see data to form one; but, from all that we know of the divine character and operations, it seems most in harmony with them all to suppose that could we have witnessed that event, it would have appeared *natural* as well as supernatural.

The Scripture phrase "Let the earth *bring forth*," seems to bring us among some yet unknown and unimagined physical sequences, set in motion by the First Cause. And yet the observations of the naturalist and geologist bring us face to face with the Creator. Geology has demonstrated that the manifold forms of organic life had a beginning, and even puts her finger in many cases on their very birthplace. This is leading

* See Methodist Quarterly Review, October, 1862, p. 553.

us as near the Creator as an intellectual process can ever carry us; and when, by superficial study of the phenomena, some of the higher animals have been hastily imagined to have been "developed" from those immediately below, she confutes the wild hypothesis by tracing each of the four great orders of animal life up into the earliest fossiliferous strata, showing that there is true progress and an ascending gradation, but effectually precluding development. And more, she leads us to the very spot where the first organized being was "brought forth," and sets our feet on "the warm footprints of the Creator." She turns the stony leaves of earth's primeval history, each crowded with autographs of races that have vanished, till we reach the first page of this wondrous Genesis, and this we find as full and as clearly written as the very last; but the leaf beyond that is blank, blank to science, who here hands us over to faith, and *she* reads on that page the Creator's name.*

Again, the doctrine of inspiration has been so stated, that to quote the language of Bushnell, we have been "put in a condition to make nothing of a good cause, a condition to be inevitably worsted."† Not to notice the stress that has been laid on verbal infallibility reaching to the veriest minima, in the attempt to show that the Scriptures were not *merely* natural, Christian writers have often labored to show them *un*natural. Now the supernatural is one, and the unnatural is another. The Scriptures are human while yet miraculously superhuman, (*praeter non contra naturam.*) The powers of Isaiah, John, and Paul were not "suspended," or "interfered with" when these "holy men of old spake, being moved by the Holy Ghost;" but all their intellectual and moral faculties were submitted for the use of that spirit. The words stored in their memories, their emotions, hopes, fears, processes of reasoning, were God's instruments and yet their own; the two wills coalesced, yet the human was not "suspended" by the divine. Hence the human characteristics are as clearly visible as the superhuman. Between the language of Amos and of Jeremiah there is all the contrast that we should expect in passing from the unlettered herdman to the cultured priest. Only Luke of

* Agassiz is our authority for these statements, in his Essay on Classification, and in his unpublished geological lectures.

† Nature and the Supernatural, p. 35.

the evangelists could have written the classic preface which introduces us to his Gospel, only Paul of the apostles could have elaborated those chains of ratiocination which swing from one δέ and γαρ' to another through whole chapters of the epistle to the Romans. It is Luke, it is Paul, and it is also the Holy Ghost.

Another application may be made to natural theology, or that portion of it which elaborates the argument for design and final causes. We have expected too much from such reasonings. No atheist was ever convinced by these alone. When man really disbelieves in God, he has so crushed or enervated his moral faculties, that he brings only his intellectual powers to the examination of the subject, and so is sure to reach a wrong conclusion. The existence and government of God cannot be demonstrated to a man whose moral nature is dormant. Treatises which argue on these great themes *à priori* or *à posteriori*, and make no appeal to the moral nature, can never dispel the shades of unbelief. Let man's mind and heart be brought into healthy and harmonious activity, and he will find his Father.

But our limits forbid further amplification and application. The appearance of this volume, with its almost numberless progeny, is by no means an event to be deplored, especially by the Christian who takes enlarged and comprehensive views of the great conflict with evil. This ferment in the English Church is an unspeakable blessing to the spiritual health of the nation. Any attack or defense which leads men to scrutinize more closely the real bulwarks of the Christian faith is that much a blessing. When the smoke of this conflict clears away, we shall find that some of our own vaunted artillery has been condemned as unserviceable, and that lines of fortification of whose impregnability we have boasted, have been abandoned as untenable. For this we shall then thank God, and wonder at the providence which has made our enemies do our work, help build our walls. So, twenty-eight years ago, in Germany, the "*Leben Jesu*" fell like a bomb-shell into the peaceful domains of legalized Christianity, and strong men sprung to their weapons on every side; but it is doubtful if any Christian apologist ever did a better work for Christianity than was done by David Friedrich Strauss. He has given us a compendious hand-book

of the infidel objections of all ages, which thousands will read and exclaim, "Is this all?" He has shown, as no man ever did before him, the utter inadequacy of both naturalism and rationalism to explain the facts of the Gospel history, and how impotent are their theories to meet the wants and facts of human nature; while his only real objection to the orthodox view is the alleged impossibility of miracles; and his own theory, offered in the stead of those which he thinks that he has swept away, is too airy even to be comprehended by the majority of men. In fact, it seems doubtful if he himself really believes the theory that he presents, except indeed as novelists believe their own tales, for it produces on the mind all the effect of an exquisitely ingenious work of fancy. And thus, faith says, shall it ever be. "The grass withereth, the flower fadeth, but THE WORD OF THE LORD ENDURETH FOREVER."

ART. II.—ALEXANDRIA AND THE OVERLAND ROUTE.

COMMERCIAL intercourse between Southern Europe and Eastern Asia dates far back in antiquity. This intercourse was not at first, nor indeed for a very long period, immediate and direct, but carried on through several intervening agencies. Nor is there any authentic and definite account of this early commerce in its more remote eastern media. Yet we have reason to believe from the book of Job that the Sabeans and cognate nations of the Arabian family, spreading along the southern coast of their great peninsula, had made no small progress in manufactures, commerce, and navigation, as well as in many of the arts and sciences. The very first mercantile adventure on the record of history is one conducted by an Arabian caravan, "bearing spices and balm and myrrh, going to carry it down to Egypt," (Gen. xxxvii, 25,) the character of their goods thus indicating that they had traffic with the far East. A little more than seven centuries later we find the Queen of Sheba bringing costly spices and precious jewels to King Solomon—articles whose source of supply can scarcely be doubted.

Nearly a thousand years before Christ this commerce began

to extend itself from the Sabeans westward. It was carried on and marvelously multiplied by the Phenicians, those olden-time Yankees, whose inventive genius, peddling propensities, manufacturing and mechanical skill, and, especially, whose nautical enterprise brought them in contact with, and made them useful to, nearly all the ancient nations. By planting in places of commercial convenience numerous colonies, many of which became prosperous cities, they greatly increased their capabilities for trade. They carried their own wares, as well as many gathered by them from eastern lands, as far as Britain, and probably to the Baltic, bringing back stores of tin and amber. As their power and enterprise grew, they extended their trade in the East. By caravans down the valley of the Euphrates to the Persian Gulf, and along the Mediterranean to the Isthmus and the Red Sea, and in fleets from the respective termini of those land routes, a lucrative traffic was had with the nations on the Southern coast, and perhaps later with India itself. Unquestionably they transported large quantities of goods second-hand from the countries just beyond the Arabian Sea.

Tyre was the great entrepot of this early commerce, the greatness of which we learn from consentaneous historical testimony to the prosperity and opulence of this city. Her wealth and splendor is given in the highest style of descriptive eloquence by the prophet Ezekiel; and magnificent as is the representation, we have no reason to think the picture overdrawn. The same sacred writer also enumerates a remarkable list of cities which were the mercantile dependencies and subsidiary agents of Tyre. He furnishes the best idea anywhere to be found of the extraordinary importance of this city as an emporium and metropolis—"the royal exchange of the world."

Many cities arose with Tyre to great commercial consequence, principally by reason of the Indian trade carried on through them by the Phenicians. Palmyra, which common tradition makes identical with Solomon's "Tadmor in the wilderness," is famous in history for its wealth and culture, though it probably did not reach the acme of its glory till some centuries after Tyre had fallen. It was at first one of the links of the commercial chain which connected the Phenician metropolis with Babylon, and subsequently became the entrepot of the traffic between the Parthians and Romans. Babylon, though princi-

pally noted in history for its political importance, was for a considerable period the emporium of all Western Asia, and the trade of many nations centered there. In more recent times other flourishing and celebrated cities have been created by the flow of commerce along this route, such as Bagdad, Basra, Aleppo, and Ormuz. Damascus, though older than any of the cities mentioned, and never wholly dependent on any of them, or on any particular kind or channel of traffic, has experienced its repeated ebb and flow of prosperity corresponding to the fluctuations and shifting currents of commerce for four thousand years, and is still an important mercantile center.

Constantinople, both under its ancient name of Byzantium and under its present designation, has been an important emporium of trade with India. Fleets left the capacious harbor of the Golden Horn and sailed up the Euxine, whence their freight of money and merchandise passed in caravans to the Caspian, thence again briefly overland to the Aral, and so up the ancient Oxus, whose head-waters in the gorges of the Himalaya are in the neighborhood of those of the Indus, down whose valley the traffickers had access to the rich products of Hindoostan. Along their highway arose Bactra and Maracanda (the modern Samarcand) and other less famous cities, which flourished till late in the middle ages.

But the great natural thoroughfare between Southern and Western Europe on the one hand, and Southern and Eastern Asia on the other, connecting itself also by easy lines of communication with vast regions eligible for commerce, lies through the Mediterranean and Red Seas, and the intervening land of Egypt. This seems to have been apprehended by Alexander the Great, who is popularly regarded only as a brilliant military genius whose sole ambition was to overrun the world and bring the nations under his sway. Whether, as Grote very positively asserts, Alexander intended Alexandria only as a place from which he could conveniently rule Egypt considered as a part of his extensive empire all round the Ægean, having no prescience or expectation of its imposing future; or whether he designed it as the commercial capital of his dominions, thus manifesting a sagacity which two thousand years have amply vindicated, it were perhaps difficult to decide. Yet taken in connection with other comprehensive designs for adjusting

the different parts of his vast realms to each other, balancing their diverse interests, and digesting their varied elements into something like national homogeneity, this project might seem to evince to us the imperial statesman as even greater than the unparalleled warrior and conqueror of kingdoms.

Grote admits that had Alexander lived he would doubtless have multiplied, on a still larger scale, the communication, by both sea and land, between the various parts of his world-empire. Among the gigantic projects he was contemplating when surprised by death, one was the construction of a road all along the northern coast of Africa, as far as the Pillar of Hercules. He had also intended to restore and facilitate the navigation of the Euphrates, for some time ruinously suspended. Grand highways of travel, and maritime and inland cities conveniently situated for either political or commercial advantage, were in contemplation. Orders had been given for the exploration of the Caspian Sea, which was then supposed to connect itself with the Eastern Ocean. The voyage already performed by Nearchus, from the mouth of the Indus to that of the Euphrates, was in those days a splendid achievement; to which another still greater was on the point of being added, the circumnavigation of Arabia from the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea. This enlarged and systematic exploration of the earth, combined with increased means of communication among its inhabitants, indicates not only a desire on the part of Alexander for results beneficial to humanity, but a comprehensive judgment and intelligence of a character far higher than that of an ordinary politician and statesman.

But however it may have been as to his foresight and sagacity in other than military affairs, he determined to found a city in Egypt. His imagination, susceptible to all Homeric impressions, and influenced by a dream, first fixed upon the isle of Pharos as a suitable place. This proving inadequate in size, he decided to lay the foundation on the adjacent mainland between the sea and Lake Mareotis. He himself marked out the circuit of the walls, and the direction of the principal streets. It was thus that began the mighty, populous, and busy Alexandria; which, however, the founder himself never lived to see, and wherein he was only destined to repose as a corpse. No spot seems to have been so central to the world that then was; pos-

sibly even hereafter it is to be the center of universal commerce more than any other. The protecting isle of Pharos gave the means of forming two good harbors on a coast harborless elsewhere; while the Lake Mareotis, communicating by various canals with the Nile, received with facility portable produce or other goods from the interior. The site was airy and healthy, as well as convenient for shipping and commerce.

The new emporium sprang at once into importance, and became the head-quarters of an immense traffic in commodities furnished from multitudinous sources. Under the Ptolemies great enterprises were undertaken, and successfully carried out, for making available the advantages of the city's position. They completed the canal commenced ages before by Pharaoh Necho, connecting the Nile with the Red Sea. Though we do not find much evidence that this was especially beneficial to foreign commerce, it was no doubt of vast advantage to the internal interests of the country and the city. Probably its commercial value was limited by the extremely unfavorable character of the Gulf of Suez and the difficulty of forming a harbor in its vicinity. A grand canal was also constructed connecting the city with the Nile, and facilities of communication were multiplied in all directions.

Multitudinous and richly-furnished caravans went eastward through the isthmus into the valley of the Euphrates and far to the northward, bringing back stores of costly goods. Like companies of merchantmen, with camels and servants and useful articles, traveled to the south and west, and traded there for gold-dust, ivory, and rich tropical fruits. Innumerable ships left the convenient harbors of the city, going to the eastern coast of the Mediterranean, and far up by Byzantium, through the Bosphorus into the Euxine; while doubtless a still greater number were employed in the rapidly increasing traffic with European cities. On the Red Sea, a long distance below Suez, the port of Myos-Hormos was formed, and still further down that of Berenice, from which communication was kept up freely with countries to the eastward of the peninsula. From these ports excellent roads at much expense were constructed to Coptos and other stations on the Nile, whence transportation by water to Alexandria was practical. Along this route for centuries merchandise from the East and South was conveyed

to the great emporium, thence to be distributed again to countless cities.

The direct commerce between Alexandria and India began practically about eighty years after the annexation of Egypt to the Roman Empire. At that time one Hippalus, a seaman engaged in the carrying trade between the Egyptian ports on the Red Sea and those on the further side of the peninsula, first observed the periodical character of the winds in that region, and after a season of careful attention to the phenomenon ascertained the law that governed them. He ventured to apply his theory, and setting sail with a fleet at the commencement of the south-west monsoon, made a rapid and safe voyage to the Malabar coast, whence he returned on the change of the winds with equal celerity and success. Previously the voyages from the Red Sea, or even the Persian Gulf, had been performed rarely and cautiously by a long and perilous coastwise route. Henceforth the intercourse became continuous, and of vast commercial consequence. It is true that there was little or no demand in India for the products of the West. The whole East was full of people who were ingenious and industrious, and whose soil furnished the richest treasures, both spontaneously and in response to moderate toil. Europe could produce very little which could not be secured more cheaply by the oriental nations than it could be transported. Hence the goods purchased were paid for in coin, of which vast quantities were given for spices, gems, rare and delicate fabrics, and other products of oriental ingenuity and industry. As early as the last days of the Roman Empire there were immense importations of these, the chief objects on which the wealthy classes lavished their treasures.

The center of so widely extended a commerce with so many prolific regions, it was very natural that Alexandria should advance swiftly to opulence and magnificence. She was second only to Rome itself—in many respects superior to the imperial city. She was not merely mercantile in her character, as Tyre had been. Not only were many mechanical and manufacturing enterprises carried on in her, such as the blowing of glass, the weaving of linen, the making of papyrus, etc., filling her city with the hum of industry, so that, as Gibbon says, idleness was unknown; but the arts were cultivated and the sciences were

pursued as they seldom had been anywhere before. By the liberality of the Ptolemies men of culture and scholarship from all parts of the world were induced to settle there. There was a twofold cause for this. One was the literary advantages connected with the famous library which, after making all proper deductions from the fabulous reports concerning it, was a truly marvelous collection; and the other was the unsettled, decaying, or otherwise unpropitious condition of all other cities which had once been seats of learning. Great privileges were granted to students in this new and prosperous city, and the bringing together representatives of all the learning of all the nations was a multifold mutual advantage to all. Thus Alexandria became the seat of philosophy, science, theology, and the liberal arts, to an extent scarcely paralleled by any other city. It was for a time the heart of the world in all save political influences, and in this it was for a time second only to the imperial city.

In the decline and fall of the Roman empire the prosperity and glory of Alexandria suffered diminution, though its preeminence as a commercial emporium continued till after the rise of the Mohammedan power. The convulsions ensuing interrupted its trade, and turned the commerce between the East and West into the other channels to which we have before referred. It was taken by the Saracens under Omer in 640, by whom its magnificent library was destroyed, and the city itself was nearly ruined. The Arabs, however, who were naturally a mercantile people, still partially kept up its commercial character. It received another severe blow in the tenth century from the founding of Cairo by the Fatimite califs, who made the latter city the capital of Egypt. Though commerce between Europe and Asia was not suspended, it flowed in other channels, through the Black and Caspian Seas, and along the Oxus, also to the eastern coast of the Mediterranean and down the valley of the Euphrates, Constantinople and St. Jean de Acre being the chief emporiums. Alexandria was left in deplorable decay. But about the beginning of the fourteenth century Egypt resumed a more settled condition, and its rulers encouraged the return of the Indian trade to its old channel through the Red Sea and overland to Alexandria and the Mediterranean. From this time Alexandria appears to have in good degree recovered

its commercial pre-eminence, which it maintained for two hundred years.

The crusades, though they depopulated and impoverished the western countries of Europe, were nevertheless productive of some great beneficial results. Intercourse with the nations expanded the minds of the fierce warriors, and many of those who pursued these perilous expeditions brought back to their native lands new ideas of science and new tastes for the comfort and elegancies of life. Oriental articles of precious stones, silk, and especially spices, soon came into demand. The industry of the people, before to a great extent dormant, was stimulated to produce commodities which they might exchange for the new varieties. In this way was inaugurated the manufacturing, mechanical, agricultural, and commercial activity which has characterized the English, French, and German nations.

It was in these centuries that the cities of Venice, Florence, and Genoa attained their remarkable prosperity and commercial renown. They traded with India, and much of their traffic was through Alexandria, though Genoa confined herself almost exclusively to the northern route through the Euxine and Caspian Seas. But while these cities and some others were growing opulent through their monopoly of the eastern trade, the northern and western countries of Europe, whose demands were rapidly increasing and whose resources were as rapidly developing, felt the growing necessity of some more economical means of communication between themselves and India. Not only were they placed at a disadvantage by the Mediterranean cities, which were so situated as to keep all this lucrative commerce in their hands, but the perpetual disturbances of the regions through which the overland passages were made, together with the exactions of the governments, rendered transportation partially insecure and prices enormously high. Here we have a key to the mystery of the indifference of the Venetians and other Italians, who, though the most skillful seamen and most enterprising navigators in the world, made little attempt at nautical explorations. It was clearly for their interest that the route of the Mediterranean and overland should be the exclusive channel of commerce; any other would render the western nations independent of them.

The discovery of the magnetic needle, and other improvements and developments in the science and art of navigation about the beginning of the fourteenth century, together with the intense desire for more commodious means of communication, made men more daring in their exploration. It is well known that Columbus in devising his expedition to the West was only seeking a passage to the Indies, and in his discovery of the new lands he supposed he had attained this object, not dreaming that it was one infinitely grander in its results. Just about this time the Portuguese, who with much energy and enterprise had been voyaging along the coast of Africa, were making valuable nautical discoveries. In 1495 Vasco di Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope and opened the way into the Indian Ocean, thus effecting the greatest commercial revolution which the world had ever known. The route by water was long and perilous in those early times, yet such were the conveniences in this way of transporting bulky goods that the prices were greatly diminished, while the demand in the East for the products of Western Europe was greatly increased. Henceforth the Italian cities began to decay; Egypt was almost utterly abandoned as a highway of commerce, her canals speedily filled up, and her great roads became impassable. The harbor of Alexandria, for a long time injured by the drifting sands, became nearly ruined, and the city itself sunk down to poverty and degradation.

The new enterprises undertaken in Eastern Asia, with the wonderful development of the resources of those countries, and the vastness of British interests there, making necessary the establishment of manifold agencies, public and private, political, commercial, and religious, creating the demand also for frequent communication between the two continents, have again within the present century turned attention to the passage by way of Egypt. It was found very difficult at first, the only means of communication with Cairo, whence alone transit could be made with facility to the Red Sea, being by way of the Nile, whose principal branches, the Damietta and Rosetta, were not navigable near their mouths except by light draft-vessels. Within the last fifty years the establishment of an orderly government in Egypt, and the regulation of its internal affairs under the energetic and enterprising rule of

Mohammed Ali and his successors, have furnished the opportunity to open, restore, and make practicable the ancient route. The harbor of Alexandria has been repaired, and a new city, between the site of the old one and the island of Pharos, has sprung into existence and grown swiftly in wealth and importance.

The first great work tending to facilitate the transit through Egypt and to restore Alexandria was the Mahmoudieh Canal. European skill and science were invoked to aid the enterprise, or more likely suggested and inspired it, and after much deliberation it was commenced in 1819. It runs from Alexandria to Atfeh, on the Rosetta branch of the Nile, whence the river is navigated by steamers to Cairo, and was opened on the twenty-fourth of January, 1820. It is forty-eight miles in length, ninety feet across, and eighteen feet in depth. It cost about $3,000,000. It is said that nearly three hundred thousand laborers were employed on it, such being the power of the pasha over the fellahs or Egyptian peasants that any number can be levied at any time and for any purpose. But such wretched provision was made for the wants of this great multitude that about twelve thousand of them perished within the first ten months. Within the next twenty years the canal became filled up with silt, or Nile mud, so as to impede its navigation, and it became necessary to clear it out—a work of formidable appearance. The recollection of the vast sacrifice of life which had been made in the construction of the canal made the European agents hesitate at an undertaking involving so great mortality. However, the arrangements were made, one hundred and fifteen thousand fellahs were called for from the provinces, and under the improved *regime* of European methods it was not only found that no extraordinary fatality attended the work, but it was performed more expeditiously than was anticipated. Besides furnishing encouragement to other enterprises under deliberation in the pashalic, it demonstrated the fact that the enormous sacrifice of human life which had always attended works of a public character in Egypt was wholly unnecessary.

Passengers coming from the continent in sailing vessels or by steamer were landed at Alexandria, where they embarked in the canal-boats for Atfeh, whence they were carried in river

steamboats to Cairo, and thence across the desert by camels to Suez. At this place the harbor had been improved with much labor and expense, and from it a line of steamers ran to Calcutta. This route proved a more expeditious and agreeable one for the individual traveler, as well as a safer and quicker one for communication and for certain articles of commerce, than that around the Cape. Yet there were also disadvantages. For instance, all the vicinity of Suez is an unmitigated desert; there is no vegetation, scarcely any animal life, and even no fresh water, except what is brought from a distance on the backs of camels: all the coal to supply the steamer was for a time brought from Cairo by this same method. This led to a discussion of improved modes of transit. The two principal projects were those of a railroad from Alexandria to Suez, and a canal across the isthmus. The former appears to have been mainly an English device, the latter have been chiefly urged by the French.

As early as 1839 the British government proposed to Mohammed Ali to construct a railroad to Cairo, and thence to the port of Suez. This the French, jealous of the influence of the English in Egypt, zealously opposed; an amiable disposition, which the English are diligently reciprocating in reference to the isthmus canal project now being energetically pushed by the French. The pasha adopted the English suggestion, but took the work in his own hands. After prosecuting it for a time, thinking that, however great advantage it might be to British interests, it would be no profit to him, (a great mistake, as the vast revenue derived by the Egyptian government from this source proves,) he abandoned it. His successor, Abbas Pasha, though he disliked the English, was persuaded to accept a modified plan, and commenced the construction of a line to Cairo. This was finished under Said Pasha, January 1, 1856.

Before the completion of this road the viceroy had decided upon two new projects. One of these was the Suez Canal, of which we shall speak directly; the other was the continuation of the railroad from Cairo to Suez. The latter project was entered upon at once, and as early as 1858 was already finished as far as Station-house No. 12, about midway on the route. The whole road was completed some time last year, and is one of the grandest enterprises of modern times. The

distance from Cairo across the desert is about eighty-five miles, and, as traveled formerly on camels and more latterly in vans, was a most dreary journey. There are no towns, no buildings except those erected by the Transit Company, no vegetation, and no streams or bodies of water; one wide waste of perpetual desolation. The construction of the railroads enables the traveler to pass over these blasted regions very quickly, and the whole passage from sea to sea may be made in a few hours.

The traveler to India now leaves Southampton in one of the company steamers, which start regularly the fourth and twentieth of each month. There are also other lines to intermediate ports, connecting with lines beyond, by which the more leisure voyager can proceed. Going direct from Southampton, passengers reach Alexandria in about thirteen days. One day is sufficient to get them through Egypt. In twenty-five days more the voyage to Calcutta is finished, or that to Bombay in fifteen. So that the whole journey by the overland route is completed in a little less than six weeks.

There are several methods of abbreviating this passage, and especially of diminishing the amount of water-carriage. One of the most popular of these is the route by Marseilles, which is easily reached by rail from the channel and saves the long voyage around the peninsula. From Marseilles there are lines of steamers running to Malta and other Mediterranean ports, and thence to Alexandria. Recently the passage by Trieste, giving perhaps still less sea voyage, is coming into use, though as yet the railroad connections between Ostend and the former city are not complete. All these routes center at Alexandria. The volume of travel on the railroad is now very great, and must necessarily increase rapidly.

It is not at all probable that the popularity of the overland route as at present existing will materially interfere with the ocean communication around the Cape otherwise than to augment it, for doubtless the increased facilities of intercourse bringing the two countries into proximity will have this tendency. Formerly a voyage to India was a venture of imposing character. To go and return was an enterprise sometimes of years. Now the progress in the art of navigation, the wonderful improvements in the construction of ships,

the geographical discoveries, the enlarged knowledge of ocean currents and periodical winds, together with the application of steam, render the voyage to India and back practicable in seven or eight months, including the time for loading and unloading. Then, too, a revolution has taken place in the relations of supply and demand between the two continents. In the early days of commerce between Europe and Asia, as we have seen, there was no demand in the latter for any of the products of the former; nor was there any supply of articles among the European nations which could appeal to the desires or tastes of the ingenious and industrious people of the East. Consequently the articles imported westward were unmanufactured articles, or precious stones, or rare spices; all of high cost, payable in coin, and of course not likely to be bulky in transportation. Somewhat later there began to be a demand in the East and a supply in the West of raw products, which were exchanged for the results of manufacturing and mechanical ingenuity. For many years past the revolution in this respect has been complete. Now the transportation of the raw material is from India to England, while a vast supply of manufactured articles is forwarded to the former country. Great efforts are made by the English government and agents in India to direct the attention of the natives from mechanical and handicraft employments to the development of their rich agricultural resources. This course of England has been animadverted on with some severity by writers who see in it only an indication of intense British selfishness, it being averred that this purpose, so eagerly pressed, must be productive of most unhappy consequences to the natives. We are not competent to judge how this may be. We know that England has little scruple in adopting any course which will serve her own interests, however disastrous the effect upon others; still the results may, in the long run, be best for India and the world. At least the facts as they stand indicate that the ocean carrying trade of the world is by no means to be diminished by any new method of transit yet completed. How it may be effected by the projected canal between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea is another thing.

The device of a water communication across the Isthmus of Suez appears to have been a favorite one with the ancients as

well as moderns. We have already referred to a canal connecting the Nile with the Gulf of Suez, which was commenced by Necho and finished by Ptolemy. The remains of it are still discernible. It is also believed that there was a canal from Suez to Lake Temseh, half way across the isthmus. The first Napoleon favored the project of a canal between the two seas, and the matter has been freely discussed at intervals from his day to the present. Within a dozen or fifteen years the demand for it has been so great that several governments, commercial boards, and scientific men have given direct attention to the matter. The most eminent European engineers have thoroughly explored all the possible routes, and carefully examined the facts furnished by each. The revival of the ancient canal of Ptolemy was pronounced impracticable for many reasons, principally the unfavorable modern condition of the delta, and the difficulties of navigation at the mouths of the Nile branches. It is nearly the unanimous decision of scientific men who have surveyed the whole region, that the proper line of the canal is across the isthmus from Pelusium to Suez.

In 1852 M. F. de Lesseps, a French engineer, conceived the idea of a joint-stock company for carrying out the project. In 1854 the viceroy issued a firman, conferring on M. de Lesseps the exclusive privilege of constructing the canal. The latter went to England, in order that he might excite an interest in the people and government with reference to the scheme. A commission of able engineers was appointed to examine the plan and to survey the ground. They reported as above, that the direct canal from Pelusium was the only solution of the problem, and that the work was feasible. By the viceroy's charter of concession, granted in 1856, it is provided that there shall be, 1. A canal navigable by large vessels between Suez and Pelusium; 2. A canal of irrigation, adapted to the river traffic of the Nile, and connecting that river with the Suez Canal; 3. Two branches for irrigation and supply, striking out of the preceding canal in the direction respectively of Suez and Pelusium. These works were to be completed within six years. Four fifths of the workmen were to be Egyptians. Lake Temseh (about midway across the isthmus) was to be converted into an inland harbor, fit for vessels of the highest tonnage. A harbor of refuge was to be constructed at the entrance of the

maritime canal into the Gulf of Pelusium, and necessary improvements to be made in the port and roadstead of Suez. The Egyptian Government was to have a claim of fifteen *per cent.* on the net profits of each year. It was a further condition that the canal should always be open as a neutral passage to every merchant ship. The maximum toll was to be ten francs per ton on ships, and per head on passengers. These provisions were to be in force ninety-nine years after the opening of the canal. We are not aware whether there has been any subsequent modification of these conditions; but probably the above statement contains the substantial features of the agreement between the company and the Egyptian Government.

The company was formed in 1859 with a capital of about $40,000,000. The canal is to be ninety miles in length, three hundred and thirty feet wide at the water-line, and twenty feet deep below that line.

The isthmus forms a longitudinal depression. It is believed that the two seas were once united. Even now a considerable portion of the surface is below the level of the water on either side. There are three depressions or basins in the line of the proposed canal, namely: the Bitter Lakes on the south, Lake Temseh in the center, and Lake Menzaleh near the Mediterranean. The rest of the isthmus has an elevation of five to eight feet, with the exception of two inconsiderable ridges, Serapeum and El Djizir—the former thirty, and the latter forty-five feet in height. The cutting in El Djizir will extend about five miles. It has generally been supposed that the water level in the Red Sea is some thirty feet lower than in the Mediterranean. This has recently been denied; but at present the testimony is so conflicting we find it impossible to decide.

As this great work is under the superintendency of French engineers, and as the influence of the French Government is supposed to be active in its promotion, it has encountered much opposition from English politicians and journals. It has been declared an utterly impracticable and chimerical undertaking. The reasons given for this opinion by the British writers are found in the alleged impossibility of forming a reliable and permanent harbor on the Mediterranean side, as also a similar difficulty in the Gulf of Suez, where the steamers of the transit

company, after all that has been done to improve the haven, are obliged to come to anchor several miles from the port. In addition, there is the fact of an extensive desert of drifting sand, which will be likely to fill up the canal immediately, even if once completed; the entire absence of vegetation, of fresh water, of towns or any kind of habitations throughout the whole line of the work. It is declared that in so vast a body of men as are required to give the enterprise any probability of success, the suffering and the sacrifice of life must be enormous; while the details of the plan and the cost of the operation will almost incalculably exceed the primary expectations. So persistent have been these representations, that the public sentiment in Great Britain and America has, to a very great extent, settled down in the conviction that the Suez Canal is an already exploded project, which it were almost puerile to hope for. Yet intelligent persons, and men of competent judgment, who have been on the spot, give testimony of a different character. We have seen extracts from letters from reliable gentlemen since we commenced this article which speak of the enterprise as a demonstrated success.

It appears that a vast amount of work has already been accomplished. The company has built scores of miles of fresh water canals to serve Nile water to the laborers, and to fertilize their lands. Previously the water had to be brought in casks on the backs of camels, of which there are six hundred in the company's service. It has built up towns all along the route, with foundries, workshops, storehouses, and dwellings at different stations. The works are on a vast scale, and admirably organized. A great number of steam-dredges, and more than twenty thousand natives, are incessantly digging. A *rigole de service*, or preliminary canal, is the first work to be accomplished. This has been finished as far as Lake Temseh, the opening of it to that point being celebrated on the eighteenth of November last. Within the present year it is expected that this will be cut through from sea to sea. It will be of sufficient capacity to transport all the coal which the steamship companies now have to carry at so great an expense around the Cape of Good Hope, or by rail from Alexandria to Suez. This provisional canal will obviate many of the difficulties connected with the nature of the country and the peculiarity of the work.

The maritime canal will follow, and it is not thought that its completion will require more than three or four years.

From the most recent and authentic information we are led to the conviction that the enterprise will be a grand success. The viceroy, who is one of the richest sovereigns in the world, is heartily supporting the project, and will not suffer it to fail for lack of means. Its consummation will be the occasion of another commercial revolution greater than the discovery of the passage by the Cape of Good Hope—greater than any the world has ever experienced. When great ships can pass uninterruptedly from Liverpool and other European ports through the Mediterranean to Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and Canton, commerce and navigation will have made an important step in the process, long going on, of bringing the different regions of the globe into neighborhood with each other, and giving to each the advantages of all.

Although much greater results depend upon the success of the Suez Canal than upon any other plan of inter-continental communication, yet there are other enterprises in contemplation which are by no means destitute of importance. The English are already projecting a railroad up the Nile to the ancient city of Thebes. This will bring them within convenient proximity to the famous old port of Berenice, which is vastly superior as a harbor to Suez. They are also thinking of a road from Tripoli, or some neighboring port on the Syrian coast, by Aleppo to the valley of the Euphrates, whence communication with the Persian Gulf becomes easy.* It is confidently expected that at no distant point in the future a continuous railway will be completed from Calais to Trieste, and thence to Constantinople, through Asia Minor, down the Euphrates to the Gulf, thence through Persia and Beloochistan, and across the Indus to Calcutta, making a journey of scarcely so much as ten days. In the prosecution of this stupendous undertaking, however, there are several problems which will have to be solved. The settlement of the eastern question, in which is involved the fate of the Turkish Empire, and connected with it the balance of power—ever a most delicate matter, and always likely to give rise to most wide-spread complications—are questions in which England, Russia, and France are most vitally concerned, the

* A railroad is already in operation between Smyrna and Ephesus.

solution of which may utterly revolutionize all the present political relations of the world, and the attempt to settle which may involve a collision and convulsion greater than any which Christendom has experienced for a thousand years. Political difficulties may delay these projects for many years far more than any physical or even financial obstacles which for the present obstruct it; but the time of their actualization is probably not so very far in the future.

Without anticipating the consummation of designs dependent upon contingencies yet future, we may make a general estimate of results obviously about to flow from what is already complete. These results may be considered in the several departments of commerce, religion, and politics; for though these act and react too powerfully upon each other, and have too many points in common to admit of any absolute mutual independence, yet the characteristic features of each demand a distinct consideration.

That the completion of the Alexandria and Suez Railroad must furnish a mighty stimulus to commercial enterprise throughout the world can scarcely be doubted. The change that has recently taken place in the government of British India, and the removal of commercial restrictions imposed by the East India Company, have thrown that immense, populous, and productive territory open to the trade of the world. A region vast in extent, embracing almost all varieties of soil and climate, with agricultural resources of exceeding richness, even under systems which have scarcely begun to develop their power, with most valuable mineral deposits, with capabilities for furnishing what all the world is eager to secure, and with wants which all of the world is eager to supply—such a region, brought so much nearer to the mercantile communities by this improved means of communication, will produce an incalculably increased commercial activity. Then we are to remember that the internal improvements induced by British enterprise in India, the construction of lines of railroad to all sections of the country, the directing of attention to the most lucrative objects of productive industry, the manifold returns from agricultural outlay, under the better methods of cultivation introduced, will furnish multiplied means of trade. Just now the attention of British manufacturers and capitalists is anxiously

directed to the culture of cotton, and this grows indigenous in almost all parts of India; but from the scanty means of transportation, and the carelessness of the culture, which the state of demand hitherto in England furnished no motive to remedy, it has been but an inferior object of commerce. Undoubtedly, with the improvements in both these respects, India can easily be made to produce cotton enough, and that of proper quality, for the manufacturing purposes of the world, at a remunerative price to the producers, and cheaply enough for the consumers.

But not only are facilities of Indian commerce to be thus multiplied; the southern and central portions of the Chinese Empire, an almost equally productive region, will, by the railway system now in progress in India, be made accessible to the commercial enterprise of the western nations. Thus, while the eastern coast of Asia will before long have a safe and rapid communication with this side of the globe through the Pacific Ocean, and by way of our own grand Pacific Railroad, the bulky but important products of Central Asia, and the more delicate and costly commodities of its southern borders and the neighboring islands, will find their way through the Red Sea and the inter-oceanic route. The long, expensive, and hazardous voyage will be avoided, and much life and treasure saved. Australia, too, which is rapidly advancing to the condition of a vast empire in itself, with immense agricultural and mineral riches, and which is destined to be peopled with a compound race, in which the Anglo-Saxon must be the predominating element, will be brought so much nearer the mother country, greatly enhancing its own advantage and its benefit to the world. We need scarcely more than refer to the regions drained by rivers running into the Persian Gulf, which were once among the most fertile regions, which have supported the densest populations of the earth, and which are likely to be restored at no distant day to their former prosperity and productiveness.

These methods of communication are also to be influential in respect to the yet undeveloped and, with small exception, only vaguely known commercial capabilities of Eastern Africa. Egypt has from the beginning of history been distinguished for its productiveness. It has been far more prosperous than it is at present. But within the past few years it has been rapidly resuming its ancient pre-eminence in agriculture. Great enter-

prises are in operation, which will not only render more available land always arable, but will resist the further encroachments of the desert, and restore much of the ancient domain hitherto invaded. Now, as anciently, other nations "go down to Egypt to buy corn," and wheat is the great article of export —more than three times as much being raised as is needed for domestic consumption. Many other articles are also produced, among which cotton has been rapidly increasing within the last few years, and under the influence of our own national troubles, which are felt in the remotest corner of the world, it has been rising to the importance of an Egyptian staple, and is of excellent quality. The exports from the country a few years ago amounted to $16,000,000, while the imports were reckoned to amount to $14,000,000.

By this route, too, the whole region of Eastern Africa becomes easy of access. Though but partially explored, enough is known to induce the conviction that it is about to become a most bountiful source of very desirable commodities. Its grand facilities for the production of cotton of the most excellent quality, and of certain other articles found abundantly nowhere else, will make the whole region one of multiplied traffic.

We have scarcely space to speak of the interesting political and religious questions suggesting themselves in connection with our subject. That the spread of the Gospel is not always proportioned to the manifold enterprises of commerce, is altogether too true. Yet there is wanting in this respect only the same wisdom in the children of light in their generation as in the men of this world. Though the Gospel is not dependent on commerce for its propagation, yet in the providence of God commerce opens the way and often makes the channels through which the word of God finds multiplied facilities for reaching the people that sit in darkness. These improved routes of travel, with the influences of Christian civilization which they create in heathen countries, are so many favorable circumstances in relation to the work of Christian missions. If the Church will but avail herself of advantages thus furnished, as, we thank God, to some extent she is doing, we may look for still grander results in the progress of the Gospel among men.

It is very evident that the solution of the question of Islamism is to be affected powerfully by these commercial enterprises

in the neighborhood of Egypt. Political changes are imminent, of which we shall speak directly, on which depend the religious future of vast regions and peoples. But Egypt is being rapidly impregnated with Christian ideas, and there is a considerable Christian element in her population. No doubt, when the Ottoman Empire shall be broken up, as it must soon be, Egypt will return to her ancient faith. The same may be said of Syria and the whole of Asia Minor, though the future moral revolution there is more complicated with the political changes, and is less easy of calculation. The settlement of "the Eastern Question," as it is called, can hardly occur without great and gratifying religious reforms. It is not impossible that the Churches of Asia may yet resume their primitive beauty; and that the hills, and valleys, and plains of Palestine, where the Son of God manifested his divinity and made humanity glorious, where God came down to the earth and lifted man up to heaven, may soon be peopled by the children of Abraham, no longer going about in all the world to establish their own righteousness, but submitting themselves unto the righteousness of God.

However much of doubt there may be as to this, there can scarcely be any as to the probability that by processes already well advanced, and which must be greatly quickened by the increased facilities of communication, the gigantic superstitions of India and China will be overthrown. Evidently the votaries of these false systems of religion are craving something better; and while commercial intercourse with the western nations will tend to undermine their faith in their own religious institutions and doctrines, the Christian Church, if faithful to her solemn trust, will stand ready to point out the better way, and declare the glad tidings of the Son of God, the Saviour of men.

The tendency of events indicate Syria and its vicinity to be the point of greatest importance to the politics both of Europe and the East, the pivot on which are to turn the destinies of the civilized world. Constantinople, to be sure, is the hospital of the "sick man;" but probably the method of treatment to which he will finally be subjected must be determined in another locality. Many of the great battles of the world have been fought in that neighborhood, and many more may be

unless the cunning fingers of diplomacy shall succeed in untying the knot which otherwise the sword stands ready to cut.

The great national triumvirate, England, Russia, and France, which, assuming the oversight of the politics of the old world, are possibly less intent upon securing the highest interests of all the nations than in faithfully watching the mischievous tendencies each of the other, are rapidly coming into one another's way in the region of Syria. Russia, like a huge glacier, is slowly but surely, and with no small momentum, pushing out to the southward. England from her numerous footholds in Southern Asia is rapidly extending her empire northward; and each is jealous of every additional advantage gained by the other. France, having established her power in Algiers, is gradually creeping along the coast of the Mediterranean toward Egypt, where her influence is already considerable, and in the estimation of England alarmingly great; while she manages to come in with such kindly intervention among the turbulent tribes around Mt. Lebanon that both the Turks themselves and Great Britain with Russia can scarcely persuade her to refrain from her schemes of pacification.

The disposing of the Ottoman Government and the determination of the limits of these great powers are matters that must soon be decided. A writer in one of the British reviews recently advanced the opinion that the only peaceful solution of these complicated questions must be in the restoration of the Jewish race to the land of their ancient possession and the setting up of a government for them under the protection of the three great powers. Although we have no great faith in any literal restoration of the Jews, still such a thing is possible, and the present current of events indicate it as not altogether improbable. Be this as it may, the greater proximity of Great Britain to her possessions by means of the overland route will give her vastly increased advantages in the contest, whether it be diplomatic or military.

Of the more rapid interpenetration of Asiatic society with European ideas, of the influence on the future destinies of the new and mighty nation forming in Australia, and of the effect which must be speedily produced in elevating, developing, civilizing, and, we hope, politically organizing Africa, we have not space to write. That all these grand benefits

hinted at will flow solely from the new and rapid means of transit which we have described we do not pretend; but that they in combination with other causes will exert a most potent influence in shaping the character and destiny of many nations and modifying the condition of all, we think, must be evident.

Art. III.—THE IMPENDING REVOLUTION IN ANGLO-SAXON THEOLOGY.

[SECOND ARTICLE.]

In our former article we alluded to the revolution which has recently taken place in physics relative to the doctrine of matter, and predicted a corresponding revolution in the department of systematic theology, so far as those doctrines are concerned which in their current mode of treatment necessarily imply the truth of the old theory. To illustrate the necessity of a new treatment of these points we passed in review some of the customary arguments for the existence of God, the fact of his providence, and the spirituality of the soul, showing that their force and pertinency are gone the moment the old view of matter as naturally inert is given up. We concluded by presenting a few considerations going to show that the loss of the arguments in question is no very serious one, promising in the present number a fuller view of the modifications which the general adoption of the dynamic view of nature will probably occasion in the department of theology, and of the possible advantages which may accrue therefrom to our science. To the redemption of this promise we will now devote ourselves. As the modifications of which we are to speak will of course exhibit themselves with the greatest prominency in those fields of investigation which we successively surveyed in our last, we will pass them once more in review in the same order, and inquire as to the probable result in each case of an effort to reconstruct our argumentation independent of the old mechanical theory of matter.

I. Natural Theology.—In this department, if we mistake not, the impending revolution will be more distinctly marked

and sooner acknowledged than in any other. The change we anticipate is nothing less than the entire supplanting of natural theology, in its old-fashioned sense, by a fresh, vigorous, and sound philosophy of religion.

What we mean by this will become clearer by a brief definition of terms. Natural theology, though properly signifying "the science which treats of the being, attributes, and will of God as evincible from the phenomena of created objects," has usually been restricted in English literature to treatises or parts of treatises aiming at nothing more than the mere demonstration of the existence of God by the use of premises and arguments "which the candid atheist must admit as fair and reasonable." The philosophy of religion on the other hand may be defined as that science which, starting with the moral religious phenomena of the world, busies itself with the various theories which have been proposed for their explanation, collates, sifts, and tests them, exposing the false, discovering and establishing the true. Though both sciences have to do with the grounds of our faith in the being of a God, they differ in very important respects. They differ, for instance, in respect to their object; the one aiming to convict the atheist, the other to establish and confirm the theist. They differ also in their mode of procedure; the one starting with premises wholly outside of the realm of religion, and seeking from such premises to deduce the necessity of a God; the other starting with premises wholly within the realm of religion, and seeking to confirm all the doctrines and implications of theism by a philosophical interpretation of them.

The change we have suggested would, therefore, in effect be the frank and formal abandonment of all endeavors to logically demonstrate the existence of God on principles independent of the moral and religious nature and history of man, and the equally frank and formal substitution of a defense of religion, based upon itself and its own phenomena, supported by collateral evidence only so far as such evidence might incidentally accrue to it in the consistent carrying through of a theistic philosophy. This is the change we anticipate. It is already in process of realization. Our latest works in this department are all transitional. They possess all the merits and all the defects of such works. They have unconsciously abandoned the old

ground of their science without attaining a firm and reliable footing elsewhere. The terms and conditions of the problem have become so changed that even "Burnett Prizes" cannot call forth a work satisfactory to the awarders or to the theological public. Still all these works, manifold as are their imperfections when judged from the standpoint which they tempt one to take, are serving a good purpose. They suggest progress if they do not themselves make it. So far as they do advance beyond the old landmarks they approach the true ground. Some of them are already almost pure philosophies of religion published under a false title. The next that shall traverse this field will have little to do to win the honor of having ushered in a new and auspicious epoch in the development of this branch of theological science.

The positive desirableness of such a reconstruction of our traditional natural theology must be at once evident. Perhaps it may not be amiss, however, to briefly state a few considerations in view of which our estimate of its desirableness may be enhanced.

1. In the first place, then, the formal substitution of the philosophy of religion for natural theology, viewed as the scientific demonstration of the existence of God, would at once relieve the natural theologian from a false position, and enable him to meet the pretensions of his science.

At present it is expected of the natural theologian that he shall show himself able to establish the truth of theism by arguments admissible by "the candid atheist." He must be willing to meet the unbeliever on common ground. He must be able to say to him: "I am not going to silence you with the dicta of Scripture or ecclesiastical authority, nor with the testimonies of justly esteemed philosophers. I shall not demand your faith on any such grounds. No. We will simply reason together, and I will show you that there *must be* a God. I will not argue from revelation, for that presupposes a Revelator, whose existence it is that we have first to prove. I will not draw my arguments from the religious history of our race, or from the religious experiences of individuals, for the truth or falsehood of this history and of these experiences of course depends upon the correctness of this belief in the existence of a God. I will base all my reasonings upon facts which no sane mind can dream of questioning, and proceed according to the strictest

rules of logic." The man, therefore, who undertakes to write a natural theology at the present day pledges himself to a certain extent to meet these expectations. Possibly at the beginning of his studies he may think it can be done.

First, perhaps, he takes *the idea of God* as a starting point. That men have the idea of an absolutely perfect Being not even the atheist can pretend to deny. Cannot the actual existence of this Being be deduced from our possession of an idea of him? Our friend brings forth his Anselm Mendelssohn and Des Cartes, and under their guidance proceeds to the attempt. Perhaps with the good Archbishop of Canterbury he goes to work thus: "We possess the idea of an absolutely perfect Being. But reality or existence is a perfection. Therefore, this Being must be real—must exist." Or perhaps, with Des Cartes, he proposes to argue from the existence of this idea of God as the only rational way of accounting for its origination. Then his argument stands thus: "All our ideas are either adventitious or factitious or innate. But this idea of an absolutely perfect Being cannot be adventitious, for within the range of our empirical knowledge we have met with no such Being; factitious it cannot be, for the mind is conscious of not having freely originated it; consequently it is innate. But if implanted in the human mind it must have been by this Being himself, *ergo* there is such a Being." It may be that he finds at first view still greater force in the argument of the Jew-Christian metaphysician: "A Being most perfect must be independent. There is such a Being or there is not. If such a Being is not, there must exist some ground for his non-existence. But this ground must lie either without this independent God or within him. Without him it cannot lie, for then he would not be independent; within him it cannot lie, for no logical impossibility can lie in the conception of an absolutely independent Being. Hence there exists no ground of the non-existence of an absolutely perfect and independent Being, consequently there exists such a one." Whichever form of the ideological argument he may select, he scarcely succeeds in fairly developing it before he becomes himself suspicious of its validity in any form, and finds upon examination that it has long ago been abandoned by all reliable metaphysicians and divines as nothing better than an acute and plausible fallacy. The first part

of his treatise must be taken up, therefore, not with theistic argument, but with an exposure of the untenable reasonings of his predecessors in the field. Before he can encounter the atheist he must seek a new point of departure.

This time he takes *the natural world* as it lies before us. Not even the atheist can deny its existence. Very well; if something a real world now is, it follows that something must have been from all eternity, that is, God. But hold! cries the sober, critical faculty, supposing it granted that something, has existed from all eternity, who cannot see that it is a tremendous *saltus* from this eternal Something to the eternal Jehovah? This something from which you reason is material, and from its existence how can you ever deduce the existence of an unbeginning, ever-during Spirit? Ay, that is the rub. The books tell him that this is done by means of the argument from natural causation, thus: "This eternal Something must be spirit, for matter is absolutely inert, and even if eternal, could never have organized this vast universe and given its parts their rhythmic movements. These proofs of exerted power point us beyond passive matter to the only known seat and source of power—self-active mind." Or they give him the following: "This unoriginated Something must be spirit, because the tokens of design which we everywhere find in nature, these wise dispositions of matter for the attainment of definite ends, all attest the existence of the great Designer. He who invented the cunning mechanism of microscopic life on the one hand, and on the other intergeared the rolling worlds so wondrously—surely he cannot be less than God." Alas! these arguments, once so prized, replies our poor friend, I can no longer employ. It has too often been pointed out that they involve the fallacy of inferring an infinite Cause from finite effects. Furthermore the inherent passivity of matter can no longer be made the basis of such weighty reasonings. By scientific men it is regarded as an exploded dogma; few theologians even deny that attractive *force* resides in matter. And if I predicate of matter dynamic properties to account for attractional phenomena, and vital forces to explain its vital phenomena, why has not the atheist an equal right to predicate of it the property of intelligence to account for its manifestations of intelligence? To this question I have no answer.

Thus terminate the efforts of our valorous champion of theism. Whatever their point of departure, they are alike inadequate to his purpose. He is reluctantly forced to the conclusion that no such demonstration of the being of God as he designed and promised is possible. He finds the same confession of failure in the pages of all recent cultivators of the field. He sees, for instance, a Pearson, after having surveyed the whole domain of theistic apologetics, compelled, despite his anxiety to present the unreasonableness of atheism in its strongest light, to confess: "We cannot, by a strict process of inductive reasoning, infer from one or more finite effects that the cause of them is absolutely infinite."* Perhaps he looks to Princeton for help, and surely Princeton is the last of all to abandon anything ever maintained in the interest of the faith. Alack! its venerated oracle assures him through the lips of a son that no "strictly logical demonstration of the being of God can be constructed."† He betakes himself to the ablest living expounder of that philosophy, designated as, *par excellence*, the "Philosophy of Common Sense," and here he receives the identical answer.‡ He finds Tullock and Thompson laboring under the same embarrassments as himself, and anxious in their opening chapters to allay expectation.

What an unfortunate, humiliating predicament for our unsophisticated friend! He would fain forget his magnanimous parley with "the candid atheist" at the outset. He now sees that for the establishment of his thesis he needs broader premises than he then thought. He now sees that, with all who have recently discussed the question, he has a demand to make at the hand of the opponent. He cannot proceed without saying in effect: "Grant me but my theistic Philosophy, History, Ethics, and Psychology and I will vindicate the theistic faith." In other words, "Give me the moral and religious consciousness of men, the facts of religious history, the past and present religious phenomena of the world, and I will elaborate a philosophy of the whole, which by rationally explaining religion shall furnish its surest and most enduring defense." How much better to take this position at the outset,

* Prize Essay on Infidelity, chap. i.

† A. A. Hodge's Outlines of Theology, p. 14, ques. 9. (New York, 1861.)

‡ Mansel's Limits of Religious Thought, pp. 115, 116.

and promise nothing more than, after having gratuitously offered to encounter the enemy in the field of metaphysics or cosmology, to beat an ignominious retreat to the very strongholds we had pretended to abandon. We should limit our pretensions to our abilities. If all we are able to do in this department is to give a valid reason for the faith and hope in us, a philosophical explanation of the phenomena of religion and thereby a justification of them as a part of the varied phenomena of human life, then let us promise nothing more. In all our latest natural theologies it comes to this in the end. Mansel's discussion of this subject begins with talk about "reasonings, probable or demonstrative, in proof of the being and attributes of God," but soon changes into a mere philosophy of religion, and is by himself so styled. (Page 132.) Hodge's chapter on the existence of God is of the same character. In all, the new method is followed so far as they appropriate the moral, biblical, and historical arguments.

From these remarks it is perfectly evident that the change we have predicted would prove a beneficent one. It would relieve the expounder and defender of theism of all these embarrassments to which we have alluded, and enable him to present the grounds of our belief in God in a far more convincing and satisfactory light. No longer required to expose himself to certain discomfiture by undertaking the impossible, many a thoughtful mind, now repelled from the field of natural theology by the unreasonable demands made at the hand of its cultivators, would hasten to treat its sublime themes from the new standpoint, to enforce its truths with original argument, to illustrate and adorn them with all the treasures of varied learning and all the charms of living eloquence.

2. But again, the scientific method pursued by natural theologians is, according to their own account of the science, a false one. They employ, as we have seen, the synthetic method, whereas their own descriptions of the science demand the analytic, the method employed in the philosophy of religion.

Take almost any one who has ever recorded a definition of natural theology, and immediately following that definition you will find something to this effect: "A distinction here must be carefully observed between that knowledge of God to which the human reason was able to attain *by means of its own unassisted powers independently of example;* for example, *the*

theology of Plato and Cicero, and that knowledge of God which the human mind is now competent to deduce from the phenomena of nature *under the clear light of a supernatural revelation;* for example, the theology of the rationalistic philosophers. Natural theology, as reached by *unassisted* reason, was *fragmentary, inconsistent, and uncertain.* Natural theology, as appropriated and vindicated by reason *under the clear light of revelation*, is itself a *strong witness to the truth and supernatural origin of that revelation.*"* From these caveats it is abundantly evident that in the opinion of the writers the human mind is incapable of rising step by step to the discovery and proof of a God, but that the knowledge of him being once given, the mind is capable of verifying it by the study of his works. They concede that the natural theology of even a Plato was necessarily "fragmentary, inconsistent, and uncertain;" but, on the other hand, they assert that "arguments which would be insufficient to create the notion of a Supreme Being in a mind previously destitute of it may have great force and value in enlarging or correcting a notion already existing, and in justifying to the reason the unreasoning convictions of the heart. The belief in God, once given, becomes the nucleus round which subsequent experiences cluster and accumulate; and evidences which would be obscure and ambiguous, if addressed to the wisdom only, become clear and convincing when interpreted by the light of the religious consciousness."† From all this it clearly follows that the office of the natural theologian is not to trace the steps of reasoning by which a heathen, utterly destitute of the idea of God, might be imagined to slowly rise to a certain knowledge of him, but on the contrary to exhibit and justify the process by which the mind, already furnished with the idea of God, proceeds to its rational verification. We see, therefore, that the prevalent method is in open violation of the object of the science as defined by natural theologians themselves. Their definition of the science requires the employment of the analytic method, precludes every other, and still, in open contravention of their fundamental principles, they persist in employing its opposite. On this paradox we need not dwell. We will only remark, that under such circumstances no science could be expected to

* Hodge's Outlines, p. 38. † Mansel, Limits of Rel. Thought, p. 116.

thrive, and that, viewing the whole matter as a mere question of scientific method, the change in prospect is imperiously demanded.

3. But it will be said that the abandonment of the old method would be tantamount to a confession of defeat. It would be conceding, that after a battle of more than a century and a half's duration, we are driven from the very field where we ourselves offered to meet the foe.

To this we reply, in the first place, what and if this concession has already been made? Suppose this concession stands recorded in every late treatise upon the subject? Have not all our natural theologians already confessed that we cannot create a God out of a few metaphysical abstractions, or leap from finite effects in nature to anything more than finite causes? Does not every new writer who denies the validity of the old *à priori* and the adequacy of the *à posteriori* arguments reiterate the same confession? Does not even so cautious and modest a philosopher as Sir William Hamilton assert in his lectures on metaphysics, "that the phenomena of matter, *taken by themselves*, so far from warranting any inference to the existence of God, *would, on the contrary, ground even an argument to his negation?*" That "the study of the external world," only when "taken with, and in subordination to, the internal" world of conscience, and the imperishable religious nature of man, "*loses its atheistic tendency*, and may be rendered conducive to the great conclusion, *from which, if left to itself, it would dissuade us?*" As to supposed concessions, then, there need be no anxiety. Judging by our standard works in this department they are quite in order.

But, secondly, suppose we were to decline further notice of "the candid atheist," except it may be incidentally, and to direct our reasonings to one who believes in God with all his heart, but who would like to see his faith scientifically grounded and adjusted to his other beliefs, what then? Would the candid atheists carry the world before them with their unanswered demonstrations? Would they proselyte all Christendom, upset the Church, and frustrate what we, in our superstitious delusion, have fondly believed to be the eternal and saving counsels of a living Jehovah? We trow not.

The fact is, the real aim of our science, whichever way

treated, is not a polemic, but an apologetic one. It is doubtful whether all the pretentious "Demonstrations of the Being and Attributes of God" ever written have effected the conversion of a single real atheist, candid or uncandid. These treatises are not written for the purpose of convicting and converting honest atheists, but to settle and establish the immature or exposed theist, and to aid him in a philosophical embodiment of his faith. This honest, and candid, and unprejudiced, and exemplary personage, with whom our natural theologians have so much to do, is an imaginary being, having no counterpart in reality. He is a mere straw-man, set up, not to represent the atheistic reader and his arguments, but to be knocked over for the edification of pious young men studying for the ministry. Why operate, then, in this round-about way? We know that atheists do not study our treatises, and are not converted by them. We know, on the other hand, that young men, anxious to see their home-grown faith at peace with new-gleaned knowledges, do study them and find in them an aid. Why, then, do we not address the parties meant to be reached. Why not abandon this dumb-show business with a puppet, and turn to these inquiring, longing souls with all the power of direct appeal, with all the energy of personal interest? We cannot lose anything by leaving our imaginary atheist to himself; we can gain much.

But, in the third place, even if the aim of the science were a polemic one, we could not agree that the old method possesses a superiority over that of the philosophy of religion. On the contrary, we believe that the latter furnishes us the only successful and sound defense of our belief in God. That there are religious phenomena in the world, and always has been; that man possesses a religious nature as truly as a rational one, and always has the wide world over, is just as undeniable as that we have an idea of a most perfect being, or that a material world exists; and to account for these phenomena and these facts, in a rational way, on any other ground than that of Christian theism, seems to us far more difficult than to account for the origin of Des Cartes's innate idea, or Paley's cosmical watchmaking. Had we to contend with a live atheist, in the presence of a public whose faith seemed staked upon the issue of the debate, we should elect this method of procedure in

preference to all others, and should feel bound to do it by every obligation which could rest upon us as a defender of the faith. Of course, this is not the place to evince the alleged superiority of the new method by a practical exemplification of its working, for that would require us to elaborate a treatise covering the whole field. It will require but a little reflection, however, to enable any one to discover its points of advantage over the traditional method, and to convince himself of the truth of our assertion.*

Our conclusion therefore is, that instead of deprecating the coming reconstruction of this department as dangerous, we should rather welcome it, and cheer on every successful contributor to its consummation. We should welcome it, first, as the only redemption of the science from its present humiliating posture; secondly, as the only condition of a sound organic development of the science; and thirdly, because the successful defense of Christian theism demands it. In Germany the transition was effected near half a century ago, and none more rejoice in the fact to-day than those on whom devolves the task of defending the truth of God against the onsets of a godless science and philosophy. With us the revolution springs from a different occasion, precisely answering to the different bent of Anglo-Saxon mind, but the result will be the same. It was unfortunate that one of the pioneers of the movement, Mr. Morell, instead of elaborating for himself a thorough philosophy of religion, was satisfied to rehabilitate the one-sided, subjective theory of Schleiermacher, thus at once imperiling important truths, and giving the new name of the science a bad associa-

* The change above predicted finds a complete parallel in the recent change which has taken place in the department of *Christian* apologetics. Instead of attempting to deduce the truth of every part of Christianity from the external evidences alone, we have at last learned to begin with Christianity as an undeniable complex of phenomena, needing for its explanation nothing less than the divine agencies it claims. Thus we reason from the character of Christ, from the superhuman excellence of Christian doctrine, from the supernatural effects of this religion in the individual and in the world; giving the external evidences their due subordinate position as mere proofs that that which is claimed to be and to have been phenomena of Christianity is legitimately claimed to be such. Discriminating remarks on the two methods, and the advantages of the new one, may be found in Dr. Bushnell's "Nature and the Supernatural," pp. 33–35; also "Methodist Quarterly Review, July, 1862," pp. 373–376. The true name for our new treatises on "The Evidences" is Philosophy of Christianity.

tion. This, however, can speedily be cured. Only let one sound, vigorous, judicious thinker lead the way, not with exotic speculations dim and dubious, but with clear, strong thoughts of his own, in a line with our native Anglo-Saxon developments, and the regenerated science will at once rise to honor, and in due time boast of more imperishable names than those of even a Paley or a Chalmers. But we must pass on.

II. The Relation of God to the Natural World.—In coming to discuss the approaching reconstruction of our theological views on this point, we must remark, that though the immediate occasion of the revision may be the general abandonment of the old theory of matter and of nature, there is reason to believe that other occasions would have brought on such a revision, had our old theory of physics remained undisturbed. We mean to say, that had the orthodox theory of God's immediate agency in all physical causation encountered no opposition or doubt at the hand of scientific men, it would have been sure to encounter it at the hand of theologians themselves, it being inadequate to the demands of the Christian system. A glance at these demands will best enable us to detect the insufficiency of all the old theories, and to duly estimate the merits or demerits of the new dynamic one.

The Christian system of doctrine demands then, (1.) The absolute dependence of the world upon the divine will, both as to the commencement and continuation of its existence; (2.) Its relative independence of divine power, so that God can come into a relation of physical antagonism with it without self-contradiction; (3.) An interplay of divine and natural agency, by which supernatural ends can be attained without violence to nature. The first of these demands is the necessary postulate of the Christian doctrine of creation and conservation; the second is the indispensable prerequisite to miracles; the third the absolute *sine qua non* of special providences. If the Christian doctrine of creation, miracles, and special providence is to be maintained and consistently adjusted, we must mentally represent to ourselves the relation of God to the material world, as a relation at least compatible with these three demands. Any theory of that relation, inconsistent with these postulates, is inconsistent with the Christian system,

impracticable as an element of Christian philosophy, and must sooner or later prove itself such.

If now we take the first of the three leading theories of this relation, as enumerated in our former paper, to wit, the deistic theory, we have but to test it upon these three demands to discover at once its fatal defect. It fails to meet the third demand. It provides for no free interplay of divine and natural activities. It is therefore justly repudiated as inconsistent with the idea of God's perfect and perpetual providence, and by consequence radically antagonistic to the Christian religion. Even if God's all-pervasion and occasional interventions are superadded to the theory, it is still unrelieved. The former has, upon this theory, no greater significance than the omnipresence of light in a glass saw-mill, while the latter can be admitted only as genuine miracles; that is, express divine acts suspending or contravening natural law for a special end. Special providences, real yet not miraculous answers to prayer, still remain an absolute impossibility.

The second or orthodox theory, that of immediate divine agency, fails to meet the second demand. It allows creation and conservation, it provides for special providences; but as for miracles, they are impossible. It provides for the possibility of special providences by making everything a special providence; that is, a special act of God, bringing something to pass which in the course of nature would not have come to pass. There is nothing in the whole world of events which is not a special providence. Miracles on this theory are inconceivable. The most astounding events known by that name become, when viewed according to this hypothesis, merely *uncommon* occurrences. The agency which restored a Lazarus from corruption to life, was the very same which precipitated him from life to corruption; the one exercise of power was just as divine, just as great, just as immediate, just as astonishing as the other. Miracles can only be defined as such by their relation to natural force and natural law; but in this respect all events are alike on the theory in question, there being no such thing as natural force or law in any proper sense. We see, therefore, that this theory is, if possible, more objectionable on theological than on scientific grounds.*

* The shortcomings of this theory are precisely parallel to those of its counterpart theory of the relation of God to the human soul. Of every theory of this

Leibnitz's theory of "pre-established harmony" needs but be brought to the test of these three demands to be convicted of all the failings of the deistic one, and its philosophical difficulties left unalleviated by any fancied advantages. So, too, Dr. N. W. Taylor's unconscious modification of this forgotten hypothesis.* In both cases there can be no response on the part of God to the prayer of faith or cry of need, but such as was provided for in the way of natural law before the foundation of the world. There is no room for special providence, for a free administration of the world, for a supernatural overruling of events to divine ends answering to the varying conduct, desires, and necessities of individuals, nations, races. And yet we cannot help thinking that Dr. Taylor has taken the only consistent position for the New England Calvinist.

How is it now with the theory which bases itself upon the dynamic view of nature? In our opinion it is the only one which can possibly answer the conditions of our problem. Try it by each of the demands above formulated, and it more than successfully abides the test.

It answers the first. It does not make matter eternal or in any absolute sense self-subsistent, either as to essence or form. It represents it as having been called into being by the irresistible fiat of Jehovah, as existing only so long as he wills it. The machine-world of the deist and the organized passivities of the old-fashioned "hard-matter men" were not more dependent on the divine will, both for organization and for continued

relation the Christian system has also three demands to make. It must secure, (1.) The absolute dependence of the soul for life and power upon God; (2.) The relative independence of the soul, so that it can come into a relation of antagonism to God; and, (3.) Reciprocity of action, so that the soul can influence God, and God the soul. The first is, of course, a fundamental axiom of theism; the second is indispensable to the maintenance of the Christian doctrine of sin; the third the only explanation of a Christian life. Now the theory which affirms, "Mind can no more think than matter move without an exertion of divine efficiency," the theory which Emmons has generally been supposed to advocate, utterly fails to meet the second demand. It is perhaps not so correct to say, it makes God the author sin, as it makes sin itself impossible. It also distorts and misconstrues the phenomena of Christian life, just as the other theory those of natural life, by failing to meet the third demand. Indeed, the two theories should be accepted or rejected together. They are only two phases or applications of one and the same philosophy. The one tends irresistibly to confirm the other, and both are alike dangerous to fundamentals of the Christian scheme.

* Lectures on the Moral Government of God, vol. ii, pp. 320–326. (New York, 1859.)

existence, than is this grand organism of nature on our hypothesis. If it allows to nature a *relative* self-subsistence and efficiency, it does not thereby render the natural world any more independent of God's will and power than all created minds are conceded to be. No theory more distinctly suspends all creatures alike upon that mighty will which caused them to be, and whose volition can turn them all in a moment to nothingness again.

It answers the second. By attributing to matter a real efficiency, it makes it possible for God's agency to come into a relation of antagonism with nature. It thus makes miracles possible in the natural world in exactly the same way as we make sin possible in the human world; to wit, by postulating a finite causality over against God, as capable, by virtue of its own inherent power, of antagonizing, as of co-operating with God.

It answers the third. By providing for a real efficiency in nature, it provides for a mutual interaction between the divine and the natural agencies. According to this theory the material world is a vast self-actuated, one might almost say living organism, pervaded, controlled, freely and variously worked by that indwelling spirit which summoned it into being. The most perfect illustration of the relation of the two is found in the hypostatical union of the human soul and body. As the soul is essential to the life of the body, but the body non-essential to that of the soul, so of God in his relation to the world. But as the body with all this dependence has nevertheless during its pervasion by the soul an independent life of its own, a life with which the soul can set itself at variance, or train to higher and truer than mere natural functions; so the world, so long as willed and manned by God's controlling mind. Give to the soul an absolute control over its material organism, a power to modify its qualities and powers, to suspend or change its functions, to multiply or diminish its organs, to completely annihilate and reproduce the whole at pleasure, and the illustration becomes as perfect as the nature of the case can allow. In the light of it we readily see the ground laid by our theory for action and reaction between God and the world. We can readily see how not only interventions in the natural economy can take place, *miracles;* but also how an intelligent super-

natural application of its natural powers and organs can be made *special providences.* At the same time the theory is just as perfectly guarded against all suspicions of pantheistic tendencies as either of the old theories on the subject.

The positive advantages of this view of the relation of God to the world over all the old ones are quickly enumerated, but not so quickly realized in all their vastness and grandeur.*

1. Granting the equality of all three of the prominent theories as respects the first demand—the postulate of dependence; we have seen that this is the only one capable of meeting the second and third demands. It presents itself, therefore, not merely as the most eligible of all theories, but as the only eligible one.

2. Even where the old views seem to answer one or the other of these last demands, our theory will be found superior to them. For instance, the deistic theory may be said to provide for miracles, inasmuch as it posits a real force in the cosmos, whose mechanical effects can be supernaturally interfered with. But while this theory thus provides for *mechanical* miracles, such as the standing still of the sun and moon would be on this theory, it can never satisfactorily account for all those multifarious exertions of divine power recorded in the catalogue of Scripture miracles. Just as little as the miracles of inorganic and of vital chemistry can be resolved into effects of mechanical force, just so little can the wonder-works of sacred history find adequate explanation on this hypothesis. The only conceivable interventions in a purely mechanical world, working on a "perpetual motion" principle, are such as the following: arrest of its motive power by diversion or counteraction, or acceleration or retardation, change of application by altering "the adjustment," etc. How few of the

* As an illustration of the important and wide-reaching applications of all theories on this subject, we would remind the reader that distinguished divines and physicists here in Germany are endeavoring to account, partially at least, for the imperfection of the pre-adamic creations by taking into view the resistance and counteraction of perverted natural powers and "potencies" of the material employed. The perversion of these powers and potencies is traced to the fall of "the prince of this world," to whom our earth is supposed to have belonged prior to the time when he and his angels abandoned their "first estate" and left "their habitation."—Com. Keerl, *Der Mensch das Ebenbild Gottes.* (Basel, 1852,) vol. i, p. 540.

works of Christ would admit of classification with such changes in the movement of the world-machine or of its component sub-machines. So the orthodox theory seems to provide for that reciprocity of action needed as a basis for the doctrine of special providence; but it is only a seeming; one act is no more a special providence than another. The argument of our Saviour, repeated in so many forms at various times, "If God so clothe the grass," etc., is turned to pure nonsense. God's care for his children is not different from that by which he feeds the raven and clothes the lily. The method pursued in the latter case is no more *natural* than that pursued in the former. When everything is arbitrary, everything is at once special and non-special. On this theory every breath I draw is a special supernatural gift of God; on the other hand my recovery from a fatal disease in direct answer to prayer would be just as purely natural as my falling sick was. A theory which confounds such just distinctions as these, which furthermore belies universal human belief, and traces all natural abnormalities to immediate divine volitions, cannot be repudiated with too great promptness and decision. Even the little which it pretends to explain it only distorts and misconstrues. The theory, therefore, which bases itself upon a dynamic view of nature, not only answers one of these two demands better than either of the others, but both of them. Its provision even for Christian miracles is better than that of the deistic theory, and for special providence better than that of the orthodox.

3. But thirdly, this theory is in harmony with the most reliable results of philosophy and general science; the others are more and more clearly seen to be in conflict with them. Such a result we may style the now universally adopted view that all created minds are truly *agents*, sources of power, supernatural causes. Another such result is the prevalent scientific view, which explains the cosmical motions, neither mechanically, as resulting from projection and constant modifying impact, nor semi-mechanically, as the resultant of projection and an inherent attraction, but dynamically as the result of antagonistic physical forces inherent in matter as matter. A third such result is the current denial that the processes of organic chemistry are purely mechanical, only too rapid and

delicate for our material sense. But we have not space to enlarge upon this point. Suffice to say that the theory is so identified with the most advanced science and thinking of the age, that in the construction of a comprehensive Christian philosophy it must be adopted or none.

III. PSYCHOLOGY.—The question as to the immateriality of the soul might seem to be of less interest to the theologian since the universal abandonment of the attempt to deduce from that doctrine the necessary immortality of the soul. A moment's reflection, however, is sufficient to convince one that this truth is too fundamental to the whole Christian scheme to become, under any conceivable circumstances, a matter of indifference. The theologian cannot regard it as a mere accident, that through the whole history of human speculation a materialistic psychology has gone hand and hand with atheism in the religious sphere, selfishness in morals, despotism in government, and demoralization in society. Christianity says, *πνεῦμα ὁ θεός*, "God is Spirit;" and, *τοῦ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν*, "We, too, are of his genus." The Bible's first word respecting man is an assertion of his high nativity, his creation in the *image* and *likeness* of the *invisible*, *impalpable* God. Almost every doctrine of Christian anthropology, every revelation touching our posthumous existence, all the great logical implications of the Christian religion as a system, inculcate the sublime truths that "there is a spirit in man: and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth him understanding." Job xxxii, 8. Christianity never has stood and, we may safely add, never can stand upon any other than a spiritualistic basis.

The reconstruction of our pyschology into a form consistent with, if not based upon, the dynamic theory of physics will offer, so far as the treatment of the proofs of the immateriality of the soul are concerned, a precise parallel to the reconstruction of natural theology into a philosophy of religion, or philosophy of theism, as above described. The aims of the two sciences are not unlike. Just as the Christian theist has for his task to show how the phenomena of God's works on the one hand confirm and verify our faith in his being, and on the other illustrate and teach his nature, so has the Christian psychologist the task, from the works of man, especially from the

phenomena of mind, to establish our native faith in his higher spiritual nature, to enlarge and define our knowledge thereof. The old-fashioned method, glanced at in our former paper, was an exact counterpart of the old-fashioned method in natural theology. That is, instead of starting with the hypothesis of an immaterial soul as presumptively true—a procedure fully justified by the universality of human belief in it, if by nothing else; instead of proceeding with this hypothesis through every department of human knowledge, and pointing out the conspiring verifications which rise in every one of them, elevating the hypothetical assumption to the rank of a scientific result; the old method endeavored to trace the logical process by which a philosopher who had never heard of such a thing as mind might be supposed to be driven step by step by the force of his own reflections to the denial of materialism and the adoption of a spiritualistic pyschology. Just as the philosophers of those days went at the world with pickax and telescope to see if they could find any God in it or under it or behind it, so the anatomists went at the body, scalpel in hand, dissected every fiber, explored every gland, analyzed every solid, to see if in any of the lurking places of life they might catch, glimpse-wise even, a sight of the fabulous white-winged spirit. And just as the natural theologians of that time consented to abandon all the high and valid presumptions in their favor proffered by their own consciousness, by human history, by the grand consensus of all races and all generations, so the cotemporary theological psychologists. As a result, the best argument to which they could attain was one which, as we have seen, forced them to admit the immateriality of vermin, and which might have forced them to the admission of the spiritual nature of toadstools and tansey, had their opponents but pressed them with the phenomena of vegetable changes.

The new method, therefore, will exactly correspond to the new method in natural theology. It will regard the voice of consciousness as at least as reliable as the voice of sense. It will base itself upon the positive properties of spirit, and not on the negative ones of matter. It will give the science a center and foundation within itself, and not make it a mere corollary of natural philosophy. It will start with the known

phenomena of mind, as given in self-consciousness and in the intellectual and moral world at large; it will *thence* deduce and define its conception of the nature of their cause, and holding fast to this as a valid, indisputable scientific result, compel the materialist either to absolutely *spiritualize* matter in his conception, or admit the existence of a spiritual principle in man. In this way it will at once give psychology her due position in the sisterhood of sciences, and transfer this whole burden of proving the impossible to the shoulders of the materialist.

The advantages which will result from the employment of this new method will also be identical with those already indicated as sure to accrue from its adoption in the department of natural theology. What we have said of that reconstruction is equally true of this; it will relieve the science of an oppressive sense of failure, install the method dictated by the very nature of the science, and augment not only its apologetical, but also its polemical value for the theologian.* The parallelism between the present condition and prospective remoulding of the two departments is thus so complete as to render it unnecessary to prolong our article with an express portraiture of the approaching transformation in psychology. Its characteristics are sufficiently evident from what we observed under the former head. We have only to point to the hopeful beginnings already made, and the multiplying auspices of a brightening future.

Here, then, we conclude our too protracted investigations, and in a parting word dismiss the reader, with thanks commensurate to the patience we have laid claim to.

* The last of these assertions is no random one. It has already been verified in Germany. Materialism never before found such scientific champions; such favoring popular and philosophical tendencies never arose in so truly threatening a form as in 1854–1856 here in the fatherland. And yet never was its defeat more signal. It was so immediately and so completely annihilated by the physicists and psychologists, that scarce a theologian felt called upon to enter the arena. *Moleschott*, *Karl Vogt*, *Büchner*, and *Czolbe* represented an amount of learning and talent such as had never before been enlisted in a concentrated attack upon spiritualism; but they found more than equals in *Julius Schaller*, *F. W. Pittmann*, *J. H. Fichte*, *J. Frohschammer*, *F. Fabri*, *A. Weber*, and others of like caliber. Within two years from the time of the promulgation of this new edition of "the dirt philosophy" it had become the joke of almost every laboratory and philosophical auditorium in the land. The credit of the speedy and brilliant victory was largely due to this new and truly philosophical psychological method.

It will be seen that we have not aimed to argue down the old theory of physics, nor to argue up the new. This was no part of our immediate purpose. All we have sought to do is, first, to call attention to the change which has undeniably taken place in the scientific doctrine of matter; secondly, to show how this change is slowly but surely unsettling the old metaphysical underworks of important theological doctrines, and finally to discuss the possibilities of our advantageous reconstruction of these unsettled underworks. In sitting down to this task we had not the remotest intention of critically discussing the validity of any theory, physical or theological, old or new. Whatever we may have said, therefore, which might seem to have a polemic bearing is only incidental to the main discussion, introduced not for the sake of recommending personal hobbies, but because it seemed due to the reader to know the exact standpoint of the essay. We wish the article to be regarded then, not as an attack upon cherished views, or as a plea for theories whose discussion and settlement lies beyond the proper pale of theology, but simply as an honest effort toward orientation in our department, as a conscientious endeavor to answer the plain matter of fact, yet right weighty questions, Where are we? Whither drifting? Is there danger ahead? The question for the reader to pass judgment upon is, therefore, not, Is this new theory of physics true? but, (1.) Is it a fact that the old doctrine of matter as inherently and essentially inert, has been generally abandoned by scientific men? (2.) Will the natural effects of its abandonment be such as are here described? (3.) In such a case will the changes above portrayed as necessary and beneficial actually take place?

We call attention thus expressly to this point, not because of any lack of confidence in the dynamic view of physics, but from an apprehension that the reader's natural opposition to every view conflicting with his own chosen one might possibly divert him from the real purpose and point of the discussion. As to the scientific revolution, we scarcely need say that we regard it as a grand and auspicious advance. It inaugurates a fresh, truthful, realistic view of nature. The world it gives us is no mammoth mechanism, no self-acting, self-sustaining orrery, nor on the other hand is it a vast aggregate of sand-

grains, magnetized by constant divine energy into coherent masses, and manipulated by incessant exertions of main force. It gives us just such a world as we find out of doors—a world of real matter, solid, extended, safe to tread about on, but, at the same time, mobile, plastic, growthful. We view it as a part of that grand intellectual movement which promises to speedily supersede our lingering remnants of Lockian and Coleridgian aberration, by bringing in a broader and truer school of thought than has ever yet found place in Anglo-Saxon, or indeed in human history. We regard it as one of the pledges of a philosophy which, instead of making the categories of Spinoza, or Des Cartes, or Hamilton the measure of all being and of all beings, will humbly go forth in the genuine Baconian spirit and taking a learner's place at the feet of nature and of God, docilely inquire after the categories determined by the Creator's mind, and realized by his creative will. But all this is aside from the great practical question of the hour. The tendency of the new doctrine of physics is undeniably revolutionary in the department of theology, and *something* must be done. Should any redoubtable champion of deistic mechanism, or of immediate divine agency, descry relief only in the reassertion of the old doctrine of matter, then let him enter the appropriate forum—that of natural science—and scientifically refute the dynamic theory. The believer in second causes, however, either material or spiritual, has a different task. His theological metaphysics have become untenable and *must* be reconstructed. His scientific treatises are already full of contradictions and sophisms. If he can find any safer or more advantageous basis on which to reconstruct them than that which we have suggested, he owes it to the cause of truth, to the cause of God's saving truth, to set it forth." "Quisquis haec legit, ubi pariter certus est, pergat mecum; ubi pariter haesitat, quaerat mecum: ubi errorem suum cognoscit, redeat ad me; ubi meum, revocet me."*

* Augustine, De Trinitate i, 3.

Art. IV.—THE AUTHOR OF GENESIS.

The enemies of divine revelation have generally commenced their assaults upon it with the Old Testament, and more especially with the first five books. Perceiving the intimate connection of these books with those that follow, they have felt that if they could destroy the credit of these, the conquest of the remainder would not be difficult.

The first to assail the Old Testament, and particularly the writings of Moses, were the Gnostics of the second century and the Manicheans of the fourth. Regarding matter as essentially evil and the source of all evil, they could not believe, with Moses, that the Supreme Being created this material world or the corruptible bodies of men. The material creation must have been the work of some inferior and malicious divinity. Hence they discarded the writings of Moses, and profanely corrupted the Old Testament generally.

After the disappearance of these heresies, and the overthrow of Paganism in the Roman empire, we hear of little or no direct opposition to the Scriptures for the next thousand years. Numerous other errors and controversies arose, but the great controversy respecting the fundamental documents of our faith was permitted to slumber.

By the English infidels of the seventeenth century the question was revived as to the authenticity and genuineness of the books of Moses. Thomas Hobbes, in his "Leviathan," says, "It is sufficiently evident that the five books of Moses were written after his time." Spinoza, who was a Jew, advanced the same opinion; the Pentateuch, he thought, could not have been written before the time of Ezra. Others followed in a similar strain, as Blount, Toland, Morgan, and Bolingbroke.

But the most numerous and violent assaults upon the Mosaic writings, in modern times, have come from Germany. Near the close of the last century commenced, in that country, the era of what has been called "historical criticism." This demolishing criticism was first employed upon the Greek and Latin classics. In the year 1795, Wolf, the philologist, published his "Prolegomena to the Homeric Poems," in which he endeavored

to show that the Iliad and Odyssey are not the works of Homer, or of any one else, but are made up of fragments, loosely put together, and are to be ascribed to different authors. He next took in hand the Orations of Cicero, and declared, with regard to four of these, that "Cicero could never have written them, sleeping or waking." Niebuhr followed in the same strain, and "after demolishing Livy's beautiful fabric in regard to the early history of Rome, attempted to reconstruct it on a more philosophical basis."

From this period, discredit or contempt was continually heaped upon some of the most valuable remains of antiquity. Herodotus was a garrulous story-teller, pleasing to children, but not to men. The genuineness of some of the most undoubted of Plato's Dialogues was called in question. Even Thucydides did not entirely escape this destructive criticism.

Under these circumstances, it was not to be expected that the sacred books of the Old Testament would pass unmolested. All sorts of theories were invented to account for some of them, more especially the books of Moses. While it was insisted by all that Moses could not have written them, no two could agree as to the real author or authors, or as to the period to which they should be assigned. All periods were proposed, from Joshua to the Maccabees; and all authors mentioned, whether known or unknown in Jewish history. The famous Document and Fragment theories were for a time immensely popular, representing the Pentateuch, as Wolf had done the Homeric poems, as a sort of patchwork, originated at different periods and by different hands, and put together by some one, nobody could tell who. The fragments of which it was composed were many, and were designated by various names, the more prominent of which were the "Elohistic" and the "Jehovistic," since in the former, the name given to the Supreme Being is constantly Elohim, and in the latter, Jehovah. Much labor was employed in parceling out the sacred text on this principle, assigning one portion to the one class of fragments, and another to another.

After all, it appears that there is no sufficient ground for the supposed division, since, parcel out the fragments as we may, the two names of the Supreme Being occur promiscuously in both. Thus in Genesis ii, 4, which is said to be Jehovistic, the

two names of God occur together. "These are the generations of the heavens and the earth, in the day when Jehovah Elohim made the earth and the heavens." So in the fifth chapter of Genesis, which is Elohistic, the word Jehovah appears, verse 29. Also the passage in Genesis vii, 9–24, is pronounced Elohistic; but in verse 16 we find Jehovah. We give but one example more: the forty-ninth chapter of Genesis is throughout an Elohistic document, but in verse 18 we have these words of the Patriarch Jacob, "I have waited for thy salvation, O Jehovah." Difficulties such as these have divided all Germany, arraying critic against critic in strange confusion; no one seeming to suspect that the theory which had been assumed was a baseless one, contradicted perpetually and flatly by the sacred text.

One of the last specimens of the "document theory" comes to us, not from Germany, but from the Princeton Review. Without thinking to detract aught from the divine authority or inspiration of what is commonly called *the book* of Genesis, the writer at Princeton represents this book as made up of *eleven books*, each distinct and complete in itself, and all of them anonymous, with which Moses seems to have had nothing to do.*

This scheme, however, did not originate at Princeton. It was first broached by Astrück, a French physician, in 1753, and was adopted in part by Eichorn, Ilgen, and various other German critics. It is strange that the readers of the Bible for the last three thousand years should not have discovered the lines of demarkation between these eleven books of which Genesis is thought to be composed, if they are really there. The truth is, they are not there. There are different subjects treated of in this book, and different views presented; and corresponding to them are sectional divisions, as there are in other books; but the book of Genesis is manifestly *one*. It has a beginning, a progress, a plan, and an end; and is as well entitled to be considered one book—the work, under God, of one individual mind—as any of our sacred books.

Instead of inquiring as to the author of the Pentateuch in general, I shall confine attention almost entirely to the first book. I do this because the difficulty of the subject mainly centers here, and because the authorship of the four remaining

* Number for January, 1861, p. 51.

books is expressly and repeatedly ascribed to Moses. "When Moses had made an end of writing the words of this law in a book, *until they were finished*, he said to the Levites, which bare the ark of the covenant of the Lord, Take this book of the law, and put it in the side of the ark of the covenant of the Lord your God, that it may be there for a witness." Deut. xxxi, 24. If the four last books of the Pentateuch are true, then Moses wrote them, and (with the exception of the last chapter of Deuteronomy) the question of their genuineness is at an end. Assuming, therefore, that Moses wrote *these* books, let us inquire as to the author of the book of Genesis. Was this also written by Moses, or is it to be ascribed to some other hand?

It is obvious that no objection can be urged against the claim of Moses to be the author of this book, drawn from any cotemporary literature, for no such literature exists. There is no writing extant which comes within a thousand years of Moses, unless it be found in our other sacred books, or possibly in the Vedas of India, or among the buried ruins of Chaldea and Egypt; and certainly no testimony can be gathered from either of these sources against the genuineness of this book.

It has been said that Moses could not have written Genesis, or any other of the books ascribed to him, because alphabetic writing was then unknown. But it is now universally admitted that the art of writing was known in Egypt, in Chaldea, and probably in some other countries, long before the time of Moses. "Several kinds of alphabetic writing," says Humboldt, "were in existence in Asia in *the earliest times*." The Egyptians attributed the discovery of letters to Thoth, or, in other words, to divine inspiration. Gesenius has no doubt that the art of writing was known in Egypt some five hundred years before the time of Moses. Olshausen says that "at a period extending back of all sure chronology, the Phenicians and Hebrews were in possession of an alphabet." The probability is that alphabetic writing was in use among the antediluvians, and that, like many other arts, it survived the flood.

It has been insisted that Moses could not have written the books ascribed to him, because the style is so very like to that of the later Hebrew books. It would have exhibited greater peculiarities, numerous archaisms, had it belonged to the age of Moses. To this we reply, in the first place, that the style of

the Pentateuch *has* some peculiarities. It differs somewhat from that of the later Hebrew books. That it does not more widely differ is owing, undoubtedly, to the unchangeableness of the habits, customs, and modes of speech which prevail in oriental countries. In this respect they are exceedingly different from the nations of Europe. "Progress," it has been said, "is the law of the West; stability, of the East." The occidental languages are subject to the same ceaseless change which characterizes all other things. The oriental pursues, in general, the same course of life; he rehearses the same allegories and apothegms, expressed in the same terms, which delighted his ancestors a thousand years ago. The books of Samuel must have been written hundreds of years before the prophecy of Malachi, yet the style of the two is not essentially different. Some of the Psalms were written after the captivity, and yet their style and idiom are in all important respects the same as those which were composed by David. The same fixedness of character which attaches to the Hebrew, belongs also to the other Semitic languages. For many centuries the Syriac and Arabic underwent almost no change.

It is insisted that there are discrepancies and contradictions in the book of Genesis, which show that it could not have been the work of one man, and especially of so wise a man as Moses. The first of these which I shall notice relates to the names of Esau's wives. In Genesis xxxvi, 1, 2, the wives of Esau are said to have been Adah the daughter of Elon the Hittite, Aholibamah the daughter of Anah the Hivite, and Bashemath the daughter of Ishmael. But in other passages, their names are Judith the daughter of Beeri the Hittite, Bashemath the daughter of Elon the Hittite, and Mahalath the daughter of Ishmael.* The variation in the names of the wives of Esau is easily accounted for, from the frequent changes of name which took place in the East in ancient times, of which we have many examples in the Scriptures. These changes were common among females at the time of marriage. Mahalath and Bashemath are undoubtedly names of the same person, a daughter of Ishmael, and Esau's third wife. So Adah and Bashemath belong to the same person, a daughter of Elon the Hittite; and Aholibamah and Judith belong to the same person, the daugh-

* Genesis xxvi, 34, and xxviii, 9.

ter of Anah, also called Beeri, the Hittite or Hivite. The reason why Anah, the father of this last woman, is called Beeri, is given in another passage. "This is that Anah that found *the warm springs* in the wilderness, as he fed the asses of Zibeon his father." Genesis xxxvi, 24. Consequently, he was called *Beeri*, "the man of the springs."* A better acquaintance with oriental names and customs would have entirely obviated the charge of contradiction in the passages above referred to.

A contradiction has been charged upon the author of the book of Genesis, in relation to the number of Jacob's family who went into Egypt. In chapter xlvi, 26, they are said to have been sixty-six; in the very next verse they are said to have been seventy; while Stephen, in Acts vii, 14, makes them seventy-five. But this diversity results from the different ways in which the family are reckoned. Reckoning only the lineal descendants of Jacob, excluding also the patriarch himself, and Joseph and his two sons who were already in Egypt, the number is sixty-six. Adding Jacob, Joseph, and his two sons to the sixty-six, the number is seventy. Excluding these last four, and adding nine, the number of Jacob's sons' wives who went into Egypt, the number is seventy-five. And that the sons' wives were included in the reckoning of Stephen is evident from the language employed: "*All his kindred* were threescore and fifteen souls." The sons' wives surely were in the number of Jacob's kindred.

There is another difficulty connected with this subject, growing out of the ages of some who are said to have gone into Egypt. Benjamin, at this time, could not have been more than twenty-five years of age; yet he is said to have had ten sons. Genesis xlvi, 21. Pharez, a son of Judah, could not have been more than twelve years old at the time of the descent into Egypt; yet he is said to have had two children, Hezron and Hamul. Genesis xlvi, 12. It is evident from the sacred history that most of the family of Jacob married young, very young. Thus, Dinah could not have been more than fifteen years old when her hand was solicited by Shechem. Genesis xxxiv. Yet this consideration will hardly account for the facts above stated.

* The Hebrew word here rendered *warm springs* is in our translation improperly rendered *mules*. It is doubtful whether mules were in use in Canaan at so early a period.

I acquiesce, therefore, in the opinion of learned commentators, that some of these children must have been born in Egypt, although, for reasons unknown to us, their names appear on the catalogue in Genesis xlvi. The children of Joseph, whose names are on this catalogue, were certainly born in Egypt. "Everything," says Hengstenberg, "turns on this point, whether, in the belief of the author of Genesis, all the individuals named in the above catalogue went down into Egypt, or whether some few of them were born there." The latter is the opinion of Hengstenberg, as also of many others; and if this be admitted, the difficulty at once disappears.

It is further objected that there are anachronisms in the book of Genesis; that events are referred to, and names given, which were unknown until long after Moses's death. Of this description is Hebron, so called in Genesis xiii, 18, which it is assumed, from Joshua xiv, 15, was not called Hebron until after the entrance into Canaan, its ancient designation having been Kirjath-arba. The very opposite of this, however, is the truth. The most ancient name of the place was Hebron. It was also called Mamre, from an Amorite prince who possessed the oak groves in the vicinity, and who was confederate with Abraham. At a later period the Anakim got possession of the place, when it received the name of Kirjath-Arba, or the City of Arba, who was a great man among the giants. After the conquest of Canaan by the Israelites, they restored the ancient name of the place, and called it Hebron.

In Genesis xiv, 14, it is said that Abraham pursued the confederate kings, who had carried Lot into captivity, unto Dan. It is assumed that this was the place long afterward called Dan from its being in possession of the Danites, one of the tribes of Israel. But it seems from 2 Samuel xxiv, 6, that there was a city in Syria, not far from Damascus, which was called by the ancients Dan, or Dan-jaan. This may have been so called in the time of Abraham, and is very likely to be the place referred to in Genesis xiv, 14.

In Genesis xii, 6, it is said that when Abraham first went into Canaan, "the Canaanite was then in the land;" implying, it is objected, that when this passage was written the Canaanite was not in the land; but the Canaanites kept possession of the land till after the death of Moses, consequently Moses could

not have written this part of Genesis. But here again the objector only shows his own ignorance. The Canaanites originally dwelt near the Persian Gulf, and had no inheritance in the land of Canaan, which God had promised to Abraham. But the Canaanites emigrated and got possession of Canaan before Abraham arrived there. The design of the sacred writer is to show that when Abraham went to take possession of the land which God had promised him, the Canaanites had anticipated him; they were there before him. Accordingly, the passage may be rendered, "The Canaanite was *already* in the land."

It has been thought by some that the catalogue of the kings and dukes of Edom, recorded in Genesis xxxvi, comes down much later than the time of Moses. But recent investigations have refuted these conjectures. It now appears that the kings of Edom here spoken of, and the dukes of Edom, were cotemporaries; the kings having the chief command, and the dukes, or sheiks, as they are now called, being princes under them. The names of only eight kings occur in the catalogue, and surely there was time enough between Esau and Moses, a period of more than two hundred years, for these eight to have reigned and passed away.

I shall notice but another alleged anachronism, and that in connection with this very subject. In Genesis xxxvi, 31, it is said, "These are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom, before there reigned any king over the children of Israel." This language is thought to imply that at the time when it was written, a king had reigned over the children of Israel. Of course it could not have been written by Moses, or by any one previous to the time of Saul. But this conclusion is not so sound as at first view it appears; for although no king had reigned over Israel in the time of Moses, kings had been *predicted* and *promised*. Thus it was said to Jacob, in the preceding chapter, "Kings shall come out of thee." Genesis xxxv, 11. Also in Deuteronomy xvii, 14–20, Moses tells the people that the time will come when they will desire a king, and will have one; and he goes on to give directions as to the manner in which the king shall rule. In this view, it was perfectly natural for Moses to use the language above quoted, "These eight kings reigned in Edom before any king reigned over the children of Israel;" before the time had come when, in the purpose and

promise of God, the Israelites were to have a king. Thus explained, there is no anachronism or inconsistency in the case.

Having thus disposed of the principal objections to the claims of Moses to be the author of Genesis, I proceed to urge reasons in favor of this supposition. We have assumed already that Moses wrote the remaining books of the Pentateuch. He is expressly spoken of as their author; and from the very contents of the books it is plain that he must have been. No one else, of whom we have any knowledge, could have written them. But if Moses wrote the four last books of the Pentateuch, the conclusion is irresistible that he wrote the first. The first five books of the Bible evidently belong together. They form one connected whole. Hence they were appropriately classed together by the Hebrews, and collectively called *the Law*. They were also classed together by the Seventy, and called *the Pentateuch*, or the volume of five books. To this one volume, one work, the book of Genesis is the proper introduction. The other books, without this, would be irretrievably imperfect; a column without a foundation; this, without the others, would be a foundation without a column. The design of the book of Genesis was to introduce the history of God's ancient covenant people. The other books continue the history until their entrance into the promised land. Such being the character and object of the Pentateuch, it is obvious that it can have had but one author. If Moses wrote the four last books of the Pentateuch, the inference is that he wrote the first.

There is no resisting this conclusion unless there shall be found some positive evidence to the contrary. But such evidence cannot be found. We have seen already that there is no *internal* evidence against the genuineness of the book, while the *external* evidence is all in favor of the claims of Moses. The Jews, from the earliest period of their history, have ascribed the entire Pentateuch to Moses. They have classed the five books together, and called them, collectively, "the law of Moses," implying that Moses wrote them all. There is no opposing testimony from the Jews; from first to last it all runs in the same channel, indicating Moses as the author of the first five of their sacred books. Thus Josephus, speaking, in his work against Apion, of the sacred books of the Jews, says, "*Five* belong to Moses, which contain his laws, and the tradi-

tions of the origin of mankind till his death."—*Book I, sec.* 8. Also in the first book of his Antiquities, Josephus continually speaks of Moses as the author of Genesis.

Nor in proof of this point do we rely alone on Jewish testimony. Nicolaus of Damascus, the cotemporary and friend of Augustus Cesar, speaking of the individual who escaped from the deluge, says: "This may be the man about whom Moses, the legislator of the Jews, wrote."* If Moses wrote of this man, Noah, then he must have written Genesis. So Longinus, in his treatise on the Sublime, quotes the passage in the first chapter of Genesis, "Let there be light, and there was light," and refers it to "the legislator of the Jews."—*Sec.* 9.

But, more than all, we have the testimony of Christ to the fact that Moses wrote the book of Genesis. Thus, he divides the Old Testament Scriptures, after the manner of the Jews, into three parts, "the law of Moses, the prophets, and the psalms." Luke xxiv, 44. There can be no question that the first of these divisions includes the first five books of the Bible, and these are expressly ascribed to Moses.† Our Saviour calls them "the law of Moses." Hence, Moses must have written them all.

Will it be said that our Saviour merely adopts here the current phraseology of his countrymen? We admit it. But by adopting their phraseology does he not sanction it? Would he have adopted it and used it if it were not true?

It is said of our Saviour, as he conversed with the two disciples on the way to Emmaus, that, "beginning at Moses, and all the prophets, he expounded unto them in *all the Scriptures* the things concerning himself." Luke xxiv, 27. No one can doubt that there are predictions of Christ in the book of Genesis. There is the original promise to our first parents. There is the promise to Abraham that "in his seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed." There is the prediction of Jacob about the coming of Shiloh, unto whom shall the gathering of the people be. Now our Saviour must have touched upon these predictions, and he ascribes them to Moses. "*Beginning*

* In Josephus's Antiquities, Book I, chap. iii, sec. 6.

† If any one doubts whether Genesis is included in what the Hebrews called the law, we may refer them to Gal. iv, 21: "Tell me, ye that desire to be under the law, do ye not hear *the law*? For it is written that Abraham had two sons," etc., quoting from Genesis. Here Genesis is included in what is called *the law*.

at Moses, and all the prophets, he expounded unto them, in *all the Scriptures*, the things concerning himself."

There is yet another passage in which our Saviour ascribes the writing of Genesis to Moses: "Moses, therefore, gave you circumcision, (not because it is of Moses, but of the fathers,) and ye, on the eighth day, circumcise a man." John vii, 22. In what sense can it be said that Moses gave to the Israelites circumcision? Not that he instituted it, or ever enjoined it, (except once in a very incidental way, Lev. xii, 3,) or caused it to be practiced in the congregation of Israel during their sojourn in the wilderness. For some reason unknown to us circumcision was neglected by the Israelites while they were under the direction of Moses. Josh. v, 5. In what sense, then, can it be said that Moses gave to the Israelites circumcision? In no other sense but this that I can conceive of: Moses *recorded* the institution of circumcision in the seventeenth chapter of the book of Genesis. In other words, *he wrote this book.* To all the other evidence that Moses wrote the book of Genesis I feel authorized, therefore, to add this—the decisive testimony of our Lord Jesus Christ.

But on the supposition that Moses wrote the book of Genesis, how did he become acquainted with the facts therein recorded, more especially those relating to the creation and to the events of antediluvian history? I answer: Some of them were made known to him by direct revelation. They could not have been known—to him or to any one else—in any other way. Some of these facts may have come down to Moses by tradition; nor in so doing need they have passed through many hands. For Adam was for two hundred and forty-three years cotemporary with Methuselah; Methuselah may have conversed a hundred years with Shem; Shem was for fifty years cotemporary with Jacob, and may have conversed with the parents of Moses. Thus the traditions of the earliest times may have come to Moses through only four or five hands.

If any are of the opinion that in composing the book of Genesis Moses availed himself of records which were made in antediluvian and patriarchal times, I have no objection to such an hypothesis; nor does it militate at all against the divine authority and inspiration of the book. The writers of the books of Kings and Chronicles undoubtedly availed themselves

of such records, and yet the books are undoubtedly of divine authority. Whatever assistance of this kind Moses may have had in writing Genesis, he was directed by the Spirit just what to take and what to omit or correct, and the whole is as much of divine original as though it had been penned directly by himself.

On the whole, we have much reason to be thankful for the book of Genesis: that it is one book; that it was given us by Moses, and is an integral part of the great work of the Pentateuch, which he was commissioned to prepare for the Church and the world. Especially should we be thankful that the first of our sacred books carries with it such indubitable evidence of having come from God, an inspired record of his truth and will; and that its venerable author was one of those "holy men of God who spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost."

Art. V.—SIMON EPISCOPIUS.

FROM THE LATIN OF STEPHEN CURCELLÆUS.

Simon Episcopius was born in Amsterdam, the world-renowned emporium of the Belgic Republic, in the year of the Christian era 1583, the year in which Zacharias Ursinus, the very learned Professor of Theology at Neustadt, and writer of the Heidelberg Catechism, died. His parents were Egbert Remmetzen Bisschop and Gertrude Jans, persons of blameless morals, whose attachments to the reformed religion was earnest, and attended with the perils usual in those times and places. They were joined in wedlock in 1572, a year rendered famous by the terrible persecution of the reformed in the chief cities of France. Ten children were the fruits of their union, namely, seven boys in uninterrupted succession, and afterward three girls, all of whom, with the exception of Rembert, Jan, and our Simon, died in infancy or early life. Rembertus, the oldest, (of whom we shall take subsequent opportunity to speak,) attained to the age of fifty-three years, and died leaving behind him two daughters. In gracious mercy did God preserve Jan,

healthy and vigorous, till his seventieth year, blessed with a numerous progeny of sons and daughters. Simon was next to the youngest of the boys. When he had given no slight indications of a happy disposition and of a tenacious memory, although his parents had not for so large a number of children resources sufficiently ample for sustaining the expenses of a liberal education, yet by the advice of his brother Rembert, joined with an offer on the part of Cornelius Benning, a gentleman of consular rank, they were induced to devote him to the pursuits of literature. Accordingly he was placed under the instruction of Peter Veckemann, a celebrated rector of the school at that time, where he made such rapid progress in the Latin and Greek languages, that by various distinguished gentlemen he was commended to the honorable Senate of the Amsterdam Republic, who (although his parents were at first unwilling, but at last yielded to the entreaties of Joannes Kucklinus and James Arminius) received him among the number of their alumni, and afterward displayed toward him the highest evidences of their regard. Having passed through his boyhood's studies in his native city, he was announced by the curators of the school in the year 1600 as one worthy of being promoted to the academy, where he might pursue a higher course of studies. Accordingly he was sent to Leyden, to the college of the illustrious states of Holland and West Friesland, the president of which, John Kucklinus, was united with his parents in the closest ties of friendship, and was employed by the inhabitants of Amsterdam in the sacred ministry. Not long after our Simon lost both of his dearly beloved parents; first his father, whom God called to himself from this mortal life in the year 1602, and his mother in the year following. But by this sad fortune he was neither delayed nor impeded in the course of his studies; for after he had given his attention as earnestly as was necessary to lighter studies, he more studiously pursued philosophy, and being determined to obtain a thorough mastery of all its branches, he applied himself to it with unwearied industry. At the end of this time he turned his attention to theology, which was the final object of all his labors, studied it not carelessly, and finally returned to the secret recesses of philosophy. Finally, because the laws of the college in which he lived required, and because his private

means demanded, he applied for the title of Master of Arts, for which after a severe examination he was esteemed worthy, and was publicly honored in the year 1607 by Rudolphus Snelling, the Professor of Mathematics. He soon determined to devote his whole attention to theology, in which he had made not a little advancement, and to which he believed himself consecrated. Not being able to realize his desire, with which he had become inspired, of seeing other institutions, he was compelled to remain for two years and more at Leyden. Meantime with earnestness did he listen to the lectures of those very learned professors, Francis Gomarus, Luke Trelcatius, and James Arminius; and in the exercises of debates and harangues, which they commonly call *theses*, he left many of his equals far in the distance, and was highly esteemed as one worthy of being called to the ministry of the divine word. But when, especially after the death of Trelcatius, that terrible discussion on predestination, which afterwafd agitated all Holland, finally arose, and was not only secretly carried on between the two professors, but also broke forth into open violence, our Episcopius became favorably inclined toward the Arminian doctrines. For this reason he received little favor from the pastors on the opposite side of the controversy, so that when the very illustrious councils of the state of Amsterdam, to whom the singular learning and piety of Episcopius had become known, would have invited him to become their preacher, these pastors, by causing delays, entirely frustrated the plans of the councils. Episcopius, disheartened at this affair, determined to leave the academy at Leyden, and in the year 1609 (in which year Arminius died) he betook himself to the Francker Academy, belonging to the Frisii, incited especially by the fame of that most illustrious man and learned professor of the sacred language, John Drusius. But there he displayed, as youths of a bold mind are wont, such a zeal in the theological discussions, that he gave not a little offense to Sibrandus Lubbertus, a professor of that academy. Accordingly a few months after he departed and came into France, where in a brief space of time he obtained so fair a mastery of the French language that he not only understood it, but could speak it with considerable ease and purity. Finally, in the year 1610, he returned to his native land only to receive the same tokens of

ill-will from the ministers of Amsterdam as had been displayed before his departure. His piety and learning, however, which could not be concealed, and which were established by the unequivocal testimonies of the Churches and academies where he had lived, finally overcame all obstacles; so that, the ministerial *classis* not making further opposition, he was called by the most illustrious Senate of Rotterdam to the pastoral office at Bleiswick. In a colloquy between six Remonstrant pastors and as many Contra-remonstrants, held in the assembly of the great states of Holland and West Friesland in the year 1611, he, as if in an illustrious theater, displayed such talents, skill, and uncommon ability in sacred letters and theological controversies, that it was recognized by all. Accordingly the fame of his learning and eloquence spread abroad far and wide through Belgium, so that he was solicited by more than one celebrated state, especially Utrecht, to become the minister among them. But when the Bleiswickians could by no means be induced to consent to his departure, he greatly distinguished the *Sparta* which he had there obtained. At length, in the year 1612, he was called to the theological professorship by the most noble curators of the academy at Leyden, in the place of Francis Gomarus, who, of his own accord, had vacated the position. Although he with great modesty esteemed himself unable in those difficult times to perform such duties, yet yielding more to others than to his own judgment, and especially induced by the authority and entreaties of some of the greatest men in Church and State, he listened to the call of God, and in that professorship, not without divine approval and blessing, he was employed in a friendly and pleasant spirit with John Polyander, and his colleague who differed from him in regard to the predestinarian controversy.

With how great zeal and ability Episcopius held the position of theological professor, undertaken in the most celebrated Atheneum of the Belgic Federation, his accurate commentaries upon the second and third chapter of the Apocalypse, upon the first Epistle of John, upon the Gospel of St. Matthew, and other of his theological works, besides the public and private disputation published by us three years before, shall, with God's blessing upon our part, be abundant public testimony. But perhaps these were the least parts of his labors if

they are compared with the cares which those troublesome times were constantly rendering excessive, or with those dangers which he often incurred, or with those contumelies by which he was attacked and his name villified. For when those predestinarian controversies were raging in Belgium, and were extending from the professors' chairs at the academy to the pulpits of the churches, and afterward even to the populace, then the nobles, whose duty it was to furnish a remedy for so great an evil, were divided into contrary factions, so that turn what way you would no peaceful scene could you meet. The greatest force of this tempest burst upon those of the Remonstrants most celebrated for their learning, to whom the populace, ignorant of the truth and accustomed to be led more by passion than by calm reason, imputed the blame of all these disturbances. These things grievously afflicted the calm and charitable mind of Episcopius, and he was scarcely able to utter the prayers and breathings which daily he would express from his heart to God. A circumstance occurred about this time which hardly ought to be passed over in silence, and which happened to him in the second year of his professorship. When at Leyden, he journeyed to Amsterdam for the purpose of witnessing the baptism of Gertrude, the daughter of his brother Jan, and the minister, Caspar Heyden, interrogated him with the other witnesses, "*Whether or not they confessed all that was contained in the Old and New Testaments and in the Apostolic Creed, and that also which was taught in that Church (namely, at Amsterdam) to be the true and perfect doctrine of Salvation*, these words also being added, *What do you say to these things?* Episcopius, as the leader, immediately replied that he *held for the true doctrine of salvation all that was taught in accordance with the word of God, and the Apostolic Creed according as the customary formulas, from which these questions usually were taken, were worded.* This answer, although given in a calm and modest manner, so aroused the wrath of Heyden that, calling him in contempt a *young man*, he reproached him as *very bold and presumptuous*, since he did not fear to speak thus in the Church of Christ. To all this Episcopius replied that he was prepared to depart if the preachers were unwilling to admit of that limitation comprehended in the formula of baptism, where, after mention is made

of the Old and New Testament, these words are added: *and accordingly is taught in the Christian Church.* But Heyden once more reproving his so-called insolence, and receiving no further reply from Episcopius, proceeded at once to baptize the infant. For this deed when Episcopius was leaving the house he was met by some of the dregs of the populace, who had been incited by the language of Heyden, and being received with revilings, was called a seditious person and a disturber of the peace of the Church. After departing from the temple he was in great danger of injury from their fists and from stones, certain persons instigating the young men who were present to these deeds of violence. But guarded by the kind care and protection of God, who restrained the wrath of these wicked men, safe and unharmed he returned to his friends. Some persons not ill-disposed, but not fully understanding the circumstances of the case, believed that his reply to Heyden was imprudent, and that it would have been sufficient to have assented at the time without exception and simply to the question, and upon a more suitable occasion to have declared his opinions. And thus judged James, King of Great Britain, when the circumstance was narrated to him in a way quite otherwise than truly. But Episcopius was induced to speak thus openly, among other reasons, by a circumstance which occurred a few months before. John Uitenbogært, the celebrated preacher of the Hague, was once asked a like deceitful question, and, not aware of the deception, answered (as was customary) in a clear voice, YES! Soon after, walking through, the public streets, he was pointed out as one who had given up his opinions in favor of Remonstrantism, which formerly he had professed. Episcopius, warned by this example, thought best that such a result should be avoided for himself.

Not long after a blacksmith in this same city, having seen Episcopius passing his shop, seized the iron bar upon which he was working, and, angrily calling him an Arminian and a disturber of the peace of the Church, chased him with the purpose of murder. This danger he escaped by flight and through the interference of other men. But scarcely had one wave of misfortune rolled over his head than he was met by another. His eldest brother Rembert, together with his wife, Elizabeth Phillips, a most pious lady, who had attained the advanced age of

eighty years, was strongly inclined to the opinions of the Remonstrants on predestination, and for the reputation of this was known and hated by the populace of Amsterdam of the opposite faction. At length their unfriendly spirit displayed itself upon the nineteenth day of February, 1617. The report was spread abroad, but evidently false, that some of the Remonstrants would meet together to hold preaching at his residence. Here about a hundred worthless fellows having collected, and having first poured a shower of stones upon the windows, they broke the door by means of a beam, entered the house, and proceeded to destroy everything they met; to drink or pour out the sacramental elements, which were in the cellar; to break open twelve chests, to steal a bag full of money, to carry away garments, linen, pictures, books, household furniture, and, in short, whatever was portable, leaving nothing entire and uninjured. Then they proceeded to the destruction of the roof and the leveling of the house to the ground. This they would have accomplished had not the fear of a magistrate approaching prevented them. In the meanwhile, his wife had been compelled to flee and seek safety in a neighboring house. Rembert Bisschop, perceiving himself alone and destitute of support, betook himself to the highest part of the roof, and dragged the ladder by which he ascended up after him, and thus escaped the imminent danger of his life. The probable damages amounted to over six thousand florins; and had not the crowd been delayed in opening the door, thus giving them the opportunity of removing their money and more precious household goods to the nearest dwellings, they would have lost all their property, which was quite large, and been reduced to the direst necessity. To how great an extent this unexpected misfortune of his excellent brother, then earnestly engaged in his office, affected the mind of Episcopius, I leave to all who are not esteemed iron-hearted, or insensible to suffering. Added to this was a sense of the injuries inflicted more than once upon another of his brothers, John, by zealots from among the dregs of the populace, because he held in religious matters doctrines adverse to their own.

But these were only the preludes of more terrible and dangerous conflicts which awaited Episcopius. That famous Synod of Dort followed, and in how hostile a manner it bore

itself toward the Remonstrants its *Acts and History* so abundantly testify that it needs no repetition here. Yet I will relate a few matters which more especially concerned Episcopius. Although, from the compulsory abdication of the magistrates favoring mutual toleration, which occurred about this time, it was easy to conjecture that no good could come from the Synod of Dort, yet Episcopius, being invited to it by letters from the great states of Holland, in order that he might take his seat with the other professors of the Belgic Republic, immediately departed, with other of the remonstrant preachers, for Dort. But the Synod, although it was but one faction of the contending parties, boldly assumed to itself the right of judgment in its own case, and would not permit any of the Remonstrants to be present unless as persons arraigned before their tribunal. Every one who is not blinded by a love for his own opinions can see how little justice there was in this mode of procedure. But the Remonstrants, that they might not appear wanting to a good cause, yielded to necessity, and entered into the Synod with a firm and unwavering purpose. Episcopius thereupon delivered that celebrated *oration*, which may be perused in his *Acts*. When after this they declared themselves ready to enter upon a conference with the Synod, it replied, by the mouth of its president, that they had not met for a conference—a thing which was customary among equals—but for judgment, this authority having been conferred upon them by the states-general. The Remonstrants, however, not despairing for their cause, boldly laid their protestation before the Synod, to the effect that it consisted in the greatest part of their professed adversaries, who had previously condemned them and had separated from them, and that they did not deem such men fair judges of the controversy. Thereupon they girded themselves to the task of freely proposing, explaining, and defending their opinions to the best of their ability and their sense of propriety. This, they affirmed, had not only been permitted as a right, but expressly enjoined upon them in citatory letters from the deputies of the states-general. But when the Synod again sought to circumscribe this liberty under this limitation, "*so far as itself should judge sufficient and obligatory*," they declared themselves unable to agree to conditions so unfair as to compromise their cause. Accordingly

they were expelled from the Synod as persons unworthy of further notice, and the Synod proceeded to judge them by their writings. Meantime the Remonstrants, by the order of the states-general, drew up as an expression of their opinions those accurate *Writings* which, together with the *Acts* of the Synod, were afterward published, and received the approval of a majority of the most learned men in Europe. A gentleman of princely rank, upon perusing them, declared that *although the Synod of Dort had condemned the Remonstrants, yet the Remonstrants in their writings had triumphed over the Synod.* The greatest share of the praise belongs to Episcopius for his indefatigable energy and industry. Still I would in saying this do no injustice to the others who contributed not unwillingly their share to these *Writings*, especially to that reverend gentleman and most learned and faithful preacher in Amsterdam, Charles Niellius. He it was who prepared that vigorous dissertation on reprobation, and other writings contained in that volume. Finally, the judgment of the Synod was pronounced, in which the Remonstrants were condemned for the crime of a corrupt religious belief and discharged from their offices. In order that the condemnation might be fully carried into effect other pastors were substituted, and even introduced by an armed force, although the Churches were unwilling and were crying out against the procedure. And lest the Remonstrants, still inclined to their own opinions, should attempt to teach them, the states-general proposed an edict against them by which they must promise to abstain for the future from entering, *either directly or indirectly*, into any performance of their ministerial duties. When, forbidden by conscience, they could not subscribe to this, they were condemned to a perpetual exile. Then it was that the singular faith and nobility of spirit of Episcopius, and of other Remonstrants, shone forth brightly, because they could not be induced to bind themselves to the silence which they had been commanded to observe by any promise of payment of their salary which before they had enjoyed, although their family affairs were plunged into the greatest difficulty.

Episcopius and the other Remonstrants departed to the neighboring Brabant, and chose Antwerp as their home during the truce between the king of Spain and the states. This they did not indeed, as some evil-disposed persons and those desirous of

insulting them in their misfortune affirmed, to lay plans or form plots with the enemies of their country, but because the nearness of the place afforded a better position than one further away for keeping in view their beloved Churches and families. And with what fidelity they improved the talent received from God among the Brabanters, the works of Episcopius, excluding all other testimony, afford abundant proof. It was here that he published his *Discussion with Peter Wadding the Jesuit at Antwerp*, and the *Antidotes* against the Synod at Dort, the latter of which was prepared by the assistance of the other Remonstrant preachers at Brabant. The reasons for this work are clearly stated in the preface. It was not as a standard of schism by which to separate from those differing from them, nor as a fixed rule of faith, (which is with many a most pernicious abuse of confessions of this kind,) but only for silencing those who slanderously declared that the Remonstrants cherished in their heart doctrines so horrible that they dared not express them. To issue this confession was manifestly right, and in accordance with the advice contained in the third chapter and fifteenth verse of the first Epistle of Peter: *Be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason for the hope that is in you with meekness and fear.* The renewal of the war rendering it unsafe for Episcopius to tarry longer at Brabant, he journeyed into France, and lived mostly at Paris. In what way he spent his time in this country the following works will show: he here published his "*Paraphrase and Observations on the eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh chapters in the Epistle to the Romans;*" "*Bodecherus the Simple;*" "*Examination of the Theses of James Capellus;*" "*A Treatise upon the Christian Magistrate;*" "*Upon the Freedom of the Will;*" "*Reply to the Defense of John Cameron.*" I will now pause to commemorate the anxious care he displayed toward the Churches of his country, which, destitute in those times of persecution of their ordinary pastors, he instructed and consoled by various writings and letters, and encouraged to perseverance in the faith, or how he strove by different conversations with learned men, to bring them to a more accurate searching after the truth. It was then that *in Paris I first met him*, and listened to his discussions of subjects in religion, and learned so many things

from him, that I ever after imputed it to a singular good fortune ever to have contracted an acquaintance with so great a man. Edmund Mercer, also, that pious man and noted mathematician, enjoyed his friendship, which no distance of place or lapse of time ever served to diminish or destroy. He it was who superintended the publication of that work in which is contained an examination of the *Opinions of John Cameron on Grace and Free-Will*, and who published the *Letter of a Learned Man* written by Episcopius. Hugo Grotius esteemed Episcopius as one of his dearest friends, and upon the departure of the latter from France he confided to him as to a dear friend all his manuscript writings, and desired that they should go from his hand to posterity. At length Episcopius was filled with a desire of knowing more of France, of which he had as yet seen only the northern part. After returning to Paris he received the news that the ardor of persecution against the Remonstrants in his native land was somewhat on the wane. Accordingly he formed the design of visiting his former home, and in the year 1626, having left France, he arrived at Rotterdam. Here he rendered great assistance to a large Church of the Remonstrants who had collected here from the dispersion, and from thence consulted with the other Churches of Batavia. Nor did he the less boldly defend, partly in Belgic and partly in Latin, the cause of truth. He published in Latin "*A Defense of the Confession of the Remonstrants;*" "*A Reply to the Specimen of the Leyden Professors;*" "*Vedellius the Rhapsodist.*" In Belgic he published "*A Treatise concerning Antiquity against the Catholics,*" *three separate volumes in reply to James Triglandius*, then a preacher at Amsterdam, now a professor of theology at Leyden; a work in defense of the "*Narrow Gate,*" by Edward Poppius, and many other works. Having spent two years in this place, and the hopes of more peaceful times growing brighter and brighter, he began to think of choosing a wife. Accordingly he married Maria Pesser, widow of Henry Niellius, of whose younger brother, Charles, mention has been made before. He rejoiced in her not only as an earnest and loving assistant in household cares, but also as one surpassing him in piety toward God and love toward their neighbors. With her he lived in the greatest harmony until the year 1641, but no children were the fruits of their marriage. In the year

1634, he journeyed to the seminary of the Remonstrants at Amsterdam for the purpose of instructing the youths, who for the hope of the Church are educated in the theological branches. Let the faith and diligence he here exercised be again demonstrated by the works he wrote, and which we now give to the public. "*Theological Institutes*" and "*Responses to the Sixty-four Questions*" proposed to him by some of his followers; likewise those equally learned and eloquent *discourses* which he delivered to the people, a volume of which upon the third verse of the seventeenth chapter of St. John is now in press, and others, in God's pleasure, shall follow in due time. He produced also "*The True Remonstrant Theologian*," a work written in answer to the reiterated calumnies of Nicholas Vedellius, and the "*Response to the Ten Horns of the Catholic doctor*," and others. But while he was laying plans for weightier works, he incurred a very severe disease at Rotterdam, whither some business had compelled him to go in the year 1639, which kept him confined to his bed for many months, so that he was placed in extreme danger, and little hope was entertained for his life. Yet at length God restored him to life and health, and so strengthened him that he returned to his friends at Amsterdam, and resumed the duties of his professorship with not less zeal than formerly. It seemed best to the Remonstrants that for the benefit of the unlearned the easy *Institute of the Christian Religion*, or Catechism, should be published. In opposition to this work Abraham Heyden, then a preacher at Leyden, and afterward a professor of theology, published his *Examination*. Episcopius undertook a *Defense* of the Catechism, which was afterward published in a volume of some size. Finally, in the year 1643, and the sixtieth year of his age, he was afflicted with a slow disease which he had contracted on account of the death of his wife, and thus prevented from a further continuance of his labors. So deep was their mutual love that it seemed as if one soul occupied two bodies; and they were both prostrated by the same disease. Able and eminent physicians attended both, but with no effect, excepting that they caused Episcopius to linger a few days longer than his wife. About the seventh day before his death he lost the use of his eyes, a painful deprivation indeed to one expecting to live; but a deep sleep, into which he was most of the time

sunk, diminished the sense of his affliction. Meantime he deplored to his friends, who frequently visited him, his inability to longer be a servant in the Church of Christ. If, in his almost constant drowsiness, he enjoyed a wakeful moment, his words were replete with the piety he had always manifested and were full of faith in Christ. At length, upon the fourth of April, in the eighth hour of the morning, during an eclipse of the sun, he breathed his last. Of the death of this most excellent man the eclipse itself was a not inappropriate emblem, which deprived him until the resurrection, of just one part of the rays received from Christ, his sun, that he might pour them upon others; but the other part, still beaming in the learned writings which he left behind, shall dispel the shades of ignorance from the minds of many. Upon the fourth day subsequent his body was consigned to the tomb in the temple which they call Occidental, and where his wife was deposited before him. A great body of mourners of every class and condition followed him to his final resting-place. Many mourned his death, and many elegies were written in his honor, both in the Latin and the Belgic tongues. Of these tributes to his memory the one prefixed to his works, written by Caspar Barlæus, who himself died two years ago, is a suitable specimen.

I have thus far endeavored, with rude pencil, to delineate his external qualities. If now I can display with equal facility the remaining interior qualities of his mind, how great and how venerable a list of virtues will be laid before the view! He devoted himself to the divine glory and the salvation of his fellow-men, and the love of this constantly warmed his heart. First, the desire of peace and ecclesiastical harmony was an inherent quality of his mind, and by it he was prevented from any unnecessary schism, for which he entertained a most intense detestation. Next, patience and kindness, which he possessed, led him calmly to bear and forgive the injuries received from the vile. His liberality prompted him to relieve the necessities of the needy according to his ability. Not further to dwell particularly upon single items, let a retiring disposition close the list, by means of which his kind and worthy deeds in no way promoted his reputation. Content that God and a few of his fellow-men only should know, he kept his deeds in secret, and if any sense was left to his cold and lifeless remains most earnestly would he deprecate

this praise. Yet I cannot omit to relate, for his memory and for the benefit of others, those virtues which I discovered in him.

I do not forget the objections made by many of our adversaries that from the writings of Episcopius one would not judge him to have been a man of so great mildness, and that his love for the peace and harmony of the Church was not so great as we are wont to boast; and that he rebuked his opponents in bitter style, and that he cherished many religious controversies which it were better to have buried in the eternal silence. The reply to all this is easy. For though he might have replied in milder terms and smoother language, he had most weighty reasons for his severe style. He never wantonly provoked a quarrel, but merely repelled the weapons drawn upon himself and the other Remonstrants. This can be readily seen in his replies to the "*Censure of the Remonstrant Confession*," which every one who examines, even passingly, must admit was a most bitter assault. Indeed, they thought it for the interest of their own reputation not to seem to have unjustly condemned the Remonstrants at the Synod of Dort, and afterward to have instigated the magistrates to persecute them. For it was being commonly reported that in those five celebrated articles on predestination, there is no sufficient reason why the Remonstrants should have been thus persecuted, since they had the whole Christian world conspiring with them, the school of Calvin alone excepted. These professors, therefore, wished to persuade all that the confession of the Remonstrants abounded in heresies so horrible that there was nothing from beginning to end, not even the title, which was sound. Nevertheless many things which it contained are, upon a fair estimate of the general tenor, everywhere acknowledged. Indeed, many learned and moderate theologians, in France, Germany, and England, thought that, though differing in some respects from their own views, it contained fair Christian doctrine. But what exceeds all the bounds of moderation is that, when they could find nothing condemnable in the words or phrases of the confession, rashly usurping the prerogatives of the Searcher of hearts, they endeavored to instill into the minds of its readers a suspicion that the Remonstrants did not hold the opinions which in their writing they professed. It can, therefore, be no matter of astonishment that such barbarous and unchristian-

like doctrines should move Episcopius to reply in very trenchant language. Episcopius and the other Remonstrants never willingly excited any controversies which would divide the unity of the Church. On the contrary they were ready, if the importunity of their adversaries only had allowed them, for the sake of harmony to pass over things worthy of the sharpest reproof. But they were not able with entire consciences to overlook the fact that certain dogmas were urged as necessary to salvation which they held as pernicious and cutting away the nerves of piety. But that the Remonstrants urged above all things a mutual toleration for those differing in opinions not overthrowing the fundamentals of faith, the very children and domestics in the Belgic Republic have heard. This conduct, so far from causing Church schism, would, if rightly observed be the most efficacious balm for healing its wounds.

Art. VI.—MARTYRDOM OF BEWLEY.

Rev. Anthony Bewley was born in Tennessee, May 22, 1804. His parents were Methodists, and his father was a local preacher. He united with the Church at seventeen, and experienced religion the year after, or in 1822. In 1829 he was received on trial in the Tennessee Conference, traveled five years, and then located.

In 1837, or about two years and a half after this, he moved to south-west Missouri. At the Missouri Conference, held at Lexington, Mo., Oct. 4, 1843, he was readmitted, and traveled Neosho circuit that year, and the next year Sarcoxie circuit, in the extreme south-western part of the state.

At the Missouri Conference of 1845, when this conference, under the leading influence of Bishop Soule, resolved to join the Southern Secession Church, Mr. Bewley refused to go. As his name was soon reached on the alphabetical list, and each member was instructed by the chair to answer, *South* or *North*, his response was, "The Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States of America."

He utterly refused to unite with the Southern Church, and

labored in South-west Missouri from 1845 to 1848, working with his own hands for support, and preaching to those who remained in the old Church. A few other preachers labored with him. He and Mark Robertson, George Sly, David Thompson, and Joseph Doughty, labored in South-west Missouri; and in Arkansas Thomas Norwood, J. R. West, and James Hannam. These formed a sort of conference in order to feed the scattered sheep in the wilderness, and Mr. Bewley was, by common consent, chosen presiding elder by the laity and preachers.

By the provision of the General Conference of 1848 the Missouri Conference of the M. E. Church was reorganized. At the Illinois Conference of the same year Messrs. Bewley and Robertson were recognized as members of the Missouri Conference. Mr. Bewley was appointed to Washington Mission, Arkansas, and Mr. Robertson to Van Buren Mission, Arkansas. When the Missouri Conference was reorganized there were one thousand five hundred and thirty-eight members, twenty-four local preachers, twenty-four traveling preachers, and four appointments to be supplied.

The reorganization of the M. E. Church in the south-west was the signal for the leading men of the M. E. Church, South, and other pro-slavery persons, to use every available means, right or wrong, to prevent their progress, and even to drive them from the country. In 1849 the court at Batesville and the opponents of the M. E. Church encouraged a public meeting to pass resolutions warning Mr. Robertson to leave the country. In 1850 the children of Mr. Bewley were precluded access to the Ebenezer High School of the Southern Methodist Church, although he resided in its vicinity, and he was warned not to preach on the forty acres owned by the High School. Mrs. Bewley's sisters were so overawed, though belonging to the Southern Church, that they would not hear Mr. Bewley preach. In 1851, while Mr. Robertson was preaching, a mob endeavored to break up the meeting by throwing stones at the house. In 1852 political secession was maintained, as Rev. John Cook, of the M. E. Church, South, argued "that our political union failed to answer the object of its establishment, and that it would be cut down as a cumberer of the ground. For as the Church itself was divided, so the civil power would be into North and South." Our preachers were thus annoyed, threat-

ened, warned to leave, and every means used to misrepresent them, and especially by calling them abolitionists, which meant, in their vocabulary, negro thieves, house-burners, and the like.

This persecution was also transferred to our Church members. They were warned to leave by public meetings in their resolutions, as well as by private, written, and verbal notices to individuals. The result was that many of our members removed from the south-west to California, Oregon, Kansas, and the free states, as they saw no prospect of enjoying civil or religious privileges. Like the puritan fathers, they emigrated to where they could enjoy them. Our people were thus harassed with persecutions and annoyances on account of their religious sentiments and associations.

After the General Conference of our Church in 1856 the slavery question was stirred up in Texas, so that our members found themselves disfranchised to so great an extent that they emigrated extensively to California, Oregon, and Kansas, that they might enjoy their rights as citizens, which they could not in South-western Missouri, Arkansas, or Texas. These persecutions increased from year to year, and were approaching maturity on March 11, 1859, at the mobbing of the M. E. Conference at Bonham, Fannin county, Texas. And the complement was filled by the murder of Bewley.

The circumstances that induced Mr. Bewley to leave Texas may be stated as follows:

Early in 1860 the legislature of Texas authorized the people to take the law into their own hands, and run out all suspicious persons or punish them as they saw fit, were it even with death. Northern Methodists were especially obnoxious to the pro-slavery men of Texas. They were known to be antislavery, but the name abolitionist was usually attached to them, and this name, in the view of the Texans, comprised all manner and degree of wrong.

Bishop Pierce, of the M. E. Church, South, in his letters from the Pacific in the summer and fall of 1860, greatly tended to keep up the excitement in Texas against the members and ministers of the M. E. Church. These letters were published in all the Southern Methodist papers, being copied from one to the other. On the 4th of October one appeared in the South-

ern Christian Advocate, which is the mere echo of the teachings of the Southern Methodist press, their bishops, preachers, and members in general. We give an extract:

> Alas! the very principles of Northern Methodists are local, sectional, and beyond their proper geographical limits they become *suspicious*. If they are honest, consistent, their avowed doctrines constitute them disturbers of the peace. They come into the slave states as open, declared enemies of the institutions of the people. On their own theory, they cannot be faithful to God without aiding and abetting runaway slaves. They must sympathize with arson, blood and murder, insurrection and carnage. Recent developments in Texas, and editorials and articles in the papers of the Northern Church, justify the logic of these conclusions. For these reasons *abolitionists* cannot and ought not to be tolerated in the Southern States. No quarantine will justify their admission, no fumigation can disinfect them. Rank, rotten with the foul virus of an incurable disease, foes of God and man, spies and traitors to their country and their kind, let them stay where they belong.

Such are the spirit and sentiments inculcated by the leading Southern Methodist bishops, preachers, press, and people toward the members and preachers of the M. E. Church. For years previous to the murder of Bewley such was the teaching inculcated in the Southern Methodist Church by their officials. And though the letter of Bishop Pierce appeared Oct. 4, 1860, in the Southern Christian Advocate, it was written weeks before that time, and it was only the echo of the teachings which he and his Church and other pro-slavery men had been inculcating for several years before the murder of Bewley.

Besides, it was circulated extensively in Texas that the members of the M. E. Church, Mr. Bewley and Mr. Willet in particular, in connection with others, had been engaged in burning houses in Texas, and therefore their presence in the country could not be tolerated. These reports, it is true, were without foundation; but it was all the same with the pro-slavery enemies of the M. E. Church. About July 17, 1860, it was circulated that Mr. Bewley and those of his class had burned several towns.

Furthermore a forged letter, attributed to one W. H. Bailey, dated Benton Creek, Texas, July 3, 1860, and addressed to Mr. Bewley as an accomplice in the work of raising insurrections in Texas, was another means of creating public indignation against him. And this forged letter was sworn to as

genuine, August 10, 1860, before a magistrate in Tarrant county, Texas.

As to Mr. Bewley's appointment to Texas in the spring of 1860, it has been stated, without foundation, however, that Bishop Ames used unusual persuasions to induce him to go to Texas. This is incorrect, as appears from a letter of Rev. James Hannam, of Sarcoxie, Jasper county, Mo., of Nov. 20, 1862, as he was present all the time of the interview between the bishop and Mr. Bewley. Besides, the bishop's well-known character is a full guarantee against any such allegation. As we have before stated, ever since 1848, when our Church resolved to reorganize in the south-west, the Southern people were very much averse to the M. E. Church. This opposition was manifested in a great variety of ways. We mention only two in this place.

We refer to the outrage, March 11, 1859, on the Arkansas Conference at Bonham, Fannin county, Texas, under the presidency of Bishop Janes. We need not here enter into particulars, and simply state it.

We may mention particularly the expulsion of Rev. William Sellers from Missouri, in 1854. A meeting of citizens of Fabius township, Marion country, Mo., on Feb. 4, 1854, passed some five resolutions in which they, in mobocratic spirit, declare that no ministers of the M. E. Church could be allowed to remain in Missouri. In their preamble to their resolutions they say, respecting the ministers of the M. E. Church, that

> They are the representatives of a body whose sentiments on the subject of slavery are decidedly hostile to our interests as slaveholders and dangerous to our peace, and that the leading object of their mission here is the destruction of slavery by the propagation, in any manner not inconsistent with the safety of their persons, of doctrines calculated to array against the institution the weak-minded and fanatical among us, and to create discontent, dissatisfaction, and insubordination among our slaves. Be it therefore resolved,
>
> 1. That the peace and best interests of the community require that the said ministers, from this time and forever hereafter, desist from visiting and preaching among us.
>
> 2. That we regard it as a sacred duty we owe ourselves and our country to take, and that we do now take, high, firm, and positive ground, never to be abandoned, against all abolition influences, no matter whence they emanate; and that we now solemnly declare that while we shall ever be willing to seek, and glad to receive at

the hand of the law, protection from existing ills, yet when the law fails to protect we claim to have the natural right, as a community, to resort to the use of such means as will afford us protection.

The last or fifth resolution concludes thus:

As we have already suffered so much at the hands of these incendiaries, we regard it absolutely necessary to the protection of our slave interest that we close our doors against abolition and free-soil influences of every character and shade, and that we shall therefore esteem it highly improper for any citizen hereafter to countenance or encourage the preaching or teaching in this community of any other minister or ministers, person or persons, the representatives of, or in any way connected with any Church or Churches, any association or society, whether religious or political, or of any character whatsoever, who have heretofore or shall hereafter take ground directly or indirectly, expressly or impliedly, against the institution of slavery.

The ministers of the M. E. Church, as a matter of conscience, never engaged in inducing slaves to leave their masters, or to make them discontented with their condition. And yet the Church professed to do what they could, as Christians, to extirpate slavery; but in attempting this they never disturbed the peace of society. The M. E. Church has a clear record on this subject in two respects: *first*, she never allowed her ministry or members to engage in opposition to law; *secondly*, she has always taught her ministers and laity to use their influence against slavery.

The resolutions of Fabius township, Marion county, Mo., are mere specimens of the resolutions and sentiments inculcated by the M. E. Church, South, and their pro-slavery allies, from 1848 down to the famous declarations of Bishop Pierce in 1860. And the zealous and headlong bishop only repeated in 1860 what he and his Church and its press and preachers and their pro-slavery allies have been proclaiming and preaching, when convenient, from 1848 up to the day that Bewley was murdered, without crime or trial, by the hands of a mob, who carried out practically what Bishop Pierce had taught, and the pro-slavery men of Fabius township put in practice; for they drove Mr. Sellers by mob law out of the country, and he barely escaped with his life. This was only a prelude to the murder of Bewley and others.

When Mr. Bewley was first appointed to Texas in 1858 he resided in Johnson county, Texas, about sixteen miles from

Fort Worth. In consequence of the growing opposition to him he could not do much, although he held his ground until after his appointment at the end of February, 1860. It was five hundred and seventy-five miles from his residence in Johnson county, Texas, to Cass county, Mo., where he was seized by the mob. In consequence of the allegations brought against him, of burning houses, poisoning wells, the circulation of the Bailey letter, and many other such unfounded charges, he concluded to leave the country and repair to Cassville, Barry county, Mo., where his former friends lived.

When he was reappointed to Texas by Bishop Ames, in February, 1860, the most of what he calculated to do at that time was to retain his ground and hold prayer-meetings, especially in connection with the Germans on the river Nueces. Accordingly in April, 1860, he proceeded to his work, in view of doing what he could. But outrages and persecutions were so violent that he found it impossible to labor among them. He therefore informed them that he would leave the country.

On his brief visit to Missouri after the conference of 1860, his friends persuaded him, his wife joining with them, not to go back to Texas. But his reply was to all, "Let them hang or burn me on my return if they choose, hundreds will rise up out of my ashes." Accordingly he and his family, including his two sons-in-law, one of whom lived in Kansas and the other in Missouri, returned to Texas. After staying a month, and the increased excitement broke out, when he was threatened anew by the people, he concluded to leave Texas, believing he could do no good there; for as mob law had been established by the legislature, he remembered the injunction of our Lord, "When they persecute you in one city, flee to another."

About this time a traveler in Texas states "that during his travels in Texas he met with Bewley, who told him that the mob were then in pursuit of him, and that he expected to be taken, carried back, and hung. Upon inquiring of Bewley what he had been doing, he replied that he had done nothing, but was a law-abiding man, and the only crime with which he was charged was that he was a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church."

Accordingly about the 17th of July, 1860, he left his residence in Texas. He left also all the property he had, besides the team and carriage by which he and his family traveled.

The property left behind was worth some $125 or $150, which was lost to him and his family forever. He had no time to dispose of it, and if he had the storm raised by his persecutors prevented any adjustment, and no one dared to act as his agent, and indeed purchasers might expose themselves to suspicion first, then accusation, and then summary vengeance by the newly recognized mob law, although it was practically in force before that period for special cases. Now the mob law became part and parcel of the law of the land.

In the middle of July, 1860, about ten o'clock in the morning, part of the family, namely, Mr. and Mrs. Bewley, and their son George, then eleven years old, left and went to the Indian Territory. They traveled in a two-horse spring wagon, and remained in the Indian Territory eleven days, until the rest of the family should come on and join them. The first two or three nights Mrs. Bewley kept watch, and then they drove and watched alternately. Indeed, Mrs. Bewley often drove while Mr. Bewley slept. They pursued their journey often by night, and mostly through by-paths to shun exposure.

The part of the family left were Mrs. Baker, Mrs. Garade, William aged nineteen, John sixteen, Sarah thirteen, and Robert nine years. These followed and came up with the rest of the family on the Indian Territory. Here they all rejoiced together that they had thus far escaped the hands of those who sought the life of their beloved parent and head, who was persecuted for the testimony he bore to the purity of religion and against a great moral wrong.

The whole company then proceeded toward Benton county, Arkansas, where Mr. Bewley was acquainted. Information respecting the journey was sent as follows to Mark Robertson:

They have run Mr. Bewley from Texas. He stopped at Elm Spring to rest his team a while. A company of men, headed by a southern Methodist preacher, went out and ordered him to leave. He then started for Missouri. The other day there came a company of men from Texas with a thousand dollars reward for him. They say he had been the cause of burning five or six towns, but no one who knows him here believes it; but I expect they will hang him. They intend to drive all Northern Methodists from Texas.

He was insulted frequently in Arkansas as he came along, but was permitted to pass until he came into Barry county Missouri, near Cassville.

In Benton county, Arkansas, where Mr. Bewley was acquainted, they remained and rested a few days in the Buckeye neighborhood. One of his sons-in-law, Mr. Garade, went on ahead to Missouri, between Keitsville and Cassville, in Barry county.

The day they left the Buckeye settlement a mob of Arkansans followed and overtook them at about twelve o'clock, at a place where Mr. Bewley and family had stopped to get dinner. The pursuers rode up with bowie knives, six shooters, and a bottle of whisky. One was leading a horse, blind in one eye, while all the others were well mounted.

As they rode up two by two, the leader asked Mr. Bewley if his name was Bewley. He answered in the affirmative. They then questioned him as to his views on slavery. He proposed to deliver them an address on the subject, but they declined, so he could make only some statements on that topic. They then threatened to hang him, and cursed him bitterly. Sometimes they would ask him to leave, and then they would stop him, and thus endeavor to provoke him. One of them tauntingly offered him a negro.

Mr. Bewley's sons, William and John, aged respectively nineteen and sixteen years, were armed, and ready to defend and protect their parents; but the circumstances prevented the use of their arms. One of the mob, a Mr. Smith, questioned Mr. Bewley whether one of his sons had not been killed in coalition with two negroes. To this Mr. Bewley replied, that all his sons were with him, except the one who had died in Texas. This Mr. Smith had often heard Mr. Bewley preach, and when Mrs. Bewley observed that it was hard to be treated thus, the response was that they must stand up for southern rights, and these rights, when stripped of the prefix *southern*, mean nothing more nor less than the right to buy, sell, and deprive their fellow-creatures of inherent natural rights, such as life, liberty, and property.

Finally they suffered Mr. Bewley to set out on his journey. The whole ten of them sometimes went before and sometimes behind, while some also went along side of him. In proceed-

ing thus, they seemed to be on the lookout for a suitable tree and place to hang him. At last they all dropped off but two, who proceeded a little ahead. They then turned back toward evening, and said, should Mr. Bewley proceed to Illinois or Indiana, they would allow him to do so; but should he go to Kansas, they would find him out and seize him. Then they left them.

Mr. Bewley then came on to where Mr. Garade, his son-in-law, had stopped, in Missouri, Barry county, between Cassville and Keitsville, and there rested a few days. He thought he would be safe in remaining in Missouri a short time, as one of his friends from Tennessee assured him there would be no danger in doing so. This, as the sequel will show, was a great mistake on the part of the good Tennesseean, as well as on the part of Mr. Bewley, for his pursuers were even then on his track, for the reward of one thousand dollars for his capture and return to Fort Worth had been proclaimed throughout the south-west.

A camp-meeting of southern Methodists was being held at that time at no great distance from where Bewley then was, and there were placarded advertisements in or near the camp-ground offering a reward of one thousand dollars for the apprehension of Bewley and for bringing him back to Fort Worth. This reward was offered by the Fort Worth Committee or mob, and one half was to be paid by the Fort Worth Committee, and the other half by the Sherman Committee of Grayson county, Texas. Observe, too, that the new mob law of Texas authorized this cruel process.

It may be mentioned here that the *Sherman Patriot*, of Grayson county, Texas, of September 15, 1860, two days after the murder of Bewley, stated that "Bewley was pursued from Texas by A. G. Brayman and Joe Johnson to Cassville, Missouri, captured, and brought back on the overland stage on Monday evening," we presume September 10. The editor adds that he saw him, and proceeds to describe his personal appearance and conversation with him, in which he assured Bewley that "if any thing whatever was substantiated to show his guilt forty millions of dollars would not save him." He accused Bewley of being one of "the Timber Creek Conference, presided over by Bishop Janes," all of whom fled but Bewley.

He said, "Long before this notice reaches Bishop Janes his (Bewley's) soul will be before the God that gave it, if he has any soul." He also says that "Bewley was saved in Fayetteville, Arkansas, when arrested only by the sheriff of Washington county. There were eleven of these wretches in company, but all escaped but Bewley."

On Sabbath, September 2, 1860, while Mr. Bewley was delaying, as stated above, two men came in and conversed with him, and wanted him to go on Monday to a certain place near by and trade with them. This he refused to do. These two men were probably the Messrs. Brayman and Johnson mentioned by the *Patriot*, and who were then thirsting for his blood.

When breakfast was over, on Monday, September 3, 1860, Mr. Bewley was remarkably lively and cheerful, and stepped out without his coat and vest, as it was very warm. He then went to a house, not far distant, where some of his company were getting corn to feed their horses. While thus engaged a mob rode up and surrounded him, and told him he was their prisoner and must go with them to Fayetteville, Arkansas. Two of those of the first mob were a part of this. These were probably those mentioned by the *Sherman Patriot* as pursuing him from Texas, namely, A. G. Brayman and Joe Johnson.

When they surrounded him at first they were about to tie him, but at the expostulation of Mr. Garade they did not. When Mr. Bewley and Mr. Garade urged that he might be permitted to go to the house where his clothes were they utterly refused. It became apparent that they did not want to see the women, Mrs. Bewley and her two daughters. They were also manifestly afraid to face the two boys, Mr. Bewley's sons, and did not want to come in contact with them. Mrs. Bewley sent clothing after Mr. Bewley with Mr. Garade, but they would listen to no explanation, and hurried on their way toward Fayetteville. Mr. Garade, however, proceeded with the clothes to Keitsville, a distance of five miles. There they allowed Mr. Bewley to put on his clothes.

As the mob proceeded from Keitsville to Fayetteville they talked as if he would have a fair trial, and that Mr. Garade and his wife might come and witness the whole. They said Mr. Bewley was not the man they had taken him to be. He

was a gentleman and should be treated well. But all this, as events showed, was only to save appearances, and prevent his rescue by his sons and others who might be disposed to interfere in his behalf. They kept out of view the taking of him to Texas. This prevented Mrs. Bewley from attempting to see him then, a circumstance she greatly regrets; but she could not believe, as she told us herself, that he would come to a tragic end. For if they had not hurried him off a *habeas corpus* could have been obtained, which his murderers greatly feared, as Mr. Bewley had many friends in Fayetteville and other places not far off from the present scene.

From Missouri they hurried him on to Fayetteville, Ark. They placed him on a horse, telling those they met that they were breaking a young colt. In this way they brought him to Fayetteville. There they suffered the mob to curse him and call him an abolitionist, negro thief, and every other bad name they could think of, so that he was moved to tears. They kept him there a few days, abusing any of his friends who came to see him, and sending out word that they had started or were about to start that evening or next morning; all the time they kept him at Fayetteville. It appears from the circumstances that Mr. Garade either accompanied or followed him on to Fayetteville. His murderers, as we have seen, took him from Missouri on Monday, the third of September, and reached Fayetteville, Arkansas, on Tuesday the 4th, being two days on the journey.

A correspondent of Rev. Mark Robertson, from Arkansas, writes as follows under date of September 5, the next day after the arrival of Mr. Bewley:

> In the first part of my letter I told you a company had gone after Mr. Bewley. They brought him into Fayetteville yesterday, (Tuesday, Sept. 4.) He says he would not mind going back to Texas if he could have a fair trial; but such is the state of excitement he knows they will hang him. They have him locked up in a room up stairs in the tavern. I have no idea they will let him bid his dear family farewell, and now he does not expect to see them again.

He was detained in Fayetteville until Friday, September 7, as the following narrative, dated September 25, obtained from the family of Mr. Bewley when on the Neosho River, six

miles below Humboldt, in Kansas, by Rev. H. Harriman, will show:

Mr. Bewley was visited on the 7th of September by his son-in-law, Mr. Garade. He was then alive and in the hands of a mob, consisting of about three hundred. They stated their intention to take him back to Texas, and of starting that evening with him. But the settled opinion of Mr. Garade is that they will kill him, the excitement being exceedingly high. They gave Mr. Garade orders to leave for Illinois, or some of the free states, or they would attend to him in the same way, believing him to be as grand a rascal as Bewley. The only charges against these people are, they belong to the M. E. Church. Injustice, persecution, and cruelty can find its counterpart among the slaveocrats of Missouri. The above is the latest account we have of Brother Bewley, and his family are left in awful suspense to await the result.

Mr. Bewley was detained in Fayetteville at least from Tuesday 4th to Friday 7th September. Mr. Garade, as we learn, was with him the greater portion of that time. On the 5th we find Mr. Bewley wrote a letter to his family, with a postscript on the 6th. Mrs. Bewley was left on the road with her five children, William being nineteen years of age, John sixteen, Sarah thirteen, George eleven, and Robert seven. They were among strangers, not knowing what to do or where to go, and almost penniless. On the 17th they made out to reach Kansas. Her blind daughter, Catharine, was left at Springfield, Mo., when the family moved to Texas, and remained there until after the death of her father.

REV. A. BEWLEY'S FAREWELL ADDRESS TO HIS FAMILY.

FAYETTEVILLE ARK, *September* 5, 1860.

DEAR WIFE AND CHILDREN,—I never took up my pen under such circumstances before. After I left there that day [Monday, September 3] I was hurried on, and the next day, about nine or ten o'clock, we got to Fayetteville. I am here yet. They have not put me in jail, but keep me under guard. At night I am chained fast to some person, and in the day I have liberty to walk about with the guard. I have been, in the general, tolerable, though my company in *general* has not been as desirable as some. They are now after Sam. Willet. So soon as they succeed in getting him, I suppose they will set out with us to Texas on the overland stage, and if so, hand us over to the Fort Worth Committee and receive the reward; then we will, I suppose, be under their supervision, to do with us as seemeth them good; and if that takes place, *dear* and *much beloved wife* and *loving* children, I shall never, in this life, expect to see you; but I shall *look* to meet you all with our little

babe, that has already gone to that blessed haven of repose. The reason why I speak, in these times of *heated* excitement, mole-hills are raised mountain high; and where there are none it is frequently imagined they see something. That being the case, it seems to be enough to know that we are "Northern Methodists," as they are called; and from what we learned in Texas about that Fort Worth Committee, they had sworn vengeance against *all such folks*. I expect, when they get us, we will go the trip. But, dear wife and children, who are big enough to know about these things, know that so far as I am concerned all these things are *false*. You have been with me, and you know, as well as I do, that none of these things have ever been countenanced about our house, but that we have repudiated such to the last. So you see that I am innocent; and you, my love, will have the lasting satisfaction to know that your husband was innocent, for you have been with me for some twenty-six years, and your constitution is emaciated and gone down to feebleness. You will have to spend the remaining part of your life as a bereaved widow with your orphan children, *with one blind daughter*. Now, my feelings I cannot describe; but I know there is a God that doeth right. As I was taken away, and was not permitted to see you, that I might bid you and the children farewell, I have to do it in this way, and would say to all, try to continue your way onward to heaven. Tell George and the baby they must seek religion and be good boys, and meet Pa in heaven. I want William and John, as they are the oldest, to be good to their mother and their blind sister.

Do with your scant means as you think best. I have feelings—I cannot tell you *how* I feel for you. There on the road, in our wagons, we thought ourselves at home; but I can only leave you in the hands of Him in whom I put my trust. I know you will not forget me in your prayers; you have mine—shall have while I have breath. I believe much in prayer. I feel no guilt, from the fact that I have done nothing to cause the feeling. Dear Jane, I cannot tell what is the best course for you to pursue; but I want you to get somewhere that the children can have a chance at school. Keep as clear of those one-horse towns as you can. Frequently at such places boys are early led astray. I do hope that the good Lord will comfort you, and guide you to the best conclusions.

I would be glad if you would tell Henry M'Cary to write to Captain Daget, at Fort Worth, my standing since he was first acquainted with me; and when you write to your friends, tell them to do so too, or as they choose. I now close by subscribing myself your affectionate husband and father, ANTHONY BEWLEY.

You will doubtless preserve this imperfect scrawl. A. B.

CITY OF FAYETTEVILLE, ARK., *September* 6, 1860.

I, with a portion of the Vigilance Committee, will leave Fayetteville to-night some time. The committee has returned without Willet, and has given up hunting him any more. A. BEWLEY.

After all the ignominious treatment that his captors could heap upon him they set out from Fayetteville, some say in the overland mail, others say in a hack; our best accounts would say in the overland mail. Some say he was tied or chained to a post in the stage; but this is not certain.

As he passed through Van Buren in the stage, he addressed the people on the street from the stage while making a temporary stay. Many citizens here, as well as friends, we learn, regretted they had not rescued him from the hands of the mob. At his last supper he was heard saying that he would never see another sun, but would die an innocent man. After the mob had conveyed Mr. Bewley to Fort Worth, Texas, he was hanged on a tree. There are different reports in reference to their proceedings in murdering him. Some say he was tried before a justice of the peace and committed to jail at Fort Worth, and that night the mob took him out of jail and hanged him. Some say he was tried before two justices, and condemned before a committee and hung. We will give some of the statements of his enemies, as he and his friends had no means of conveying information of the right sort after he was taken from Fayetteville, Ark.

The *Arkansian*, a paper published at Fayetteville, says:

Bewley was taken to Fort Worth, where he was tried, condemned, and hung. There was evidence enough against him to hang twenty men. Bewley expected to be hung, said so here, said so along the road, whenever the people of Fort Worth got him. The history of his trial will furnish our readers with the proofs and circumstances of his guilt. Bewley made no confession. He said if he made a confession they would hang him, and if he did not make a confession they would hang him any how, and he was not going to make one for the world to blow about. He could have made one, and it would serve the ends of justice. There is no doubt of the guilt of other parties, whose names are mentioned in Bailey's letter, and they are all under watch and will get their meeds if ever they see Texas.

There are some true statements in the foregoing, such as that Mr. Bewley was taken to Fort Worth, was condemned, made no confession, and was hung. There are also manifest falsehoods in the narrative, such as that Bewley was tried; that there was testimony enough to hang twenty men.

The Rev. H. W. South, of the M. E. Church, South, in a letter dated Waxahachie, Texas, October 4, 1860, in the *Nash-*

ville Advocate of October 31, 1860, states, among other things, that Mr. Bewley was followed to the vicinity of Springfield, Mo., taken and brought back to Fort Worth, and on the 13th of September, 1860, was hung on the same limb of the same tree on which Mr. Crawford had been hung before. He also says, "The information in relation to Mr. Bewley is *true*."

The St. Louis *Observer*, a Cumberland Presbyterian paper of November 8, 1860, gives the following from one of his Southwestern Missouri correspondents:

> He was arrested near Keitsville, Barry County, Mo., about the first of September, and taken to Fayetteville, Ark., thence to Fort Worth, Texas. The men who took him reported on their return, that on the evening of their arrival at Fort Worth the Vigilance Committee tried and hung him, and that the next morning when they left he was still hanging. I also saw a gentleman who had been informed by the coroner that he and a jury cut him down, held an inquest over him, and buried his remains.

The editor of the St. Louis *Christian Advocate* gives the following account of the case of Bewley from a reliable source, as he says, while it has also his own testimony to corroborate it. Dr. M'Anally says:

> 1. Mr. Bewley was carried to Fort Worth after his arrest by the men from Arkansas, and there, at and near Fort Worth, he was tried by the civil authorities, and required to give bail to appear for trial before a higher court. This he could not or did not do, and was ordered to prison.
>
> 2. On the way to prison a mob overpowered the sheriff and his posse, took Bewley and hung him. Our informant did not *see* these things, but heard them in Texas from what he regarded as reliable authority, and believes them to be true.
>
> 3. The evidence on which Bewley was sent on for further trial consisted partly of what sundry persons testified they had heard him say, and partly in statements made by others who had been arrested and punished. These statements implicated him as one of the party organized to carry out the purposes expressed in the Bailey letter; but the evidence consisted mainly in the fact that the original Bailey letter was produced at the court, and Bewley acknowledged *he had received and subsequently lost it.*

Here Dr. M'Anally acknowledged that the main proof against him was the Bailey letter, which has all the marks of a forgery. Any man may have such a letter addressed to him through the post-office without owning participation in its contents.

Dr. M'Anally then utters the following:

The cry in several papers that he (Bewley) was charged with nothing except being a Northern Methodist preacher is *utterly and wholly false.* Whether he was or was not guilty of the charges brought against him we do not know. He was naturally of a self-willed, stubborn disposition, and remarkably persistent in efforts to carry out what he undertook. But if ever so guilty he ought to have had a fair trial, and ought not to have been mobbed; and it is all so much the worse if he were innocent.—*St. Louis Christian Advocate, November* 8, 1860.

Whoever considers the purport of the resolutions of the Fabius township meeting, and hundreds of such declarations, as well as those of Bishop Pierce, it is strictly true that to be a decided minister or member of the M. E. Church, and to adopt her principles, is the highest crime known in the moral code of the pro-slavery M. E. Church, South. Or to be a *Northern Methodist* in the south-west, up to recently, is the same as being guilty of the highest crime, and worthy of death, banishment, or any other penalty.

Bishop Morris, in a letter dated November, 1860, (see *Central Christian Advocate*, November 21, 1860,) to Rev. B. N. Brown, writes thus:

Look at it. Our Missouri Conference was, a few years since, prevented by threats of violence from meeting at Independence. Arkansas Conference was mobbed off from Texas. Kentucky Conference was warned not to meet at Germantown last spring, though it did meet. An attempt was contemplated recently in the Virginia legislature to drive all our ministers out of the state. Still more recently one of our godly and inoffensive ministers, A. Bewley, was hung by a Texan mob for no other crime but connection with the M. E. Church. All which outrages and many more the papers of the Church South either indorsed or winked at. Very many of her preachers have publicly warned the people against us as dangerous incendiaries.

But the scene of Bewley's murder does not end with his unlawful arrest, or his treatment on the long journey from Missouri to Fort Worth, a distance of over five hundred miles. His burial corresponded to his cruel death. Not even a decent grave was opened for his reception. A very shallow opening was made in the ground. The rope with which he was hung was cut, and his lifeless remains were dishonored by a crashing fall. Without shroud or coffin, the body of the martyred man was then deposited with scarcely a covering of mother earth. It is said, too, that when the interment was

finished his bare knees protruded above the scanty soil that half covered them, while the shallow grave was too short to permit his lifeless remains to be placed in a decent horizontal position, and hence the exposure of the bare knees when the limbs had not space to be stretched out in the usual natural posture of interment. Thus closed the earthly career of the sainted minister of Christ, away from wife and children. He was murdered by the hands of his merciless persecutors, and now the place of his last repose is almost unknown.

Although there was one thousand dollars offered for the seizure and delivery of Bewley at Fort Worth, one half to be paid by the Fort Worth Committee or mob, and the other half by the Sherman Committee of Grayson county, Texas, the advertisers for innocent blood thought it no crime to withhold three fourths of the price for the murder. Five men took him back and received two hundred and fifty dollars, or fifty dollars apiece. It was said that this pittance was "not enough to pay their liquor bills if they drank as much as when at home." They expected, according to contract, to receive one thousand dollars, but were put off with one fourth of the sum. The brethren of Joseph sold him for a certain sum, but they received, even from the slave merchants, the whole amount of the contract. The Jews, who bought the Saviour of the world for thirty pieces of silver, were honorable and honest men compared with the Texan advertisers, for they did not cheat even the traitor Judas of one fourth the stipulated price of blood, much less three fourths of the whole sum. Nay, they refused to receive back the price of blood from the penitent betrayer, and bought a burying-place for strangers; while these Texan murderers would not afford one scanty grave sufficient in depth or length for the martyred victim. They gave him short measure in length, and even grudged enough of mother earth to cover the naked remains of one of her noblest and best sons.

Let us now survey the life and acts of Bewley, and note his proper character.

Mr. Bewley was a man of settled principles, and so honest was he in following them that no worldly consideration could induce him to abandon or evade them. Dr. M'Anally says of him that "he was naturally of a self-willed, stubborn disposition, and remarkably persistent in efforts to carry out what

he undertook." This is a high eulogium, coming from a southern pro-slavery Methodist preacher. The truth is that Mr. Bewley retained the views that all Methodist preachers did in the South when he was young, and what was in the Discipline of the M. E. Church, South, up to 1858, when the southern Methodists struck out of their Discipline the scriptural anti-slavery principles of primitive Methodism. Mr. Bewley adhered to the Bible and the pure creed of Methodism without swerving more or less, until at last he sealed his testimony with his blood, which was shed by the influence of southern pro-slavery Methodist preachers, who abandoned the teachings of their better days and of the Bible, and who drank in the pro-slavery principles of the Calhoun school of southern politicians. Happy, noble man! He was thus "self-willed," and "remarkably persistent in efforts" to carry out his principles. But he has received the martyr's crown.

Mr. Bewley bore an excellent character with all impartial men wherever he was known. No man stood higher than he while in Tennessee, Missouri, Arkansas, or Texas. Bishop Morris, Rev. Joshua Monroe, and Dr. Cartwright have expressed their estimation of his honesty and high moral character. Many others have done the same. The M. E. Church authorities, whether conferences or bishops, would not tolerate a preacher who would engage in inducing even slaves to leave their masters. This never was tolerated among the members or preachers in slave territory by the rules or authorities of the M. E. Church, whether the thing in itself is right or wrong.

Mr. Bewley was decidedly opposed to slavery. When his sentiments were asked he always gave them, though he never obtruded his opinions on others, whether in public or private. He never directly nor indirectly induced slaves to leave their masters, or used arguments to render them discontented, either in Tennessee, Missouri, Arkansas, or Texas. He was a law-abiding man in all respects in every place where he lived. As to his being associated with John Brownites, or any others of that class, there was nothing in it. No such charge was ever sustained against him, nor could it be, unless by false witnesses. The whole and only charge against him was, that he was a sound member of the M. E. Church, and antislavery according to her principles and the teaching of Holy Scripture. He was

also a minister in slave territory, and a promoter of the M. E. Church in Missouri, Arkansas, and Texas. This was his only crime, and all the allegations brought against him were founded on this only, and nothing else. But while he was unobtrusive, to as his antislavery principles, he never declined uttering his opinions, or professing them, so that all who knew him were fully aware of his views.

And now let us glance at the present principles and measures of his ecclesiastical persecutors of the M. E. Church, South. Previous to 1835 no member of the M. E. Church ever uttered a word for slavery. The first public utterance for slavery was by Rev. S. Dunwody, in 1835, in a sermon before the South Carolina Conference. The same argument, in our hearing, was used by him in 1836, in Cincinnati, before the General Conference. Many of the southern members held down their heads in shame at the sophistry of the pleader for sin. His argument was, that God sent Hagar back to her mistress, and therefore slavery was right. The blundering sophist forgot that the servility of Hagar ended with her own person, as Ishmael and his descendants were all free; so that the child followed the condition of the free father, and not of the servile mothers. So it was with the four sons of Jacob by the servile mothers. The case of Joseph is the true type of slavery and the enslaved Israelites in Egypt. Abraham was an emancipator, not an enslaver. The law of Moses prohibited slavery to the Jews and the New Testament only repeats the law of Moses. He says, "He that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death." Paul classes manstealers, that is, those who buy, sell, or hold men as slaves, except to free them, with murderers of fathers and murderers of mothers.

Art. VII.—OBJECT TEACHING AS APPLIED TO PRIMARY EDUCATION.

Calkins's Object-Lessons. New York: Harper & Brothers.
Object Teaching and Methods for Primary Schools. Republished from Barnard's American Journal of Education.

Who of us does not recall hours spent in the school-room, in acquiring the ability to repeat by rote words to which we vainly tried to attach a meaning? Who of us but remembers the tiresome spelling of words of three or four syllables, which were as strange and unfamiliar to our ears as could have been a selection from any foreign language? Happily for the rising generation, a new era is dawning upon us; the true principles of education are gaining ground and asserting their great importance. We are learning that books in the earlier stages of the mind's development are almost useless, and we now begin to inquire for the best method of assisting the little child in gaining a knowledge of surrounding objects.

Those of us who have watched an infant have seen that for the first few years of its life, if not too anxiously cared for, it is capable of amusing itself; a few blocks, or pebbles, will keep the little one contented for a very long time, and when it seeks a change, it is satisfied with something quite as simple. At this period we need give ourselves no uneasiness in regard to the mental development of our little charge; the old system of teaching its a, b, c's and b, a, ba's may well and happily be discarded. But watch the child a little longer, and you notice another phase of its development; it ceases to become so eminently self-amusing; the desire of occupation becomes more apparent, and the parent hears the frequent request for "something to *do*." We are apt to regard this desire as of little or no importance; but the leaving it ungratified is not simply a negative evil; now is the propitious time for implanting habits of industry which shall bear fruit during the whole subsequent life of the child. A child left to these feelings of listless inactivity becomes indolent, or, if too active in disposition for such a result, he verifies the old adage, that

> "Satan finds some mischief still
> For idle hands to do."

We frequently meet such children, and wonder at their precocity in evil. Let it be firmly impressed upon the mind of every parent, that when Nature expresses the wish for "something to do," the happy moral and mental development of the child requires that such desire shall be gratified.

But how are we to keep it busy? "There's the rub." The advocates of the object-method system would now place the child in school, and make those school-hours interesting; they are never to lose sight of the fact that the desire for employment is quite as strongly developed as the desire for knowledge, and both wants are to be indulged. Reading is not the only or most important school-business; reading is looked upon as the recognition of the printed forms of words already familiar to the pupil, not in this early state as the vehicle for acquiring new word-acquaintances. Further familiarity with words the child acquires by well-directed conversational lessons with the teacher, by oral instructions from her, etc. In these instructions the teacher is not to be the only, nor always the principal talker. Her task is to lead the child to observe for himself; to draw out an expression of ideas already acquired; to give new words when they are needed.

These oral lessons on objects are not to be mere talks about common things; an object is selected for a lesson. This object, whenever practicable, is to be placed before the child; he is to look at it, to handle it; he is to find out for himself its properties, the teacher acting only as his guide. Let me quote from Young's Infant-School Manual, (one of the papers published in a work mentioned at the head of this article):

> Always keep clearly in view the principle on which this kind of lesson rests; namely, that the children should discover for themselves the qualities of the objects under examination, the teacher merely supplying the words needed to express them; for to *tell* the pupil that such and such qualities exist in it will not develop his faculties. Hence it follows that attention should be called only to the more palpable and striking characteristics, and that, if possible, the same quality should be traced through several examples, and even contrasted with its opposite to render it more evident.

We give here a specimen lesson from "Calkins's Object-Lessons" for this kind of instruction. The subject is water:

> What is in the tumbler? "Water." [The teacher pours a little of it on newspaper or cloth.] What has the water done to the

paper? "Made it wet." [Teacher pours it in drops.] Does the water run in a stream when I pour it out little by little? "No; it forms drops." Here is a little milk; see if it holds together in a stream. "It makes drops like water." I will now tell you a name for anything that will pour out to form drops like water. It is called a *liquid.* Now, what may you call water and milk? "Liquid." Mention some other liquids. "Cider, beer, the juice of oranges and lemons." Look into this cup of water; what do you see? "The bottom." Now what do you see? "A white button on the bottom." What did you learn about glass? "We call it transparent, because we can see through it." What, then, may we say of water? "It is transparent." Look at this flower; what color is it? "Yellow." Now I have put it under the water; what color is it now? "Still yellow." Then if water does not change the color of the flower, what color is water? "It is no color." I will now tell you a word which means that an object has no color; it is *colorless.* Now what have you learned of water? "It is liquid, transparent, colorless." [Then the teacher in the same manner draws out the idea that it is inodorous.] What use have you made of water to-day? "Washed our faces and hands." If the water was solid like a stone, could you wash with it? "No." Then what do we need in an object to be used for washing? "It must be *liquid.*" Then milk or cider would do, would they not? "No; it must be colorless and inodorous." For what else do we use water? "For drinking." Now repeat what you have learned about water. "Liquid, transparent, inodorous, colorless, and useful for washing and drinking."

We are at last learning that each individual acquires knowledge by passing through the same routine by which that knowledge was gained by its first human possessor. Let us apply this to the infant's acquisition of words. We do not suppose that a single word in our language was first coined, and then an idea searched out which that newly-coined word should express. We know that the process must have been just the reverse: first the idea, then the effort to find the word which should mean just that idea; then the coining of the new word, if none already existing seemed to supply the want felt. If we apply this principle to the child's vocabulary, we shall never again give to him columns of words in Definers and Dictionaries to be "committed to memory;" but shall regard all such acquirements, if they remain in the child's memory at all, (which is very doubtful,) as so much useless lumber, never becoming a valuable part of the brain-furniture until the idea therein expressed shall have found a lodgment. Thus, take the word *transparent.* The child is furnished with some object

possessing transparency, as glass; it is then asked to name its qualities; among others, it mentions that it can be seen through. Now it has the idea of transparency, and we give it the word: anything which *can be seen through* is transparent. The teachers of the object-method lay great stress upon this order; first, the idea, then the word, and it seems to us that the principle is a correct one.

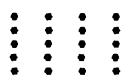
Pestalozzi said children were to be taught ideas of form, number, and the use of language. These early oral lessons, such as we have been mentioning, are intended to teach the child to observe and furnish it with the correct words in which to express its observations, thus furnishing the means for teaching a familiar use of language. As the child grows older he is led to reason, compare, and deduce conclusions from what he has observed; but here great care is necessary in the teacher, lest she hurry her charge too rapidly forward, confound the stages of its development, and attempt to unfold the reasoning powers before nature herself indicates that they are ready for expansion. We give specimen notes of the more advanced object-lessons:

THE ELEPHANT.

First exhibit a picture, if the children cannot be taken to see one. Give an idea of its size, measure its height, length, etc., on the school-room wall. Then speak of the relative size of its body and legs. What kind of supports would we use for a bridge over which heavy locomotives were to pass? What kind for foot passengers? Now, an elephant's body is very heavy; what kind of supports will it need? Then what will the size and strength of the legs depend upon? "On the size and weight of the body?" Then give its mode of life, describe the thick jungles of tropical forests, requiring it to move among the tangled masses of undergrowth with its huge unwieldly body, then draw from the class the skin that would best suit it, soft and easily pierced, or hard, almost impenetrable; then its eyes, should they be large and prominent, or soft and sunken? Note the wisdom of the Creator in making a creature so admirably adapted to its mode of life. Note the head, with its weighty tusks, and show how a long tapering neck would not have suited; but its short thick neck prevents its reaching the ground for food and drink, then let them see from the picture how this is admirably compensated by the trunk.

Having thus seen how the system under discussion would supply the needed means for mental development and the use

of language, let us note its adaptation for developing ideas of number and form. It allows the child to find out results for himself, still having only the teacher's guidance. He learns to count by means of common objects, beans, buttons, etc. No long tables are to be placed in his hands for him to commit to memory; he learns to add, subtract, etc., by actually performing the operations upon the objects themselves; he learns to multiply by the same method, thus: if asked to tell how many beans three times two beans would make, he arranges two and two more and two more, and of course readily gives the result. By degrees his methods grow more abstract, and he represents objects by marks and dots, instead of using the objects themselves, thus: ask for five fours and he dots thus:



Of course the whole process is perfectly clear to him. He thus learns the properties of numbers long before he begins to study Arithmetic, or the science of numbers. He has thus constructed the multiplication table for himself; it will be only gradually and slowly, and by numerous repetitions, that he will commit to memory, but he will do it understandingly, nor will it be the task to him that it has been to many of us. Next in difficulty to the multiplication table, in our childhood recollections, come the tables of weights and measures, difficult only because they treated of that to which we attached no meaning. Their difficulty vanishes by a very obvious expedient, so simple we wonder that any other method should ever have been adopted. The child is to learn from the objects themselves. An inch measure, a foot measure, and a yard measure are indispensably necessary to the teacher who would give correct ideas of long measure. They are put into the pupil's hands, and he measures one upon the other till he tells you, without assistance, that twelve inches make one foot, and three feet one yard. He is now told the number of yards that make a rod; or, better still, a rod is measured and marked off in the play-ground, and he, with his yard measure, finds out how many yards are contained in a rod: he is thus encouraged to measure rods in the play-ground and in the neighborhood. His ideas of longer measures must be gradually acquired in his walks. etc.

Liquid measures are taught in the same way. Water is plentiful and tin measures not very costly. The teacher fills a gill measure, or allows the child to do it, and then empties it into the pint measure, repeating the operation till the latter vessel is full. Of course any child after this operation could tell how many gills are in a pint. It is useless for me to particularize more; certainly there are few persons who will deny this to be the proper method of teaching these tables, though of course it may be necessary to repeat these operations at different times, until they are fully impressed upon the mind.

So much for the ideas of number: how does this system proceed with the ideas of form? We shall find some very interesting lessons of form in the text-book by Calkins. Let us quote a few:

TO DEVELOP THE IDEA OF AN ANGLE.

[The teacher draws two straight lines on the blackboard.] = What have I done? "Drawn two straight lines." [Draws two more meeting in a point.] < What have I done? "Drawn two more straight lines." What difference between the first two lines and these? "The last meet in a point; they come together; the first did not." [Teacher holding up a pair of scissors.] What is this? "A pair of scissors." What are these parts called? "The blades." What did you say of the last two lines I made? "They meet together." What do you say of these blades? "They meet too." Do you see any lines in the windows that meet? "Yes, the wood in the frames, at the corners of the glass." [Opening the scissors.] What am I doing? "Opening the scissors." Now what do you call the space between the blades? "The opening." [Opens the blades to the full extent, then nearly closes them.] Is each opening alike? "Sometimes it is large and sometimes small." I will draw some lines on the blackboard to represent these blades when open. One of you may come and show me the opening between these lines. Now show me the place where these lines meet.

I will now give you a name for an opening between two lines that meet in a point. For what am I to give you a name? "For an opening between two lines that meet in a point." We call such an opening an angle. Now show me some angles in the room. Come and show me the largest angle on the board. Now show me the smallest. How many lines do I use to form an angle? "Two." What must they do to form an angle? "Meet in a point."

TO DEVELOP IDEAS OF A TRIANGLE.

Take these two sticks, and one of you try to make a pen round the ink-stand with them. You can't do it. How many must you

have to make a pen? "Three." Now draw a figure on the blackboard to represent your pen. How many angles has it? "Three." A figure with three angles and three sides is a *triangle*."

The intervals between the recitations are filled up with exercises in drawing, etc. The pupils draw the figures they have learned. They are furnished with drawing cards containing simple figures that they learn to imitate. Pestalozzi says, "Drawing should come before writing." Calkins says:

> The ability to use the pen or pencil, so that with a few strokes either one can represent to the eye that which he cannot describe, is an acquisition, the value of which is too well known to need any commendation here; but that children may be trained to acquire this ability at school is not generally understood.
>
> It is believed by the ablest educators that children will learn to write in less time, if taught writing and drawing together, than when taught writing alone.
>
> The use of the slate and pencil should not be postponed for a single day after the child enters the primary school; indeed its use should be learned long before the child enters school at all.

Let it be distinctly understood that this elementary drawing is begun with reference to future utility, not that it may give the ability to copy off landscapes and figures from one picture to another, that these pictures may be displayed and give an idea of "fashionable accomplishments" in the possessor.

We have space only for the geographical object lessons. In our ordinary school system, as soon as a child is able to read, (frequently while reading is still a slow, painful task, interspersed with spelling of every difficult word,) a book called a Primary Geography is placed in his hands to be committed to memory. This Primary Geography is an abridgment of the larger School Geography, and is abridged by leaving out all the more interesting and simple portions and presenting to the little ones the grim skeleton of geography, such as the definitions of latitude and longitude, the circles of the earth, and questions on the maps. Now we contend that Mathematical Geography is quite beyond the range of infant comprehension; that maps, until the principle of their construction has been wrought out for the child, are equally unintelligible, and that the only geography that will interest and instruct him is that which we now recognize as Physical Geography. We would,

moreover, enter our earnest protest against placing any text-book into a child's hands until he shall have so far advanced in the ability to read as to grow interested in reading and lose sight of the mental effort it requires.

It follows, then, that the child's first lessons in geography are to be oral lessons, beginning first with surrounding objects and gradually extending themselves over the earth's surface. I cannot better explain my meaning than by giving rather a lengthy extract from one of the papers contained in the republication I have previously mentioned:

Let the subject be *rivers*. What a variety of instructive matter is presented by it: their source in the little springs welling forth amid the hills from the bosom of the earth; the descent of these small rills from the mountain side to the valley; the length, depth, and gradual increase of the main stream; how they are influenced by the season of the year—the smooth, clear, low water in summer, and the dark, swollen, angry torrent in winter; the character for fertility of the lands through which they flow; the uses to man of rivulets and rivers, the one a source of power for industrial purposes, the other the highways of commerce and traveling, both adding to the riches and civilization of a people. All these ideas are involved in the idea of a "river;" and there are few of them that could not be illustrated by reference to the brook that may pass the school, or the river that may flow through the city.

Let the subject be *mountains*. There may be some hill near the school which the children have beguiled many summer days in climbing. They are to observe its shape, whether it be broad and flat, or steep, and in some parts precipitous; whether it be a single hill or one of a range; the matter composing its surface, whether earth, or rock in any of its forms; the covering of its surface, whether grass, or heather, or shrubs; the animals that may be browsing on its slopes, the streams that may leap down its sides; the climate, varying with the height till we reach the cool of its summit; the cornfields at the base, extending more or less up its base; the woods and the grass, the toilsomeness of the ascent, and the time required for it.

Let the lessons be upon the phenomena of *climate*. On a *winter's day* call their attention to the thick flakes of falling snow, whitening the face of nature, or the hardening influence of the clear frost, covering our lakes, ponds, and roads with ice; the rapid motion and thick covering necessary for our comfort; the fires we need in our houses, the care needed by our animals; the unproductiveness of nature at that time, the long day and the short night. From this "winter's day" at home he may realize the dreary desolation of the Arctic zone, with its freezing temperature, its wilderness of ice, its stunted vegetation, its dearth of

animal life, its short cheerless days, and its humble fur-clad dwellers. On a summer's day, again, the mild air, the blue sky, the moderate motion and thin clothing; the face of nature beaming with animal life and clothed with rich vegetable green: the treasures in field and garden; the long day and short night: all these may lead him to fancy himself amid the scorching blue sky of the tropics, with the want of rain, the rapid and abundant growth of plants and animals, the overpowering heat of day, and the dews of night, the jungle and the desert.

He can expand the idea of the river at home till it reaches the Rhine, the Nile, the Mississippi, and the Amazon; the mountain or hills at home till he shall see the Alps with their fertile valleys and lower slopes, and the woods above reaching to the everlasting snows; or Etna, with its teeming sides and magnificent prospects and smoking volcano top.

A map of a country should not be given a child till he has learned to construct maps of the school-room, play-ground, and surrounding streets; he thus understands the principles of their construction. He should be taught to draw these home maps on a correct scale, being allowed to measure the school-room and represent each foot by an inch, or in drawing the play-ground he may draw a yard to the inch. We shall find specimen lessons in "Calkins's Object-Lessons." First the children are taught

THE NECESSITY OF FIXED POINTS.

[They have been previously taught the names and positions of these points.] Now look at me and observe how I stand; tell me which way to walk to find the door. "To the right." [Teacher turns half round.] Must I go to the right now? "No, it is behind you." [Turning half round again.] How must I go now? "To the left." Then these points right and left change; but there are points which do not change; they are North, South, East and West. If a man, inquiring for the post-office, were told by you, "Go north on this street till you come to a white building and that is the post-office," would you need to know in which direction he was standing when you directed him? Then do these points change as we change? "No." You now see why they are called fixed points. The child, already knowing the names and positions of these points, and being taught that on the slate or map the North is put at the top and South at the bottom, can readily follow the teacher as he constructs his home maps and can soon draw them without assistance, and he is thus prepared to understand maps of more remote localities, and of large countries, when they are given him to study.

We have said little about reading, though we acknowledge it to be the most important acquisition which the child can

make, because it puts him in communication with the world of books and allows him to increase his store of knowledge at his own pleasure. The most approved method of teaching foreign languages is this: The child learns a few words and the manner of using them; he immediately puts in practice what he has learned; the words are made up into a variety of sentences which he is obliged to translate from English into Latin, (if that should be the language he is learning,) and again Latin sentences containing the same words are to be translated into English. He thus makes daily use of every additional word added to his vocabulary. We acknowledge this to be the proper method, but we have been slow to apply it in teaching the reading of one's native language. A child learns to spell a few words; do we combine these words into sentences and put him at once to reading? Not often. We first require that he shall go through with the spelling book, learning word after word, which he could not form into sentences, because he does not know their use. Certainly we are cumbering him with useless lumber. I once knew an industrious, solitary student who committed to memory an entire Latin Dictionary before he commenced to translate. Is not the old method of teaching the spelling book something nearly analogous?

An excellent little work, Wilson's Primer, published by the Harpers, is constructed something on this principle. A few simple words, perhaps a dozen, are given for the child to learn; these are immediately combined into reading lessons, illustrated by interesting pictures, and one cannot but wonder that these few simple words are capable of so many combinations, all into meaning sentences which interest the child.

Much praise has been bestowed upon Wilson's Series of School Books; but we would love to call attention to the Primer as having been overlooked by those interested in the higher branches of education. Toward the end of the Primer, and in the First Reader, Mr. Wilson loses sight of the principles upon which the first part of the Primer is arranged, and introduces lessons which contain a great number of words which the child has not yet learned to recognize. We think his elementary series would have been far better had he adhered to the first plan, and introduced only a few new words into each lesson. The progress of the pupil must have been less rapid, but it

would have been more certain and less embarrassing; and permit us here to say, that "it is not at all necessary that the child's progress should be rapid, but it is necessary for him to love his employment."

"Learning to read is unquestionably a *task* for the child. It should be the object of the teacher to make him feel it to be a task as little as possible." We cannot lay too much stress upon this point; namely, the teaching a child to *love* reading. A child may be taught to read who regards his lesson only as a drudgery; many a child *is* thus taught, but is he likely to make a *reading man?* When he can choose for himself, will he not lay aside the occupation he has never loved? These little books, Wilson's, which we have previously mentioned, contain just such reading lessons as a child will be apt to love; talks about familiar things, and just such thoughts and feelings as are natural to the child.

But about spelling. Simply, let us give ourselves no uneasiness about it; put the child to reading, every new word he will be obliged to spell, (if it is at all irregular in sound he must be assisted in pronouncing it.) These words he learns to spell by seeing them so frequently repeated in his reading lessons; their forms are impressed upon his mind, for spelling is much more a habit of the eye than the ear; occasionally he is exercised in spelling orally the words he so frequently reads, and thus he becomes capable of spelling *every* word which he can read. What more, as regards spelling, shall we require, when he is an adult, than to be able to spell correctly every word which he can read?

We have thus sketched what we consider some of the excellences of the "object-method." We believe that for those infants who are to be sent to school it is the best method yet devised, though, doubtless, capable of much improvement, which time and experience will point out. Those who prefer a home education for their little ones will find many hints in the works we have mentioned which shall benefit them, though, of course, at home these lessons may be conducted with far less formality; and there are many in "Calkins's" course which may be entirely omitted, as any intelligent, home-bred child will acquire in ordinary conversation, and without effort, the ideas he has so systematically drawn out.

Art. VIII.—THE MORAL ELEMENT IN MAN, IN ITS BEARING UPON NATURAL THEOLOGY.

[SECOND PAPER.]

The physical world, with all its wonderful contrivances, its harmonies, its universal plan—of which our own Sun and planetary systems are but a small part revolving about the great center of the universe—while it demonstrates the unity, wisdom, and omnipotence of God; and while the geological ages of the past give us the strongest assurance that this great Being is unchangeable, from the fact that we see in the organization of the past world a great plan culminating in the creation of man; yet this physical system displays not the moral attributes of God, unless it is the attribute of goodness, which, in spite of the numerous instances of benevolent design, is involved in great difficulty.

It is in the moral world, in the moral constitution of man, that we find the proof of the holiness and goodness of God. Whether man dwells along the banks of the Niger, scorched by perpetual sun, or wanders over the Kalaharian desert, or over the barren wastes of Northern Asia, or roams through the American forests, or is shut up in the isles of the Southern Sea, he has the ideas of right, wrong, and moral obligation—ideas that are coeval and coextensive with our race. So deeply is the idea of moral obligation ingrained into our very being, that we meet with it even in the most ignorant and most depraved of the human race. Custom, however powerful, and vice, however destructive to the moral perceptions, have never been able to obliterate it wholly. It is true there are cases in which it may be difficult for us to prove absolutely the existence of this idea; yet we think that few will deny, that where people believe in the existence of a higher power and in the immortality of the soul, there must exist at the same time the feeling of moral obligation.

Even the cannibals of the Fiji Islands had not lost all idea of a supernatural power. "The idea of Deity is familiar to the Fijian, and the existence of an invisible superhuman power, controlling or influencing all earthly things, is fully recognized

by him."* They also believed in the immortality of the soul. The conversion of these people ranks among the most splendid triumphs of Christianity.

Few people upon the face of the earth have been found more corrupted and degraded by every wicked practice and abominable pollution than the inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands.

But great as was the darkness of their minds, and pitiable as was the confusion or grossness of their ideas of the divine attributes, still, every one of them was created with conscience and freedom of thought and will, which made them accountable to their Creator and moral governor. They all had, moreover, a language capable of expressing truth and falsehood, love and hatred, right and wrong, duty and sin, moral excellence and moral turpitude, so as to afford a medium for teaching a course of life far better than they pursued. The phrase "God of Heaven" was familiar to them.†

The Tahitians (or Otaheitans) believe in two divinities of a high order, from the union of which everything in the universe was originally derived. They also recognize divinities of a subordinate character. They likewise believe in the immortality of the soul.‡ In reference to these people, Captain Cook remarks:

The suppliant is all devotion; he approaches the place of worship with reverential awe, uncovers when he treads on sacred ground, and prays with a fervor that would do honor to a better profession. He firmly credits the tradition of his ancestors. None dares dispute the existence of the Deity. The Polynesians, entertaining the general belief of a hereafter, could hardly fail to conclude that there must be rewards and punishments.§

The New Zealanders believe in one Supreme Divinity and in subordinate ones. The doctrine of the immortality of the soul is universally received among them.‖

In reference to the South Africans, Livingstone remarks: "There is no necessity for beginning to tell even the most degraded of the people of the existence of a God or a future state, the facts being universally admitted." On the Backwains,

* Fiji and the Fijians, by Williams and Calvert, page 169.

† Bingham's History of the Sandwich Islands, page 26.

‡ Histoire et Description de tous les peuples par De Rienzi. Paris, 1836. Tome deuxieme, page 342.

§ Polynesia, by M. Russell, LL.D., page 59.

‖ De Rienzi, tome troisième, page 169. "An Otaheitan, or an Esquimaux," says Paley, "knows nothing of Christianity. Does he know more of the principles of Deism?" Paley was mistaken in reference to both of these people.

he remarks: "Respecting the sense of right and wrong, they profess that nothing we indicate as sin ever appeared to them as otherwise, except the statement that it was wrong to have more wives than one."*

It appears to be a very common opinion, erroneous, however, that the Eskimos† have no religious ideas. Sir John Richardson says:

> The inhabitants of Cumberland Sound have an idea of a good and of an evil spirit. They call the good spirit Sana, or Sanak, saying that they implore his aid when in trouble or in want. The Labrador Eskimos generally suppose the condition of the soul to be better after death than during life. The rights of property among themselves appear to be sacred. The Greenlanders believe in two great spirits and many lesser ones.‡

Of the Indians of our own continent, we may simply remark—their religious views being so well known—that all of them believe in a "Great Spirit," and in the immortality of the soul. We know of no exceptions.

But let us turn our eyes away from these savages and take a glance at the cultivated nations of the Roman Empire in the zenith of its pagan glory and civilization, that we may ascertain whether they had any idea of a *moral* law different from mere prudential maxims. No one was better prepared to deliver the sentiments of the old world upon this point than Cicero, before whom lay open the rich stores of ancient learning, and who was himself the greatest philosopher of the Roman world. The following noble passage is as clear and strong upon this subject as anything can well be:

> True law is indeed right reason, agreeable to nature, spread abroad among all men, unchangeable, eternal; which calls us to duty by commanding us, and deters us from crime by forbidding us, which, however, neither commands nor forbids in vain the virtuous, nor does it move the wicked by its commands or prohibitions. Nor does heaven permit any part of this law to be repealed; neither can anything be taken from it, nor can it be made wholly void. From this law we can be freed neither by the Senate nor by the people, nor is another to be sought as its explainer or interpreter. Nor will this law be one thing at Rome, another at

* Travels in South Africa, page 176.

† We follow in the spelling of this word Dr. Latham and other recent ethnologists, who write it after the Danish orthography, *Eskimo*, adopted by Sir John Richardson.

‡ Polar Regions.

Athens; one thing now, another hereafter; but one law, eternal and immutable, will bind all nations for all time; and it shall be as one common master, and as God who governs all. God himself is the author, judge, and proposer of this law. Whoever will not obey it will fly from himself, and having spurned the nature of man, he will from this very circumstance suffer the severest penalties, although he may have escaped other punishments which are considered (penalties).*

In the Memorabilia of Xenophon, Socrates, in a discussion with the sophist Hippias, gives us a beautiful argument on the excellency and force of law, and at length he puts the question to Hippias: "Do you know of any *unwritten* laws?" "Those laws certainly," replied he, "which are observed in the same way (that is, are identical) in every place." "Could you say," asked Socrates, "that men made them?" "How could I," replied he, "for all men could never have assembled together, nor have they a common language?" "Who then," asked Socrates, "do you suppose made these laws?" "I think," replied he, "that the gods have enjoined these laws upon men."† The recognition of unwritten laws in this passage is remarkable.

The great German metaphysician, Kant, may be regarded as a fit representative of the modern world in the department of Mental Philosophy. In a passage of great sublimity and beauty, he remarks:

Two things there are which, the oftener and the more steadfastly we consider, fill the mind with an ever new and ever rising admira-

* Est quidem vera lex recta ratio, naturae congruens, diffusa in omnes, constans, sempiterna, quae vocet ad officium jubendo, vetando a fraude deterreat; quaetamen neque probos frusta jubet aut vetat nec improbos jubendo aut vetando movet. Huic legi nec obrogari fas est neque derogari ex hac aliquid licet neque tota abrogari potest, nec vero aut per Senatum, aut per populum, solvi hac lege possumus, neque est quaerendus explanator aut interpretes ejus alius, nec erit alia lex Romae, alia Athenis, alia nunc alia posthac, sed et omnes gentes et omni tempore, una lex et sempiterna, et immutabalis continebit unus que erit communis quasi magister et Imperator omnium Deus: Ille legis hujus inventor, disceptator, lator, cui qui non parebit, ipse se fugiet, ac naturam hominis adspernatus hoc ipso luet maximas poenas, etiam si caetera supplicia, quae putantur, effugerit. De Republica. Liber III, cap. 22. Klotz's edition, Lipsiae, 1855.

† *Ἀγράφους δέ τινας οἶσθα, ἔφη, ὦ Ἱππία, νόμους; τοὺσγὲν πάσῃ, ἔφη, χώρᾳ κατὰ ταὐτὰ νομιζομένους. Ἔχοις ἂν οὖν εἰπεῖν, ἔφη, ὅτι οἱ ἄν θρωποι αὐτοὺς ἔθεντο; Καὶ πῶς ἄν, ἔφη, οἵ γε οὔτε συνελθεῖν ἅπαντες ἂν δυνηθεῖεν, οὔτε ὁμόφωνοί εἰσι; Τίνας οὖν, ἔφη, νομίζεις τεθεικέναι τοὺς νόμους τούτους; Ἐγὼμέν, ἔφη, θεοὺς οἶμαι τοὺς νόμους τούτους τοῖς ἀνθρώποις θεῖναι.* Book IV, chap. iv, sec. 19.

tion and reverence. The STARRY HEAVEN above, the MORAL LAW within: of neither am I compelled to seek out the reality, as vailed in darkness, or only to conjecture the possibility as beyond the hemisphere of my knowledge. Both I contemplate lying clear before me, and connect both immediately with my consciousness of existence. The one departs from the place I occupy in the outer world of sense, expands, beyond the bounds of imagination, this connection of my body with worlds rising beyond worlds, and systems blending into systems, and protends it also into the illimitable times of their periodic movement, to its commencement and perpetuity. The other departs from my invisible self, from my personality, and represents me in a world, truly infinite indeed, but whose infinity can be tracked out only by the intellect, with which also my connection, unlike the fortuitous relation I stand in to all worlds of sense, I am compelled to recognize as universal and necessary. In the former, the first view of a countless multitude of worlds annihilates, as it were, my importance as an *animal product*, which after a brief and that incomprehensible endowment with the powers of life, is compelled to refund its constituent matter to the planet—itself an atom in the universe—on which it grew. The other, on the contrary, elevates my worth as an *intelligence* even without limit, and this through my personality, in which the moral law reveals a faculty of life independent of my animal nature, nay, of the whole material world; at least if it be permitted to infer as much from the regulation of my being, which a conformity with that law exacts; proposing, as it does, my moral worth for the absolute end of my activity, conceding no compromise of its imperative to a necessitation of nature, and spurning, in its infinity, the conditions and boundaries of my present transitory life.*

Those systems of philósophy which ignore the moral nature in man, the Positivism of Comte, for example, can never gain a permanent lodgment in the human mind. France, during the Revolution of 1789, tried the experiment—we trust for all time—of establishing a Republic without a God, whose very existence was denied, death declared to be an eternal sleep, the Sabbath abolished, and every vestige of a sacred character extirpated. But this state of things did not last long. The French people stood aghast at, and at length recoiled from, the dark bottomless abyss of Atheism. The moral instincts of the people could be no longer suppressed, but rose with irresistable power and shook off the demon of Atheism and returned to the worship of the Infinite and the Eternal, and to the recognition of the moral dignity of man, and of his high destiny in the creation of God.

* Critique of the Practical Reason.

Nor let the Atheist point with contempt to the absurd religious practices of pagan nations, and the superstitions connected with a belief in a future life, as a proof of the faintness and inconstancy of what we term the moral sense. For may not the same objection be made to the *rational* faculty? "There is no absurdity," says Varro, "that has not been believed by some philosopher." The belief in a future state, found among every people under heaven, could not have been reasoned out by unthinking savages, but it either must have come down from an original tradition belonging to the human race when it made a single family, or it must spring up spontaneously from the moral instincts of man. We are inclined to think the first of these suppositions true, though we would not exclude the second.

That strange belief in ghosts, which seems to have been almost universal during the past, though now generally discarded by a philosophical and materialistic age, had its origin in the deep conviction of the immortality of man. Without this conviction it could have had no place. The very superstitions themselves show the natural strength of the soil upon which they grow.

When we see pagan nations performing barbarous rites and violating every command of the Decalogue, it does not necessarily follow that their consciences approve of their acts. For in that case it would follow that the abominable vices of the Christian world are in accordance with the dictates of a Christian conscience. And how many examples does the Christian world furnish us of men violating every sacred principle, living without the least regard for the divine law, and yet, when finding themselves at the point of death, exhibiting the keenest remorse for their conduct.

By the moral nature in man, we mean that faculty by virtue of which we perceive and feel the moral quality of actions. Perhaps we should make a distinction between moral judgment and conscience. Moral judgment is the exercise of the faculties, intellectual and moral, upon questions involving right and wrong.

It may, however, be doubted whether the faculty that discriminates the moral character of actions is different from that which perceives mathematical relations, investigates and determ-

ines problems in physics, and judges of works of art in general. There are intellects that possess great mathematical power, and yet show but little skill in Belles-Lettres, poetry, and in general philology. It is true, however, that poetry has its source more in the feelings than in the intellect, and the same perhaps is true of æsthetics in general. As we thus see the intellect, variously modified and developed, we could suppose that the moral judgment might be nothing more than the conclusions of the intellect, combined it is true with feeling, directed to moral questions.

But the moral faculty in man is something more than the perception of the moral quality of actions. There is the feeling of obligation to perform the right and to avoid the wrong. There enters the soul the idea of *duty*, which cannot be resolved into utility or self-interest. Now this feeling of obligation to do what is right, and of approval when it is performed, and of condemnation when wrong is done, we call *conscience*, and it takes cognizance of *moral* actions only. There are many things that we might think it suitable for us to do; but if they are not moral subjects, conscience takes no notice of their neglect. The mathematician may draw very irregular and awkward figures, and blunder in his calculations and demonstrations, and though he may be vexed and grieved at it, conscience is entirely silent.

Now the question arises, On what hypothesis can we explain this feeling of condemnation for wrong doing? It cannot spring from a fear of punishment; that idea can have nothing to do with it. There may arise cases in which municipal law may punish us for doing what is really our duty. So far is conscience from suffering pain through fear of punishment under such circumstances that it actually cheers and supports us in the discharge of our duty. Is conscience, then, a faculty placed in the human breast to warn us against sin as the deadly foe of the human soul, just as in the body, the nerves of sensation are most thickly distributed in the most vital parts to save us from destruction by timely warnings? This would seem to be a part of its great office, though the feeling of guilt is awfully present, and seems to exist independent of the idea of future retribution.

Now if the conscience is to a great extent a warning as well

as a condemning and approving faculty, to what have its warnings reference? In many cases it can have no reference to danger to the individual in the present life. On the contrary, conscience often condemns acts that are done for the very purpose of securing the advantages of life, and even for saving life itself. Conscience requires us to sacrifice our life itself rather than to disobey the divine law. Conscience then refers us to a future and higher life, as well as to a higher power involved in the very idea of moral obligation. Conscience may be regarded as God's vicegerent in the human breast, a powerful but invisible judge. As long as man obeys its dictates, all within is calm and pleasant; but no sooner is the divine law violated than its voice is heard in tones of thunder, condemning his actions and warning him of future punishment. Self-interest, ambition, and lust have combined to still its voice, and even to dethrone it; wicked institutions and depraved customs have conspired to sanction vice, and to insinuate themselves into the favor of conscience, but with little success. With the greatest reluctance does it receive bribes. It is true there are times when the tumult of passion seems to drown its voice, and the lower faculties to have gained the complete mastery of it; but when these storms have subsided, and the scenes of revelry are past, it reasserts its authority, and lashes with scorpion stings the transgressor. The furies of the Greek and Roman Mythology would seem to refer to the stings and lashes of conscience both in the present and in the future world.

St. Paul, in the Epistle to the Romans, asserts the universality of conscience and its office in the following words: "For when the Gentiles, which have not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law, these, having not the law, are a law unto themselves: which show the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts the meanwhile accusing or else excusing one another." The beautiful language of the nineteenth Psalm, employed to set forth the testimony borne everywhere by creation to the glory of the Creator, may be made to apply to conscience by simply changing the plural to the singular: "There is no speech nor language, where *its* voice is not heard. *Its* line is gone out through all the earth, and *its* words to the end of the world."

It is sometimes objected to conscience that it is the mere creature of education, varying in different individuals, condemning in one what it approves in another, acting rather with caprice than with wisdom. In some, morbidly sensitive; in others, almost void of feeling and seared as with a hot iron, and indicating by its very vacillation its unfitness for the office of judge, and the improbability of its being a divine monitor.

Now we admit that conscience, like any other faculty, reason, for example, or even the senses, may be trained. But must not a faculty have an existence *before* it can be educated? To educate is simply to *bring out*, to *unfold*. We likewise admit that its decisions are not always *absolutely* correct, but they accord with the judgment. If the judgment in reference to virtue or vice be correct, conscience will also be correct in its decisions; and it is a well-established principle in ethics that the moral quality of every action depends upon the *motive* with which it is done. It is then very evident that conscience *ought* to approve of those acts that are performed with the conviction that they are right, and to condemn those that are performed with the belief that they are wrong. For whether they are *absolutely* right or not, if we have taken pains to ascertain their true character, our error in judgment cannot be imputed to us as sin. Indeed, if conscience approved of or condemned actions without respect to the judgment of the actor, it would lead to some gross absurdities. We might in that case, through an error in judgment, perform an act in itself wrong which conscience would condemn, but *why* condemned we would not know. Judgment would pronounce it right, and conscience condemn it as wrong. We might perform another act with the conviction that it was wrong, and conscience might pronounce it right. There would be a perpetual war between the judgment and conscience; as it is, there is a beautiful harmony. Even apart from this dependence of the conscience upon the judgment, it would not follow that conscience is not of divine appointment because its decisions are sometimes wrong. God has unquestionably given us reason as the guide of our life, and yet how often are its conclusions wrong? Other faculties also sometimes fail us. The great fault is generally with the judgment,

not with conscience. Judgment may be compared to the jury which renders the verdict, while conscience holds the place of the judge to pronounce sentence in accordance with the verdict. Conscience may be perverted, or in some cases apparently destroyed in the same manner that the judgment may be warped or taste vitiated.

But it must be remarked that a man is sometimes responsible for wrong acts which he may have conscientiously performed. For the question arises, whether he has taken pains to inform the judgment, whether he has acted without prejudice.

If the moral perceptions are blunted by vice, and the conscience seared, so that the one no longer perceives clearly the moral quality of actions, and the other does not condemn with proper discrimination, man himself bears the guilt of it; just as the drunkard, who finds it quite impossible to break off from his habit, bears the guilt of his present course because *he has made himself what he is.* And here is fulfilled the language of Scripture: "There is a way which seemeth right unto a man, but the end thereof are the ways of death." The moral darkness of the soul is in many cases the penalty of former acts of disobedience, and of the rejection of the truth. "And for this cause God shall send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie: that they all might be damned who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness."

St. Paul in his address to Agrippa (Acts xxiii, 1) uses the following language: "I verily thought with myself that I ought to do many things contrary to the name of Jesus of Nazareth." Jewish zeal had misled his judgment, and his strong prejudice prevented him from attending to the proofs of the Messiahship of Christ; and his conscience went with his judgment. But had Paul possessed the spirit of a Simeon —had he been humble instead of being the proud Pharisee, he would have believed in Christ without the necessity of a miraculous appearance to him on the way to Damascus. Hence, the source of his guilt. But in no instance can conscience condemn us—there cannot possibly be the feeling of guilt—where we are conscious of having acted with an eye single to the divine glory. Let us illustrate this by an example. Suppose a jury of twelve men, having attentively listened to the evidence against a man indicted for murder, and having thor-

oughly sifted it, conscientiously believes that he is guilty of murder, and renders a verdict which consigns the man to death, and it turns out after all that he is innocent, does the community, their conscience, or God hold the jury responsible? They may be vexed and grieved, but the feeling of guilt cannot enter their souls. And may there not be cases where religious persecutors may be free from guilt? (though we believe the cases to be few, and that most persecutions spring from anything else than from the love of God.)

Now the existence of such a faculty as conscience is a strong proof of the existence of a moral Lawgiver and of the holiness of his character. It cannot be for a moment supposed that the author of our constitution would have placed in our breast a judge to condemn actions that he himself loves, or to approve of what he himself hates. Hence, our whole moral nature leads us to ascribe holiness to God, and without a belief in this attribute, religion would be impossible. Now Christianity presupposes the moral attributes of God, and appeals to the human breast in proof of their reality.

While we thus contend for the moral nature in man and for the authority of conscience, we are far from thinking that the moral nature is self-sufficient. It is no more sufficient for the purposes of religion without revelation than the eye is for vision without light. The moral constitution and Christianity are complements of each other. It is this constitution that makes man a religious being. Without it he might feel no more interest in the existence of God than in the law of gravitation. But, unless our moral nature is a lie, we owe obedience to our Maker, are responsible for our actions, and may expect future retribution.

But of all the moral attributes of God, that of goodness alone seems perplexing. Every day our eyes behold so many things that seem to clash with this attribute. The existence of evil in a government under the control of an all-wise and beneficent Being is a problem that no human intellect can solve. But does it follow that God is not good because there are some phenomena in nature that seem at variance with this perfection? Does it not sometimes happen that natural phenomena seem to clash with well-established laws, which discrepancy, if removed at all, is removed only by the most laborious

investigations? To our finite minds there is scarcely any hope that we shall ever, here, at least, understand *all* the divine government. In proportion as we increase our knowledge, to a great extent we increase our difficulties. One difficulty after another vanishes, and new ones of a higher order and of a more complicated character arise to take their place. *God is the only being in the universe who sees everything without a cloud and without a shadow.* But though we may not be able to assign a reason for the divine conduct in everything, and may find it hard to reconcile some things with goodness; we, nevertheless, must believe from what we know of his works that his plans are directed by wisdom and goodness.

To argue from the known to the unknown is the method employed in every department of knowledge; we wish to apply it to theology. As far as we can understand the works of God they are admirable; the human eye is the most perfect of all optical instruments. We have the *whole* case before us. We may make the same remark respecting most of the creation. But when we enter into things more complicated and comprehensive, we fail to see the same wisdom, for the simple reason that we see but a part of the system; "we see through a glass darkly." To illustrate this point, suppose we should enter the workshop of an eminent mechanic, who should give us various specimens of his genius. He might explain to us a piece that we could readily understand, and which would give us a high opinion of his skill; he might show us another piece more complicated which we with difficulty could understand, and that would increase our admiration of his wisdom; he might then show us a third piece of a higher order and far more complicated, which we, in spite of all our efforts, would fail to understand. Now, how would we proceed in this case? Would we not say to him: Those pieces of your work which we *can understand* give us the highest proof of your skill, and we doubt not that it exists in *that piece of machinery*, though it is so complex that we do not perceive it. The reasoning would be sound. And shall we not believe that where there is any apparent discrepancy between the phenomena of the world and divine goodness and wisdom it is to be attributed to our limited capacity and knowledge?

But let us turn from the phenomena of the physical world,

which in many cases perplex the question of the divine goodness, and let us look within at our moral constitution to ascertain if it throws any light on this difficult subject. Now we think that it is just here that the strongest proof of the divine goodness is to be found. Do we not sympathize with the miseries of our fellow-men, and if it were possible, would we not banish all suffering? Are not the natural impulses of our hearts, when unchecked by self-interest, benevolent? Are we better than our Maker? Must not God, who is the author of our constitution, possess the attributes of benevolence and goodness in a higher degree than we do ourselves? Infinite wisdom saw that it was best that there should be in the creation moral free agents, to whom suffering is necessary as a discipline in their probationary state—to man both as a discipline and a punishment, since he is a sinful being. Even angels must have suffered in their probationary state. When Satan drew off a part of the host of heaven there must have been an earnest struggle with the unfallen ones—accompanied with anxiety and dread—to escape being drawn into the vortex of ruin. We may, then, with confidence state the position, that *God is the only being in the universe that is perfectly happy without having passed through sufferings.*

Art. IX.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

PROTESTANTISM.

GREAT BRITAIN.

The Rationalistic Controversy.—The case of Bishop Colenso came up again for discussion at an adjourned meeting of the Convocation of Canterbury, in the month of May. Archdeacon Denison brought up the report of a committee, which, on his motion, had been appointed to examine the bishop's books, and which report the archdeacon himself had drawn up. The report was adopted, and a resolution was passed by the Lower House requesting the Upper House to take such steps thereupon as they might deem expedient. In the Upper House the Bishop of London repeated the objection he formerly took, that it would not be seemly to condemn a book now on which some of them, at least, might hereafter be called to sit in judgment; and the Bishop of St. David's made some remarks against the Church interfering in such a question at all. On a subsequent day a "judgment" was agreed to and communicated to the Lower House, that "the book of the Bishop of Natal involves errors of the gravest and most dangerous character, subversive of faith in the Bible as the word of God." At the same time the bishops declined to go further, for the reasons indicated by the Bishop of London. The Bishop of St. David's objected to his brethren expressing an

opinion, and the Bishop of Salisbury to their declining to follow it up. The Lower House unanimously accepted and concurred in the "judgment." This decision is important, not only in its bearing on the Bishop of Natal, but as being the first formal synodical act on doctrinal questions that the Convocation has taken in recent times.

In June, Bishop Colenso published the third part of his work on the Pentateuch, treating of the Book of Deuteronomy. The work appears, however, to have fallen flat upon the public mind. The curiosity to see what a bishop could say against the authenticity of the Bible being once gratified, little interest seems to be felt in the matter.

It has again become doubtful whether there is any authority that can reach Bishop Colenso and compel him to resign his episcopal crosier. At one time it was thought that his metropolitan, the Bishop of Capetown, would be able to subject him to his jurisdiction, and bring him to trial for heresy; but that hope has, in a great measure, vanished. It is found, by a decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, that a bishop's power in the colonies is no more than a bishop's power at home; that he cannot prosecute a single parish priest except for disobedience of instructions sanctioned by law. Now, as all the Episcopal Bench together cannot try Bishop Colenso, it seems to follow, that the colonial bishops cannot have much more power intrusted to them in the colonies. A great portion of the Church are glad that the decision of this question should be taken out of the hands of the Bishop of Capetown, who is an ultra Puseyite.

The sensation produced by the book of Bishop Colenso has not been confined to the Christian world. In a paper published in the Turkish language, at Constantinople, there is an amusing letter from a *mollah*, dated from the Cape of Good Hope. The worthy Mussulman reviews the manners and customs of the Christians in that colony, and especially alludes to the religious dissensions among them. "Their priests," he says, "all advocate different creeds; and as to their bishops, 'one Colenso actually writes books against his own religion.'" The Buddhists of India are likewise making use of Colenso's books in their controversies with the Christian missionaries.

The case of two of the Oxford essayists, Dr. Williams and Mr. Wilson, who had been condemned by the Court of Arches for heresy and suspended for one year from the benefices, has been at length brought before the Queen's Privy Council, whose decision on the matter will be final. The arguments before the Committee of the Council were concluded on the 26th of June. The decision has not yet been announced.

PRESBYTERIAN UNION.—The movement toward a union of the non-established Presbyterian Churches of Great Britain, to which we referred in the last number of the Methodist Quarterly Review, has since made considerable progress. In May, a decisive step was taken by the United Presbyterian General Assembly, which met this year in Edinburgh. The general principle of union was advocated by such leading men of the Church as Dr. Cairns, of Berwick, and Dr. Andrew Thomson, of Edinburgh; while Dr. King, now of London, moved that a committee be appointed to confer on the subject of union with the committee of any other non-established Church that may think fit to appoint a committee for that purpose. One or two of the members counseled a year's delay; but the great majority thought otherwise, and, in the fullest General Assembly of the Church that has ever met, 178 members voted for the committee, while only 17 were found to hesitate.

The Free Church General Assembly, which met in June, showed itself no less favorable to the scheme. Dr. Buchanan, Dr. Candlish, and others made stirring speeches in favor of it, and on a vote being taken a Committee of Conference was appointed without a dissenting voice. The committees of the two bodies held their first joint meeting on the 17th of June. It was agreed to appoint a subcommittee to determine upon the documents that are of authority in the two Churches, as defining their position and principles, and the points which most require consideration in view of a union. To give time for this examination, the joint committees adjourned to the last week in July, and in the mean time invited the smaller non-established Presbyterian bodies in Scotland to take part in these deliberations with a view to union.

ACT OF UNIFORMITY.—The question of relaxing the stringency of the Act of Uniformity formed, in May, the subject of discussion both in the House of Lords and in the Convocation of Canterbury. In the House of Lords, Lord Ebury's bill for the amendment of the Act of Uniformity, the principal object of which was to abolish the declaration required to be subscribed by persons holding office in the Established Church, declaring that the subscriber believed in "all things contained in the Book of Common Prayer," was lost on the second reading. The most remarkable feature of the debate was the support given to the motion by the Bishop of London, who defended the proposed change. In the Convocation the question was adjourned.

On the 9th of June Mr. Buxton proposed the following resolution in the House of Commons: "That, in the opinion of this House, the subscription required from the Clergy to the Thirty-nine Articles and to the Prayer Book ought to be relaxed." The debate was looked upon as a great step in advance by the anti-subscriptionists, though the resolution was withdrawn without a vote.

In July the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury had a lively discussion on the subject. Dr. M'Caul had proposed a resolution, to the effect "That it is not expedient to relax the rule of subscription to the Act of Uniformity." The Rev. J. Bramstone, wishing to convince the opponents of the Act that it had been considered in all its bearnings by that House, moved the amendment: "That the prolocutor be requested to nominate a committee to consider the question of clerical subscription, and whether there are grounds for considering the subscription burdensome on the clergy, and whether it might be relaxed or modified without endangering the definite faith of the Church of England." After a lengthy debate, the propriety of appointing a committee to consider whether there were grounds for relaxation was carried by 24 against 14 votes. The appointment of a committee was urged by such men as Canons Selwyn, Wordsworth, Harold Browne, Archdeacon Moore, and others, not, in every case, because the speakers were themselves in favor of relaxation, but that they believed the examination of the question would tend to clear away much of the confusion that at present exists.

METHODIST UNION.—A union movement, similar to the one which has been for some time in progress among the Presbyterians, has commenced among the Methodist denominations of England. It has, at present, for its object to unite the "liberal" Methodist bodies, by which term the originators of the movement include all of these bodies except the principal branch, the Wesleyan Methodists. The project was started by the New Connection Methodists, the conference of whom, at their recent session in Leeds, appointed a committee to confer with similar committees to be appointed by the other conferences. The plan has met with much favor. The United Methodist Free Churches passed resolutions, 1. Expressing their belief that a union of the various "liberal" Methodist communities, founded on a mutually satisfactory basis, would be productive of great advantages to themselves, and promote the cause of ecclesiastical freedom and the diffusion of evangelical truth; also requesting the connectional committee to consider what measures can be adopted for the accomplishment of the contemplated union. 2. Authorizing the connectional committee to confer with any of the liberal Methodist bodies who may be willing to enter into negotiations with a view to give effect to the preceding resolution. Both resolutions were unanimously adopted.

The Bible Christian Conference also expressed itself highly gratified with the earnest disposition shown by the Methodist New Connection Conference to fraternize with other branches of the Methodist Church; yet in reply to the recommendation of the district meetings of London and Portsmouth, to consider the propriety of effecting an amalgamation with the Methodist New Connection, it declared that for the present it had better persevere in the work allotted to it by Providence in its separate capacity; but should the hand of Providence at any future period appear to lead it into closer binding with that estimable denomination it would be prepared seriously to deliberate on the subject. The proposition had previously been well received and cordially seconded by the Primitive Methodist Conference, which was in session at the same time and place as the New Connection Methodists.

The scheme of union is warmly seconded by the Canadian branch of the

New Connection Methodists, and it is worthy of note, that the motion looking toward a union was simultaneously and without consultation made both in the English Conference and that of Canada. The Evangelical *Witness*, the Canadian organ of the New Connection Methodists, proposes two plans, by either of which it thinks the desired change can be effected. The first is to continue for a while, and under the same name, the British relations of the several bodies of Canadian Methodists, but to establish a General Conference, to be held every four years, through the instrumentality of which the Churches might be gradually brought together and eventually amalgamated. The other plan is that five members of the present executive committee of each body desiring union meet together and have a talk on the subject.

The numerical strength of the bodies which are expected to enter into the union is as follows: The Primitive Methodists have about 141,000 members; the United Methodist Free Churches 60,000; the Bible Christians 25,000; the Methodist New Connection 33,000, and the Wesleyan Reform Union about 16,000.

GERMANY.

THE STATE CHURCHES.—Important changes are constantly going on in all the State Churches. The government of the Churches by clerical consistories, appointed by the sovereign, has nearly everywhere given way to the popular demand for ecclesiastical self-government, and, instead of it, the introduction of a Presbyterian and synodical constitution has almost everywhere either been carried through or resolved upon. The most recent change of the kind is that in the Kingdom of Hanover, where last year the introduction of a new catechism against the will of the congregations occasioned an immense agitation and almost a revolution. The opposition to this measure did not confine itself to the introduction of the new catechism; but a public conference, consisting of six or seven hundred members, among whom were about thirty pastors, met on the 22d of April, at Celle, and adopted another petition to the king, praying him afresh to take steps to provide an ecclesiastical constitution, having as its basis a real representation of parishes. This demand, too, had at length to be conceded, however reluctantly, by the government. The elections of the first General Synod of the kingdom have been held, and resulted in the total defeat of the High Church Party, which has not elected more than about six members.

In Rhenish Bavaria the General Synod of the United Church has adopted a modification of the Electoral Law, regulating the composition of the presbyteries of each parish and that of the General Synod. The latter is to consist of an equal number of lay and clerical delegates. The eligibility to the local presbytery is made dependent on the religious spirit of candidates, who are expected to have been regular in their attendance at public worship and in their partaking of the Lord's supper. This last point was warmly debated. In the neighboring Grand Duchy of Baden, when the new ecclesiastical constitution was adopted, it was resolved in the negative.

ORGANIZATION OF A NATIONAL GERMAN CHURCH.—There has long been a desire in Germany for a union of the several State Churches into a National German Church. The Church Diets, which have been annually held since 1848, and the biennial conferences of delegates of the several Church governments of Germany, have partly prepared the way for such a union, and generally strengthened the desire for it. At the conference in Celle, Hanover, to which we referred above, the celebrated Dr. Ewald, Professor of Theology at Göttingen, one of the first Oriental scholars living, brought forward a proposition having for its object the establishment of a General Synod of all the Protestant Churches of Germany, which might serve as a bond of union between those Churches, and in which might be treated all questions of general interest. It is expected that this proposition will meet every where in Germany with the warmest support.

ITALY.

THE WALDENSES.—The Waldensian Synod commenced its sittings this year at La Tour, on the 19th of May. This Church has now upon Italian soil twenty stations, in connection with which are employed thirty-nine agents. These consist of sixteen ordained clergymen, seven assistant evangelists, and sixteen schoolmasters and schoolmistresses. At Palermo and Naples the Waldensian

Church has obtained a firm footing. In the island of Elba religious meetings are regularly held in three different localities, Longone, Porto Ferago, and Rio di Marino, the latter being the center of the religious movement. At Leghorn the average attendance on divine worship is 375. In connection with the congregation, besides schools, there is a hospital for the Protestant poor and sick, and a special cemetery. From Leghorn, Lucca, and Florence, the Waldensian agents go forth to evangelize in the Maremma, Grossetto, Campiglio, Volterra, etc., where the Gospel is listened to most attentively. A little congregation has been formed at Lucca, and another at Sienna. At Florence the work has made most striking progress. Besides the professors of the Theological Seminary, there is now a pastor there; the schools are said to be in a flourishing condition. At Verona, and in certain neighboring localities, an evangelist regularly assembles for worship a number of scattered Protestant families. The Congregation at Genoa comprises sixty families. It has a hospital, a Ladies' Association for the Relief of the Sick Poor, and a library. It has two agents engaged in the work of evangelization, and who extend their labors as far as Favale, Castel Nuovo di Lonvia, Pietra, Marazzi, and other Piedmontese localities. A little meeting is still kept up at Brescia, in spite of the obstacles and stratagems of all kinds which are brought to bear against it by the clergy. The congregation at Milan is rather large, and thence the Gospel is preached at Pavia, and in various parts of the Jutelvi Valley. The congregation at Courmayeur has rather increased, and meetings in connection with it are held at Aosta, the Aosta Valley, Chatillon, Arnaz, etc. At Pignerol there is a school, a large number of the scholars in which are Roman Catholics. At Turin the work progresses slowly, but of its constant progress there can be no doubt. Public worship is frequented by a goodly number of all classes of Turin society. The Sunday-school is attended not only by all the junior members of the Protestant families of the capital, but also by many Roman Catholic parents, accompanied by their children. There are various societies in active operation for the benefit of the poor and the sick, a Ladies' Society for Protecting Infants, a Sacred Choral Society, etc. In all directions, opportunities for extended usefulness present themselves.

The Evangelical printing office at Florence is now stereotyping and printing with its three presses New Testaments, and Bibles, and books of all sorts for the young and the Sabbath-school teacher, the colporteur, and the evangelist. Fifty thousand of these books and tracts were sold last year.

Art. X.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

ENGLAND.

In biblical science the Rivingtons have published "The Inspiration of the Book of Daniel and other portions of Holy Scripture; with a Correction of the Profane and an Adjustment of Sacred Chronology. By W. R. A. Boyle, of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister." It is noticed as a work of deep interest, and worthy of general favor. Besides the use of the best German authorities, the autho. has adduced the fruits of his independent study.

The Clarks, of Edinburgh, have issued the second volume of Oosterzee's Commentary on Luke. It forms a part of Dr. Lange's series of commentaries on the New Testament.

Williams & Norgate, London, have published a second edition of a Compendious Grammar of the Egyptian Language, "as contained in the Coptic, Sahidic, and Bashmuric Languages; together with Alphabets and Numerals in the Hieroglyphic and Enchorial Characters. By Rev. Henry Tattam."

The Coptic was in truth the dialect spoken at Memphis, and is sometimes called the Memphitic; the Sahidic or Thebaic was spoken in Upper Egypt, of which Thebes was the capital; while the Bashmuric was spoken in the Delta. The existence of several very peculiar words in the Hebrew Scriptures, traceable to the Coptic, of some ancient versions of the Scripture, and of some old liturgies, render this language deeply in-

teresting to the biblical critic and the comparative philologist.

Williams & Norgate publish a volume on "The Tübingen School and its Antecedents. A Review of the History and present Condition of Modern Theology." The work is by a congenially skeptical thinker, R. W. Mackay, the author of "The Progress of Intellect."

GERMANY.

The large number of commentaries to the Psalms, which the theological literature of Germany has produced, has recently received an addition by a work of Prof. Hitzig, of Heidelberg, which gives a new translation and commentary. (Hitzig, Die Psalmen, Uebersetzt und ausgelegt. Leipzic, 1863. 1 vol. The work is to be completed by the second volume.) Prof. Hitzig had already published a translation of the Psalms with critical notes, (*Leipzic*, 1835-36,) and having since had to lecture frequently on the subject, he has thoroughly revised his translation and added a complete exegetical commentary, giving, as most German works of this class do, a summary of the most important results of the works of his predecessors.

Another posthumous work of the late Prof. Baur, of Tübingen, has been recently published by his son, Dr. F. F. Baur. It comprises the Church History of Modern Times, from the Reformation until the end of the eighteenth century, and forms the fourth volume in the late author's series of works on the General History of the Christian Church. (*Geschichte der Christlichen Kirche*, vol. 4. Tübingen, 1863.) As the fifth volume, comprising the Church History of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, had already been published, the work is now complete.

Prof. Wieseler, of Kiel, publishes a posthumous essay of a young theologian of Holstein, C. Hausen, on the "Substance and Significance of Grundvigianism in the Danish Church." (*Wesen und Bedeutung des Grundtvigianismus.* Kiel, 1863.) This school, called after its founder, Pastor Grundtvig, is one of the chief parties in the National Church of Denmark, and has some features which are of considerable interest for the entire Protestant world. While the other theological parties which we find in the Protestant State Churches are more or less the same everywhere, and Protestant State Churchism may therefore be said to be divided into three great divisions, the High Church, the Low Church, and the Broad Church, the school of Grundtvig does not fully agree with any of these parties, and is as yet confined to the National (Lutheran) Church of Denmark, where it is numerous and influential.

The Ecclesiastical Annals of Matthes (Allgemeine Kirchliche Chronik. Vol. 9. The year 1862. Altona, 1863,) is a valuable record of the important ecclesiastical events in Germany and several adjoining countries. To America the author devotes only one page, which betrays such an ignorance of our religious movements, that a total blank would have been decidedly better for the reputation of the author.

In order to make the Sinaitic manuscript of the New Testament accessible to a larger number of friends of biblical studies, Professor Tischendorf has published a critical edition of it for general use. The first edition of this work has been exhausted within a few weeks, one half of it having been ordered for England. A second edition was to be issued immediately. Professor Tischendorf intends also to publish a new German translation of the New Testament according to the Sinaitic manuscript.

A new School Grammar of the Greek Language, as it appears in the New Testament, has been published by Dr. Schirlitz, (Anleitung zur Kenntuiss der Neutestamentlichen Grundsprache. Erfurt, 1863.) The author had previously written other works on the subject.

The King of Bavaria, the most liberal patron of Sciences and Arts among the German princes, has given his sanction and support to a resolution of the committee of German History in the Bavarian Academy of Sciences, which has induced twenty-two eminent German scholars to write the history of the several sciences. Dr. Dörner will write the History of Protestant Theology, and Dr. Werner, an Austrian theologian of note, that of Roman Catholic Theology. Dr. Döllinger will write the introduction to the latter work.

Of Gratz's History of the Jews, the seventh volume, part first, has just been published. (Geschichte der Juden, vol. 7. Leipzic, 1863.) The seventh volume is to give the history of the Jews from the death of Maimoni (1205) until the banishment of the Jews from Spain, (1492.) The first part of it extends to the death of Peter the Cruel, (1369.) This work, which mostly treats of the religious and literary, less of the political history of the coreligionists of the author, has generally obtained the reputation of belonging among the standard works on the subject.

FRANCE.

The Life of Christ, by Renan, (*Vie de Jesus.* Paris, 1863,) is undoubtedly one of the most remarkable literary productions that has appeared in France for many years. It has met, during the first two months since its publication, with a larger sale than the similar German work of Strauss has had during the twenty-eight years that it has been in the market. The Paris publisher announces, that after not quite two months he has sold 35,000 copies. Translations in most of the European languages have already been announced, though in some countries, as in Spain, the government may prohibit the publication. Mr. Renan does not pretend to give any new views about the origin of Christianity. His theory is entirely based on the works of modern German theologians. Yet while this latter class of works is always written for learned theologians, Renan treats of the subject in a popular form, and his style, moreover, is known to be equal in brilliancy and beauty to that of the best French writers. All the literary and leading political papers have devoted to it long articles, and their comments, no less than the extraordinary sale of the book, shed much light on the religious condition of at least the upper class of French society.

The *Revue des Deux Mondes*, in its number of August 1, brings an elaborate article on the work by Mr. Havet, who not only sympathizes with Mr. Renan, but is even more radical than he in his attacks upon the divinity of Christ and the divine origin of Christianity. He charges Mr. Renan with having extolled the character of Christ as greater than it really was. Similar is the position of the critic in the *Revue Contemporaine*, Mr. Claveau. The *Temps*, the *Siecle*, the *Opinion Nationale*, three of the leading dailies of Paris, are in full sympathy with the views of Renan.

Among the Roman Catholics of France theological science is still in a very deplorable condition, and it is therefore not likely that the book of Renan will call forth from the Catholic theologians anything like the able replies which in Germany were made without delay to the work of Strauss. The *Revue Chretienne*, the able organ of the orthodox Protestants, announces an elaborate reply for one of the next numbers, and, in the meanwhile, in the number for July 15 gives to it a brief notice, from which we make a few extracts, on the character of the book:

"The position of Renan with regard to the Scriptures is nearly the same as that of Professor Ewald, of Göttingen. In the eyes of Strauss, all the accounts of miracles are inauthentic, and the historical reality of the Gospels thus disappears entirely. The Tübingen School makes of the Gospels a kind of dogmatic treatises, compiled at a late period for the purpose of serving the different tendencies which manifested themselves within the Church in the second century. Ewald has re-established the historical foundation of the history of Jesus. Mr. Renan accepts nearly all the opinions of Ewald, in particular his conclusions on the fourth Gospel. After having admitted the historical testimony of the Gospel, Renan attempts to explain away, as much as possible, the miraculous element, and in doing so often approaches the explanations of the old Rationalistic School, as represented, for instance, by Dr. Paulus. Like Paulus, Renan does not hesitate to ascribe to Jesus, in certain instances, the perpetration of or connivance at pious frauds. Thus his explanation of the resurrection of Lazarus is equal to any of the amusing explanations of Dr. Paulus. In the ministration of Jesus, Renan assumes three periods: the first when he limits himself to preaching the paternity of God and a pure religion; the second, when he conceived the reign of God as the elevation of the poor; finally, when he believed himself to be the Messiah, and while attempting to realize his dream he succumbs to the hatred of the Pharisees."

The *Revue Chretienne* expects that the influence of the work of Renan will be, in the main, a good one; that it will not shake the faith of any true believer;

that it will produce with many of those who were wavering a good reaction, which will bring them back to a positive faith; and that, finally, the common-sense of the people will not fail to see that it is not thus that history is written, and that the problem of the origin of Christianity still remains unexplained in its divine *grandeur*.

A work of Count Le Cuteulx de Canteleu (Les Sectes et Societés Secrètes, Politiques et Religieuses, Paris, 1863,) undertakes to give a history of secret societies from their earliest date to the French Revolution, the range of his labors extending from Solomon to Cagliostro, both inclusive. The work is said to be of little value.

The relations of the Church of Rome to the Eastern Church is the subject of an elaborate work of Abbé Guettée. (La Papauté Schismatique, ou Rome dans ses rapports avec l'Eglise orientale. Paris, 1863.) No French writer would probably be better qualified to write on this subject than Abbé Guettée, who for several years has been editing in Paris, in common with a priest of the Greek Church, a religious periodical, which aims at a union of the Roman Catholic, the Eastern, and the Anglican Churches by overthrowing the supremacy of the Pope. Abbé Guettée is the author of the most comprehensive history of the Gallican Church, for writing which work he was excommunicated. He has since written a history of the Jesuits and other works.

The number of French Protestant writers who take part in the critical speculations of the Tübingen and similar schools, is increasing from year to year. One of the latest works of this French school is a critical and comparative investigation of the first three Gospels, by Gustave d'Eichthal, (*Les Evangiles*, 2 *vols.* Paris, 1863.) The author, who has hitherto been unknown in theological literature, says of himself that he was born of Jewish parents, became a Catholic in early youth, a philosopher in consequence of his education and his studies, and that thus he was early led to seek a reconciliation between tradition and science, between faith and reason.

Three professors of the Protestant Seminary at Strasburg, Baum, Canitz, and Reuss, have just commenced the publication of the first complete edition of the works of Calvin, (Johannis Calvini Opera, Strasburg, 1863. Vol. 1, with a likeness of Calvin. 16 francs.) The work has been long in the course of preparation, and cannot fail to be welcomed with the greatest satisfaction by the entire Protestant world. The three editors have long been known to the literary world as men of eminent learning.

The vast collection of Lives of Roman Catholic Saints, known under the name Acta Sanctorum, which was commenced two hundred years ago by the Jesuit Bollandus, and has since been continued by the order of Jesuits, with the pecuniary support of the Belgian government, is announced in a new edition. It will embrace the fifty-four volumes which have appeared from 1643 to 1858, and is edited by J. Carnandet. The first volume, which contains the saints of the first eleven days of January, has just appeared. The price of a volume is twenty francs. (Acta Sanctorum, etc. Paris, 1863.)

One of the most learned theologians of Protestant France, Professor Reuss, of Strasburg, has written a History of the Canon of the Holy Scriptures in the Christian Church, (Historie du Canon des Ecritures Saintes. Strasburg, 1863.) The author belongs to the Critical School, but his great learning and acumen are appreciated by all theological schools

Art. XI.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES, AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Quarterly Reviews.

Freewill Baptist Quarterly, July, 1863. (Dover, N. H.)—1. Effective Speech. 2. The Prophetical Days of Daniel. 3. The Weekly Offering. 4. The Saracens. 5. Two Years of Republican Government.

AMERICAN PRESBYTERIAN AND THEOLOGICAL REVIEW, July, 1863. (New York.)—1. The Heidelberg Catechism. 2. The Aristotelian and the Modern Place of Man in Zoology. 3. Dorner on the Sinless Perfection of Jesus. 4. The Crown of Life in James i, 12. 5. Prayer and Mediation. 6. Colenso on the Pentateuch. Part II. 7. Examination of the Latest Defenses of Dr. Hickok's Rational Psychology. 8. The General Assembly at Philadelphia.

AMERICAN QUARTERLY CHURCH REVIEW, July, 1863. (New York.)—1. Stanley's Lectures and the Oriental Churches. 2. The Provincial System. 3. Early Annals of the American Church. Chapter III. 4. The Italian Reform Movement. 5. Pictures of Parish Life. 6. The Episcopal Recorder and the Apostolic Succession. 7. On Man's Zoological Position.

BIBLICAL REPERTORY AND PRINCETON REVIEW, July, 1863. (Philadelphia.)—1. The Inspired Theory of Prayer. 2. Religious Instruction in the Army. 3. Faith, a Source of Knowledge. 4. The True Tone in Preaching, and the True Temper in Hearing. 5. The General Assembly. 6. Date of the Books of Chronicles. 7. Paul's Thorn in the Flesh.

BOSTON REVIEW, July, 1863. (Boston, Mass.)—1. The Church of God: its Origin and Constitution. 2. Mediæval Worship. 3. Stanley's Eastern and Jewish Churches. 4. Game Fish of the North. 5. John Calvin. 6. The Church of England. 7. Short Sermons.

BROWNSON'S QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1863. (New York.)—1. Orthodoxy and Unitarianism. 2. St. Augustine and Calvinism. 3. Walworth's Gentle Skeptic. 4. Stand by the Government. 5. Are Catholics Pro-slavery and Disloyal?

EVANGELICAL QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1863. (Gettysburgh, Pa.)—1. The Undeveloped Resources of the Church. 2. M. Flacius Illyricus and his Times. 3. The Mysterious Union of the Divine and Human Natures in the Son of God. 4. Luther's Battle-song of the Reformation. 5. The Lord's Supper. 6. The Universal Fatherhood of God and the Universal Brotherhood of Man, God's Argument against Oppression.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA AND BIBLICAL REPOSITORY, April, 1863. (Andover, Mass.)—1. Sin, as Related to Human Nature and to the Divine Purpose. 2. The Law of Nature's Constancy Subordinate to the Higher Law of Change. 3. Doctrines of the New School Presbyterian Church. 4. The Fathers and Founders of the Lutheran Church. 5. Egyptology, Oriental Archæology, and Travel. 6. Colenso on the Pentateuch. 7. The Tercentenary Jubilee of the Heidelberg Catechism. 8. Latest German Theological Works.

A very superior number. Prof. Haven discusses very lucidly the nature of sin as inhering to man, and as non-prevented by God. Under the former head, he denies that sinfulness (or *sinwardness*, we might say) is originally implanted by God; or that it is inherited from some previous state of being; or that it comes either by a generic or a constructive unity of the race in Adam. He holds that it is a *vitium* derived by the laws of hereditary descent, in consequence of the depravation by sin of the first parent. That *vitium* he holds to be in itself, as a nature back of action, not *sin*. We,

however, should not reject the term *sin*, but deny it to be *responsible* sin. The essential results do not differ.

He denies the propositions that *God cannot prevent sin;* or that *sin is necessary to the best good of the system;* or that *it is best that sin should exist.* His doctrine is, that *the non-prevention of sin may be for the best*, not its *actuality.*

The most important article, however, in the present state of public thought, is Dr. Hitchcock's, on Nature's "Higher Law of Change."

A valuable part of this article is in maintenance of the miraculous nature of the creative acts, shown to have taken place by the "Testimony of the Rocks." To the skeptical argument that these life productions are doubtless the results of law—law operating at periods separated by great intervals—Dr. Hitchcock replies that even if they were produced by a direct act of the Divine Will they are the product of law, namely, the law of the Divine Will and its volitions. So that all miracles, though interruptions of the course of cosmical law, are nevertheless in accordance with a higher law. This reply we think complete.

But it was unnecessary to this reply for the professor to go further and bind the Divine Will with an absolute necessity, a necessity all of a piece with the necessitations of physical nature. This, as he anticipates, subjects him to the charge, just, we think, of fatalism. Especially so when he proceeds to maintain that all wills, finite as well as infinite, are "determined" by "exact dynamical power" of motives as truly as the elements are controlled by forces. The human mind, in all its thoughtful history, has had the conception—and held it in intuitive abhorrence—of an oppressive fatalism. And what constriction can be conceived more absolute and oppressive than this, to which the name of fatalism could be applied. "So long as they act voluntarily," the professor asks, "do they not act freely?" Not of course. We say with Fletcher, What free-agency requires is not merely a *will*, but a *free* will. And the professor's Scripture proof is on a par with his metaphysics. For the thousandth time he trots out that old Calvinistic misquotation and misapplication of Psalm cx, 3, giving it thus: "My people," says God, "shall be willing in the day of my power." The words are really addressed by Jehovah to the Messiah as a warrior, and are truly these: "Thy people ready in (or for) the day of thy warfare." There is no Hebrew for *shall be.*

The professor ably presses the miraculous argument from the geological life creations; but we are surprised that he omits all reference to the *intelligential* nature of the objects created, in proof

of their being produced by the interposition of an intelligent agent. We could as easily, and, in fact, more easily, imagine Homer's Iliad, or Daniel Webster's speeches produced by blind law, as a multitude of newly constructed intelligent animals. Prof. Wharton in his work on Theism, noticed some time ago in our Quarterly, makes these geologic creations a main proof of a deity. So that the argument is double and reciprocally forcible.

The article by the venerable Dr. Duffield representing New School Calvinism, displays the clearness and vigor of young manhood. The sixteen statements of the "True Doctrine" as opposed to "error," imputed to the New School, are a fine specimen of "accommodation." They show how, by a little straining of the elasticity of words and a little pressure upon the doctrine held, a set of new theories can be crammed into old formula. Nevertheless the theological differences between the two sections never justified the excision of either from the Church. Nor would they have caused it had not secular motives interfered. It was simply an item in the "rule or ruin" system of the Southern oligarchy. The reunion of these two sections of the Church would be subject of just congratulation to American Protestantism.

The removal of the slavery question, should it take place by the removal of slavery, and, we may add, the adoption of lay representation, would perhaps tend powerfully to produce a reunion of the seceded sections of Methodism with the parent body in the now free states.

English Reviews.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, July, 1863. (London.)—1. Clement of Alexandria and his Apologetic. 2. Dr. Nicholas Murray. 3. The True Place of Man in Zoology. 4. Politics and the Pulpit. 5. History of the Church of Geneva. 6. Revised Version of St. John's Gospel. 7. Baden Powell on Miracles. 8. Poland: her Religious History and Prospects. 9. Life of Professor Robertson. 10. The Skepticism of Science.

BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1863. (London.)—1. De Quincey and his Writings. 2. English Constitution since the Accession of George III. 3. Our Smaller Grammar Schools. 4. Bacon's Essays. 5. The New Forest. 6. Bishop Butler and his Recent Critics. 7. France—the Press, Literature, and Society. 8. The River Amazons. 9. Biblical Criticism —Reformers and Destructives. 10. Moral Aspects of the American Struggle.

CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER, July, 1863. (London.)—1. The Life and Times of St. Bernard. 2. The Last Writer on the Revision of the Prayer Book. 3. Modern Styles of Architecture. 4. Hymns and Hymnals. 5. Ward on Nature and Grace. 6. Constantine Simonides and his Biblical Studies. 7. Our Female Sensation Novelists. 8. Canon Stanley on Subscription.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, July, 1863. (New York reprint.)—1. Napier's Memorials of Claverhouse. 2. Druids and Bards. 3. Fergusson's History of the Modern Styles of Architecture. 4. Louis Blanc's French Revolution. 5. Sir George Cornewall Lewis on Forms of Government. 6. Xavier Raymond on the Navies of France and England. 7. The Sources of the Nile. 8. The Scots in France: the French in Scotland. 9. Lyell on the Antiquity of Man.

JOURNAL OF SACRED LITERATURE AND BIBLICAL RECORD, July, 1863. (London.)—1. Canon Stanley's Lectures on the Jewish Church. 2. Isaiah xviii, Translation and Notes. 3. A Sermon: by the Rev. Gilbert White of Selborne. 4. Exegesis on Difficult Passages. 5. The Betrayal of Our Lord. 6. Æthiopic Liturgies and Hymns. 7. Inspiration. 8. Contributions to modern Ecclesiastical History. No. I. 9. Introduction to the Rabbinic Bible.

NATIONAL REVIEW, July, 1863. (London.)—1. The Earlier Latitudinarians: Falkland, Chillingworth, Hales. 2. Professor Conington's Horace. 3. Wits of the French Revolution. 4. Life of Bishop Warburton. 5. The Art of Travel in Europe. 6. Ewald on the Johannine Writings. 7. Acclimatization and Preservation of Animals. 8. The Poetry of Owen Meredith. 9. Church Reform.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, (Wesleyan.) July, 1863. (London.)—1. Lyell's Antiquity of Man. 2. The Taeping Rebellion. 3. Maritime Casualties. 4. Bernard of Clairvaux. 5. Methodism in the last Century. 6. Religious Novels—Salem Chapel, etc. 7. Fish Culture. 8. The Jubilee of the Wesleyan Missionary Society.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1863. (New York: reprint.)—1. The Resources and Future of Austria. 2. Natural History of the Bible. 3. Glacial Theories. 4. Our Colonial System. 5. Washington Irving. 6. Modern Spiritualism. 7. Sacred Trees and Flowers. 8. Roba di Roma. 9. The Nile—Speke and Grant.

NORTH BRITISH REVIEW, August, 1863. (New York: reprint.)—1. Roger Collard—Philosopher and Politician. 2. Wilson's Prehistoric Man. 3. Thomas de Quincey—Grave and Gay. 4. Henry St. John and the Reign of Queen Anne. 5. The Education and Management of the Imbecile. 6. The West Highlands of Scotland. 7. Pretensions of Spiritualism—Life of D. D. Home. 8. Mormonism—Past and Present. 9. The Cotton Famine and Lancashire Distress. 10. The National Defensea.

WESTMINSTER REVIEW, July, 1863. (New York: reprint.)—1. The Growth of Christianity. 2. The Rival Races. 3. Mr. Mill on Utilitarianism. 4. Gamesters and Gaming-houses. 5. Marriages of Consanguinity. 6. Saint Simon and his Disciples. 7. The Naturalist on the River Amazons. 8. M. Louis Blanc's History of the French Revolution. 9. Poland. 10. Lancashire.

This organ of the English deistical party of the present day utters the following lament over the restoration of orthodoxy in Germany:

This Church sentiment, (*kirchliche Richtung,*) which has seized upon the whole of the *noblesse* in North Germany, is becoming every year the general sentiment of the clergy. The theological radicalism of the last period is now quite a thing of the past. The present is an epoch of restoration. Scientific criticism has no longer any interest; it is, who can be most orthodox, and reproduce more precisely the ideas of the sixteenth century. As the scientific and critical school is defunct, the mediation-theology, whose business was to compromise between the results of

learning and the principles of orthodoxy, is necessarily in a state of decay. Its occupation is gone. This school of theologians, which numbers in its ranks some of the most respectable names in Germany, and which traces its origin to Schleiermacher, can scarcely be said now to make head against the sweeping current of Pharisaical orthodoxy. Some of its older representatives have been withdrawn from the scene either by age or death, others have followed the multitude, and conformed to the reigning "Churchmanship." It is the old story enacted in the Catholic revival of the end of the sixteenth century, and at other times before and since. The reactionary clergy have succeeded in getting themselves regarded as the Swiss guard of the throne. They stand between Royalty and Revolution. All the places in the gift of the Crown—and all the places are in the gift of the Crown—are filled on party considerations. Learning goes for nothing. Thus inferior men are elevated to a platform from which they deliver their dicta with authority, and ignorance can contradict knowledge at an advantage. The mutual understanding among the party enables them to puff each other's books, and run down their opponents. Only learning can get no hearing.

The Westminster gives the following view of the position of Prof. Rothe:

Prof. Rothe would hardly consent to be classed with the Meditation Theologians, and on many accounts may claim a place by himself. As his endeavor is so to restate Christian doctrine as to clear it from the accumulated difficulties which modern thought has collected round it, he might seem to be not unnaturally numbered among the "middle" men. But he is distinguished from them not only by the original cast of all he writes, but by his principle. He does not reproduce, but restates. He does not attempt to reconcile doctrine as it is with science and philosophy, but goes behind the dogma to the Christian religion itself. His recent views have been promulgated chiefly in two periodicals, the *Studien u. Kritiken* and the *Kirkliche Zeitschrift*. Had Mr. Farrar seen these essays he would not have been reduced to the second-hand account of this theologian he has given in his *Bampton Lectures*.

A portion of these essays Dr. Rothe now publishes, with enlargements, in a volume. Though it bears the title of "A Contribution to Dogmatic Theology," it is chiefly occupied with one doctrine, namely, that of "Holy Scripture." Dr. Rothe defines his point of view thus:

"The matters I handle in this volume inevitably place me in a most unfavorable position. The question is one in which I find myself in direct conflict with both the leading parties in the theology of the present day. My mode of regarding Holy Scripture runs directly counter to modern orthodoxy. My supernaturalism and firm belief in revelation are no less opposed to theological liberalism. This very antagonism encourages me to hope that I may be found to have spoken a word in season. On the one hand it is my belief that the consciousness of the age will never thoroughly reassimilate Christianity till it can take courage to believe again in miracle and supernatural influence. I am no less firmly convinced, on the other hand, that miracle and supernatural influence will never find their way into the conscious belief of Christians in the form in which Church theology has allowed those ideas to be inoculated into it. That which is past can never be recalled to life after history has once buried it. But there are not a few persons who long for the reconciliation of the old and the new. These are the persons to whom I would gladly be useful according to my small measure."—*Preface*, p. vi.

To define the position of Holy Scripture we must begin by distinguishing it from revelation. The early Protestant theology did not do this. To it revelation was coextensive with the Bible. The terms were almost convertible. Rothe regards them as correlative. The supernatural interference of the Deity in the stream of human history is itself a portion of that history. This portion of history has, like the remainder, or civil history, its original document. It is not enough that the divine interposition has incorporated itself with the traditions of the race; it must be fixed in a written narrative. Not only must there be a book or writing, but that book must be of a historical character. As the revelation did not consist in doctrines, so the doctrine we require is not a

creed or compend of doctrines. Besides vouching the facts, the document must represent them in a vivid manner. That is, the writing must be such as can stand to long posterior generations in the place of the original revelation, and place us in immediate personal experience of revelation. It is part of the extraordinary operation of the Deity to provide such a writing. The document itself, as well as the facts it relates, are supernaturally produced. As the divine influences in the world are to its moral and human laws, so is the record of those influences to ordinary narrative. The Bible is therefore what the old Protestant theology styled it, "The Word of God;" but in a very different sense. They meant by the phrase that the books, as we have them, were dictated by God if such a way that the sacred penmen contributed nothing but the letter-marks upon the paper. This sixteenth century dogma of inspiration Rothe examines at length, and shows that it is not conformable either to the statements of Scripture about itself or to enlightened reason. The inspiration he attributes to the Bible is the name by which he explains that peculiar impression which the pious soul receives from its study of the book. It is the constant experience of the evangelical Christian that in his Bible he possesses a direct means of grace. Scripture is to him an active medium of the saving work of God in his soul; supernatural forces move within it. The Bible stands alone in all literature, in being this incarnation of a fresh, full, life-giving religious spirit. This is the phenomena of which the Church dogma of "Inspiration" is a conjectural explanation. Dr. Rothe, while stating the phenomenon with great emphasis, wholly denies the explanation. The theory of "Inspiration" refers Scripture to the exclusive working of the divine causality. But the peculiar influence the book exercises upon our minds indicates not merely a divine element in its pages, but a whole, complex, and sound human spirit side by side with that divine element; the two not crossing or interfering with each other, but forming together one whole of living truth. The inspiration theory reduces the whole of the human element—the joy or the sorrow, the hymns of praise or the cry of anguish, the exultation or the self-abasement—to an unreal, theatrical representation, a docetic apparition. For, according to this theory, such expressions are not the genuine outpourings of a human heart, but dictated sentences passing only through the pen of the person to who they are, by a fiction, ascribed. The inspiration-theory proposes to itself to exclude error from the Bible, but it, in fact, reduces the whole Bible to one great unreality.

Professor Rothe proceeds to show that not only dictation but inspiration in any sense is incompatible with the act of writing books such as the greater part of the Scripture books are. These books must be regarded as the general product of the minds of their human authors. These authors have had their moments of inspiration. To these moments they owe much of the religious experience they have embalmed in their writings. But inspiration was not the normal condition of their minds; nor were their books written during the moments of such inspiration. Again, not every part of the Bible is an equally full and intense expression of this spiritual mind of the writer. We must assume degrees of inspiration, according with the nature of the contents, and their nearer or remoter bearing on the proper matter of the prophetical utterances.

This Essay on Inspiration deserves the close attention of the theologian who occupies himself with such questions. It must be read in the original. Dr. Rothe's abstract ratiocination will not bear translation. His German, however, is very clear; his sentences not long, or very much involved.

German Reviews.

Studien und Kritiken. (Essays and Reviews. Edited by Dr. Ullmann and Dr. Rothe. Fourth Number. 1868.)—1. Ullmann, Some Incidents in the History of the Heidelberg Catechism. 2. Achelis, On the Subject in Rom. vii. 3. Dusterdick, Pauline Mysticism. 4. The Date of the Construction of the Temple in the First Book of Kings. 5. Pestalozzi, An Unprinted Letter of Zwingli.

Zeitschrift fur Wissenschaftliche Theologie. (Journal of Scientific Theology. Edited by Dr. Hilgenfeld, 1863. Second number.) 1. FRANK, Johann Major, the Wittenburg Poet, (1533–1600.) 2. MERX, Critical Investigation on the Sacrificial Laws, Levit. i–vii. (Concluding article.) 3. PAUL, the Historical Proofs of a real Resurrection of Christ according to the New Testament Accounts. 4. D. F. STRAUSS, The Parable of the Fruit-Bearing Field, Mark, iv, 26–29. 5. HILGENFELD, The Johannean Theology.

One of the most important German works in opposition to the theories of the Tübingen School on the origin of Christianity is that by Prof. Weiss, of Königsberg, on the Johannean Theology, or the theological doctrines contained in the books of the New Testament which the canon ascribes to the Apostle John. The Tübingen School finds in the Gospel and the Epistles of John a thoroughgoing opposition of Christianity to Judaism, as of light to darkness, and therefore maintains that these books can neither come from the author of the book of Revelation, nor from the Apostle John, as both were undoubtedly Jewish Christians. The work of Prof. Weiss undertakes to overthrow this whole theory, and to refute the arguments that have been adduced in favor of it. To this end he examines the connection between the doctrines of the Gospel and the Epistles of John, with the Old Testament theology and the fundamental views of the twelve original apostles, and seeks to show that the theology of the Johannean Gospel and Epistles has its root in the Old Testament. All the theological schools of Germany, with the exception of that of Tübingen, have hailed the work of Prof. Weiss as one of the ablest vindications of the traditional view of the Christian Church against the revolutionary theories of the Tübingen School. The present leader of the latter school, Prof. Hilgenfeld, of Jena, concludes in the last article of the above number of the Journal of Scientific Theology, a defense of the views of his school against the arguments of Prof. Weiss.

The article of Dr. L. Paul on the Historical Proofs of the Reality of the Resurrection of Christ, according to the New Testament account, forms quite a contrast to the usual tenor of the articles of the Journal of Scientific Theology. It examines the assertion of some representatives of the Tübingen School, that the appearance of Christ to Paul can be satisfactorily explained as an "imminent psychological act of Paul's own mind," and that thus the chief argument for the doctrine of the real resurrection of Christ can be removed. It comes to the conclusion that such an argumentation is contrary to all the sound rules of exegesis; that in the writings of the New Testament, which the Tübingen School

itself recognizes as genuine, Paul gives not only his own testimony on the real appearance of Christ, but also refers to that of Peter, James, "the twelve," and "all the apostles," and that no valid argument has yet been brought forward which in the least invalidates the accounts of the New Testament.

JAHRBUCHER FUR DEUTSCHE THEOLOGIE. (Year-books of German Theology. Edited by Dr. Liebner, Dr. Dorner, and others. Second Number, 1863.)—1. RITSCHL, On the Saving Power of the Death of Jesus in the New Testament. 2. SCHMITT, Origen and Augustine as Apologists. Second Article. 3. SCHAFF, Œcumenical Councils.

Prof. Schaff furnishes an excellent essay on the seven councils which the Roman and Greek Churches agree in regarding as œcumenical, and to which, according to the professor's opinion, the same characters may be ascribed from a Protestant standpoint. He discusses in turn, 1. The number. 2. The requisites of the œcumenical character of a council. 3. Occasion. 4. State-churchly character. 5. Hierarchical character. 6. Jurisdiction. 7. Authority. 8. Moral character. We are sure that Prof. Schaff, by preparing for an American quarterly an article on the same subject, would render to many readers a very welcome service.

ZEITSCHRIFT FUR HISTORISCHE THEOLOGIE. (Journal of Historical Theology. Edited by Dr. Niedner. Third and Fourth Numbers, 1863.)—Dr. EBRARD, The Culdean Church of the Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth Centuries.

The whole of the two last numbers of this journal is taken up by a continuation of Dr. Ebrard's History of the Culdean Church, which was commenced in the fourth number of the year 1862. This continuation and conclusion of the essay contains the following sections: 2. Religion and Theology. 3. Church Constitution and Monastic Discipline. 4. Miracles. 5. Spreading of the Culdean Church. 6. Destruction.

French Reviews.

REVUE CHRETIENNE.—*May* 15, 1863.—1. PRESSENSE, The Approaching Elections. 2. DELABORDE, Chancellor de l'Hospital. 3. GEUNER, God and the Creation revealed by Geology.

June 15.—1. ALFRED MONOD, The Effects of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. 2. MME. E. de P., A New Novel of Mrs. Gaskell. 3. CAILLATTE, The Present Condition of the Anglican Church. 4. EDMOND DE GUERLE, Writings and Discourses of the Duke of Broglie.

July 15.—1. PRESSENSE, The Ancient Religions and Christianity. 2. LICHTENBERGER, The Church and the Confession of Augsburg in France.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES.—*May* 15, 1863.—1. MAZADE, The Emperor Alexander I and Prince Adam Czartoryski. 2. SAINTE-BEUVE, M. Charles Maguin. 4. SAINT-RENE TAILLANDER, The Philosophy of Roman History in the Nineteenth Century. 6. JANET, A New System on Future Life. 7. GEFFROY, Savonarola, according to New Documents.

June 1.—1. MARS, Poland, its Ancient Provinces and its True Limits. 2. BOISSIER, Atticus. 3. D'ASSIER, Brazil and Brazilian Society. 5. ESQUIROS, England and English Life. (Twenty-first article.) The Crystal Palace and the Palaces of the People. 7. CORNELIS DE WITT, French Society in the Eighteenth Century. (First article.) Customs and Men under Louis XV.

June 15.—1. D'ASSIER, Brazil and Brazilian Society. 2. REMUSAT, A Christian Museum at Rome and the Catacombs.

July 1.—2. THE DUKE OF AYEN, General Suffrage and a work of Stuart Mill on the Question. 3. D'ASSIER, Brazil and Brazilian Society. 5. LINDAU, A Voyage Around Japan. 6. REYBAUD, Primary Instruction and the Children of the Working People in England.

July 15.—1. REMUSAT, The French Elections in 1863. 3. LAVOLLEE, A European Expedition on the Great River of China. 5. MAZADE, A Catholic Pamphletist.

In the article entitled, A New System on the Future Life, (in the number of May 15,) Professor Janet, of Paris, who is considered as one of the leaders of the so-called school of Spiritualist Philosophy, gives an account of a recent philosophical work by Charles Lambert, entitled, The System of the Moral World, (Le Système du Monde Moral. Paris, 1862.) This writer, hitherto unknown in the philosophical world, undertakes to furnish new proofs for the immortality of the soul against the negation of the materialists, and he claims to have demonstrated it with mathematical certainty. Lambert gives an entirely moral definition of the soul. It is, according to him, a force which man creates in himself by his free-will, by preferring good to evil, virtue to vice, love and devotion to egotism. This force once created, can, according to a principle of mechanics, be destroyed only by a contrary force. By overcoming the evil, the virtuous soul secures therefore her eternal existence. Immortality, in the opinion of Lambert, is therefore not general, but conditional; it is the reward of the best of mankind, the rest failing to reach the goal of their mundane existence, and therefore incurring the fate, in accordance with Darwin's theory of the transformation of species, to be eliminated, to be thrown aside as failures, to disappear. The author takes up the natural sciences one by one, and gives a brief and comprehensive survey of modern investigations on organic chemistry, on embryogeny, on zoology, on geology, on physiology, in order to base upon them his speculations on the immortality of the human soul. As to the result, it will be seen from what we have said that he

is an annihilationist. The reviewer, Professor Janet, though he welcomes Mr. Lambert as a fellow-combatant in the struggle of those philosophers who believe in a personal God and the immortality of the soul against the atheists and materialists, does not quite share the author's confidence in the demonstrative force of his moral arguments, and also takes exception to some of his conclusions. He finds it contrary to justice to condemn to the same fate of nothingness those who were wicked and those who failed to be good, and he demands for the latter class, at least, a new chance to develop their moral value or to perish. Neither Mr. Lambert nor Mr. Janet, as far as we can see from the latter's article, define their relation to the Scriptures and to revealed religion. Mr. Janet admits that it is very little that philosophy can reply to the objections of materialism, or that it can offer to the sufferings and yearnings of the soul; still, he thinks the human mind cannot help occupying itself "with these beautiful, these cruel problems."

In the introduction to his article, Mr. Janet thus refers briefly to some of the most important works which have appeared in France during the last twenty years on the question of the immortality of the soul. "A curious book, which is to-day forgotten, but which made some sensation twenty years ago, l'Humanité, by Pierre Leroux, proposed as a solution to this problem an immortality upon earth, and the indefinite rebirth of the same men under different names and in different bodies: a humanitarian migration of souls. More recently Jean Reynaud, the author of *Terre et Ciel* and a former collaborator of Pierre Leroux in the Encyclopedie Nouvelle, took up again this idea of a migration of souls; but instead of limiting it to the earth, he proposed a migration from sphere to sphere in a progressive and indefinite perfection, a theory which, before, Lamennais had maintained in his *Esquisse d'une Philosophie.* The translation of the book of Job has been for Mr. Renan an occasion to discuss the problem of the future life, and he seems inclined to solve it in nearly the same manner as Spinoza and the German philosophy of the school of Hegel. Finally, an interesting writer, Alexis Dumesnil, has very recently devoted to this problem a book, in which he defends the immortality of the soul by arguments derived from the spirit of our times, and as a doctrine closely allied with the ideas of liberty and of progress, which are so dear to the generation of this century. In another camp, which rests on the doctrines of orthodoxy, two pious and learned writers, the one endowed with the most lively spirit, the other with the most extensive learning, Fathers Gratry

and Martin, have endeavored to lift some of the vails which cover the future destiny of the soul, and to explain the difficulties which the doctrine of the resurrection of the body suggests. Other minds, approaching the question by sentiment rather than by science, have found in this problem the occasion for noble and edifying revelations; thus the *Meditations Religieuses* of Mr. Casimir Wolowski, and the *Meditations sur la Mort et l'Eternite*, an anonymous work, of which Queen Victoria has authorized the translation, are, in different Churches, the analogous expression of the same ardent faith in things divine."

ART. XII.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

A Critical History of Free Thought in reference to the Christian Religion. Eight Lectures preached before the University of Oxford in the year 1862, on the foundation of the late Rev. JOHN BAMPTON, M.A., Canon of Salisbury. By ADAM STOREY FARRAR, M.A., Mechil Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford. 12mo., pp. 487. New York: Appleton & Co. 1863.

Mr. Farrar is already favorably known to the American public by his work entitled "Science and Theology," published in 1860 by Smith & English, and noticed in our Quarterly. The present work fills very ably an unoccupied place, and is invaluable for the Christian student who is interested in the evidential department of theology. Its title intimates very defectively its specific character. It is, in short, a critical history of the debates between Christianity and skepticism from the primitive era to the present day. It is a consecutive detail of the "conflict of ages" between our religion and infidelity. Its plan is comprehensive and symmetrical. Its statements are marked by clearness, ease, and precision. The standpoint of the author is mildly but firmly stated, and with rigid consistency maintained; yet, in stating the positions of the most aggressive assailant of Christianity, while the writer never forgets his position as an advocate of truth, the character and argument of the opponent is stated with a tender regard for feeling and a true judicial fairness. He maintains equally the value of the products of Christian thought and scholarship in the Christian argument, and of evangelical feeling and zeal in Christian life.

The work consists of eight lectures, preceded by an extensive preface and analysis of over forty pages, and appendiced with a hundred pages of closely printed notes. The struggle of Christianity with unbelief is divided into four great crises or periods; namely, with Heathen Philosophy, A. D. 160–360; with Skeptical Scholasticism in the Middle Ages, 1100–1400; with the literary freethinking of the Revival of Letters, 1400–1625; with Modern Philosophy in three forms, namely, English Deism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, French Infidelity in the eighteenth, and German Rationalism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The first lecture discusses the causes, elements, and responsibilities of doubt. The emotional and intellectual ingredients are analyzed, the events in history whence they are derived are traced, and the question is debated how far doubt is sin, and what are the utilities and beneficial results of its existence. This discussion stands in admirable contrast with Buckle's undiscriminating adoration of skepticism.

The second lecture narrates the history of the first contest in which Paganism, failing in the effort to destroy by persecution, undertook to refute by reasoning. In this battle the forces of the enemy were led by Lucian, Celsus, Porphyry, Hierocles, and Julian the Apostate.

Lecture third embraces the second and third crises. The skeptical spirit of the Middle Ages appears in the writings of Abelard, in the work entitled "The Everlasting Gospel," and in the legendary work "De Tribus Impostoribus," and is fostered by the influence of the Mohammedan philosophy of Averroes. At the revival of letters the enthusiasm of the classical spirit imbibed from the perusal of Pagan authors produced among scholars and literati an antichristian temper resulting in a wide-spread skepticism.

The five lectures remaining are devoted to a concise but comprehensive view of skepticism in our own age, commencing with English Deism, covering the history of French Infidelity and German Rationalism, and extending its details down to the present hour. To this clear and extended view the briefer notices of the crises of previous ages are almost a mere though valuable preparatory. The Christian student will hardly find within our language anything so compact, proportioned, and complete upon the subject especially of the German rationalistic revolution. The brief biographical portraits are often exquisitely drawn. The doctrinal critiques are subtle and exact. The spirit of the work is genial and impartial, yet devout and uncompromisingly Christian. The

author is seldom truly eloquent, but his style is in an eminent degree pure, lucid, and animated.

Substance and Shadow; or, Morality and Religion in their relation to Life: an Essay upon the Physics of Creation. By HENRY JAMES. 12mo., pp. 539. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1863.

Mr. James has attained some reputation as a litterateur and an expounder of the doctrines of Swedenborg. Judging him by the present volume, we should mark him in metaphysics, small; in logic, less; in rhetoric, large. His oracle supplies him with thought, which he so drapes and overlays with a wardrobe of verbiage and imagery that *puella sui pars minima est.* His rhetoric especially abounds in the vituperative. He imagines he is refuting an author when he is only charging upon him with epithets and virulent clauses, leveling at him with vehement assertions, or arraying him with depreciatory figures of speech. Characters like Kant and Sir William Hamilton our author treats with phrases which would be justifiable if he had the ability to refute them, but would be then altogether unnecessary.

But it is when he comes to the Christian Church and the orthodox creeds that Mr. James selects his best blacking, and applies the friction brush upon the thick coating until it is wrought to the highest polish of nigritude. Pages and chapters are devoted to the work of bitter and shallow invective upon the professed Christianity of the day. Not that he is able to charge gross immorality upon the ministry, or even the professing Church. It is its morality, rather, in the absence of spirituality, its ritualism, its hypocrisy, and its horrible doctrines, which constitute it worthy of death.

Mr. James, as a Swedenborgian, emphatically maintains the utter worthlessness of all moralism by which one man can claim to be any better than another, and charges the Church with getting her living by a base pandering to its interests. He asserts that morality is only a basis for a spirituality by which men become *social* in the true sense, and grow into a perfect society which is the kingdom of God on earth. This would seem to be not very different from the Church doctrines denying the justifying power of works, affirming the reality of sanctification, and predicting a millennial evangelization of the world. But the Church proceeds to apply her principles to our individual cases, whereas Mr. James will have them develop only in a silent public process. The Church says to every one man, Your works of righteousness avail not before God, therefore fling yourself upon the redemption, and the result will be personal justification, ultimate sanctification, and fitness for the kingdom. It is upon this *personal application* that Mr. James is fulminatory. Our confession of sin and worthlessness is, he

says, either sincere and real, or it is dramatic and unreal: if the former, then God ought to hold us inflexibly as we hold ourselves; if the latter, it is sham. Mr. James does not explain how the public feeling of sin ought not to be treated with an equal inflexibility, nor how his book, which urges a right feeling in view of the results, is not as truly a sham.

It would seem to us that if Swedenborgianism is going to do anything in the world, it is about time to have it done. Methodism and Swedenborgianism started about together, and what has the latter to show for itself? A century or so ago, Mr. Wesley called at Swedenborg's residence with high hopes of gaining the knowledge of some great truth from his lips; but he came out disappointed and chopfallen, and suspecting the great seer to be a great crack-brain. Swedenborg returned to his visions, and Wesley went to reforming his Cornwall miners, preaching to the mobs and crowds, spreading his books and tracts, purifying the depraved masses, and rallying England against the incoming tide of French revolutionary infidelity. When the aged apostle composed his features at last in the serenity of death, a mighty multitude, quickened by the powerful impulse, carried his evangel in personal application to the four quarters of the earth; and millions now in Europe and America, Australia and Fiji, rejoice in the personal and individual experience of that Gospel. Upon all this little Mr. James, straightening up to his most expansive strut, pronounces that it is sham. Meanwhile, all that Swedenborgianism has done is to float in subtle speculation through a few thousands of crotchety brains, enabling them to see visions and write gorgeous rhetoric against their hard-working reformatory neighbors. Or, watching the car of public progress, it claims the onward march as its own movement, and, like the fly in the stage, cries out, "See how like lightning I drive!" What better showing can Swedenborgianism make for itself than this? And making no better, how dares Mr. James say anything about sham?

But the most discreditable passages of Mr. James's book are the libels he utters against the Christian ministry and the Christian periodical press in regard to their position upon the slavery question. We give them to our readers.

> But there was a lower deep of degradation possible, and to this of course our clergy were bound to descend, because the previous elevation of their position gave a deeper impetus to their fall. Our politicians, our *litterateurs*, our men of science, kissed the feet of the slaveholding aristocracy, and had what reward they craved. But our clergymen almost to a man servilely kissed the feet of these degraded men of politics, literature, and science, and derided the pretension of men to discover any law of God which such caitiffs as these had not previously ratified. That is to say, our clergy almost to a man denied the spirituality of God's law, and insisted

upon shutting up man's allegiance to the bare letter of any constitution which human wit might fashion and human lust falsify. Dr. Channing stood erect, Dr. Pierpont, Dr. Cheever, Theodore Parker, Theodore Weld, Henry Ward Beecher, and many others; but it cost them all their ecclesiastical consideration and consequence to do so.

Literature boasted the generous warmth of Lowell and Whittier, and lent her noble Emerson and well-beloved Curtis to the sacred cause. Greeley and Bryant in the secular press won immortal laurels by their fervid constancy to truth, while Bacon and Leavitt and Thompson performed the same thankless service in the religious press. But as a general thing, politics, literature, and the press were utterly subsidized, and no sign of a better day, but only of an ever-deepening night, met the eye until the assault upon Fort Sumter.

Now long before Greeley, Bryant, or Emerson had spoken, in 1844, the Methodist Episcopal Church was divided, North and South, because the northern section refused to permit a slaveholder to fill the episcopate. Long before the names of Beecher or Parker were known in the contest, the majorities in most if not in all our New England Conferences were as outspokenly antislavery as either of those gentlemen have since been. Long before the gun of Sumter was fired, our entire body of conferences were either unanimous, or largely major on the side of as unequivocal an antislaveryism as ever Horace Greeley maintained. The entire official press, embracing eight periodicals, had for years before that event been, with scarce a discord, entirely and earnestly on that side. If Mr. James ever knew a Methodist minister in these free states who refused to reject with abhorrence the doctrine that there is no law higher than a human enactment, his knowledge on that point surpasses ours. We suggest to Mr. James that even upon the Christian Church invective should retain some regard to the limits of truth.

The Patience of Hope. By the author of "A Present Heaven." With an Introduction by JOHN G. WHITTIER. 12mo., pp. 171. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1863.

A Present Heaven; Addressed to a Friend. 12mo., pp. 171. Ticknor & Fields. 1863.

The Two Friends. 12mo., pp. 167. Ticknor & Fields. 1863.

Of the first of this series of beautiful volumes from the same hand Whittier says:

"The Patience of Hope" fell into my hands soon after its publication in Edinburgh, some two years ago. I was at once impressed by its extraordinary richness of language and imagery—its deep and solemn tone of meditation in rare combination with an eminently practical tendency—philosophy warm and glowing with love.

Of the spiritual catholicity of these volumes Whittier says:

There are volumes which perhaps contain many things, in the matter of doctrine and illustration, to which our reason does not assent, but which nevertheless seem permeated with a certain sweetness and savor of life. They have the divine seal and imprimatur; they are fragrant with heart's-ease and asphodel; tonic with the leaves which are for the healing of the nations. The meditations of the devout

monk of Kempen are the common heritage of Catholic and Protestant; our hearts burn within us as we walk with Augustine under the Numidian fig-trees in the gardens of Verecundus; Fenelon from his bishop's palace, and John Woolman from his tailor's shop speak to us in the same language. The unknown author of that book which Luther loved next to his Bible, the "Theologia Germanica," is just as truly at home in this present age, and in the ultra Protestantism of New England, as in the heart of Catholic Europe, and in the fourteenth century. For such books know no limitations of time or place; they have the perpetual freshness and fitness of truth; they speak out of profound experience: heart answers to heart as we read them; the spirit that is in man, and the inspiration that giveth understanding, bear witness to them. The bent and stress of their testimony are the same, whether written in this or a past century, by Catholic or Quaker; self-renunciation—reconcilement to the divine will through simple faith in the divine goodness, and the love of it which must needs follow its recognition—the life of Christ made our own by self-denial and sacrifice, and the fellowship of his suffering for the good of others—the indwelling Spirit, leading into truth—the Divine Word nigh us, even in our hearts.

With these legacies of devout souls, it seems to me, the little volume herewith presented is not wholly unworthy of a place.

In the North British Review an eminent critic says:

Such of our readers—a fast increasing number—as have read and enjoyed "The Patience of Hope," listening to the gifted nature which, through such deep and subtile thought, and through affection and godliness still deeper and more quick, has charmed and soothed them, will not be surprised to learn that she is not only poetical, but, what is more, a poet, and one as true as George Herbert and Henry Vaughan, or our own Cowper; for, with all our admiration of the searching, fearless speculation, the wonderful power of speaking clearly upon dark and all but unspeakable subjects, the rich outcome of "thoughts that wander through eternity," which increases every time we take up that wonderful little book, we confess we were surprised at the kind and the amount of true poetic *vis* in these poems, from the same fine and strong hand.

Letters on the Ministry of the Gospel. By FRANCIS WAYLAND. 16mo., pp. 210. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1863.

No minister of Christ will misspend the hours given to the perusal of this volume. Although written for his own denomination, but a few pages are denominational. Recognizing gratefully an improvement in the ministry of the present over that of the past, in many respects he sorrowfully thinks it is not fulfilling the great ends for which it was appointed. In frank, earnest language he speaks of the minister as an agent of Almighty God, a steward, an ambassador who must utter the message given him for the plain, humble purposes of the conversion of sinners and the edification of believers. The idea to be set before the people is the idea of God, and the preparation of the heart is more important than that of the sermon. As all in any audience, however miscellaneous its character, agree in one common need, Dr. Wayland would have the preacher use such words as all persons of ordinary capacity can understand. He judges the substitution of written for spoken sermons to be a mistake, injurious to the religious feeling of the preacher, and to the effectiveness of the discourse.

In addition to pulpit work, faithful pastoral visitation is urged as the duty of the minister, meaning thereby private religious conversation with every member of his congregation. If, then, his heart be filled with the Holy Spirit he will not labor in vain. We heartily commend this little book, especially to our younger ministers. W.

Church Discipline, in Two Parts, Formative and Corrective. By Rev. ELEAZER SAVAGE. 18mo., pp. 249. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1863.

The term Church Discipline is used as signifying the right training of all members, and hence, in the strict sense, is rather formative than reformative. The work of the Church is to take ignorant, fallen man, educate and sanctify him through the truth as revealed in Holy Scripture, and develop in him the complete Christian character. The agents are the Holy Spirit, ministers, Christian parents; and, finally, every Christian must render a large religious service and activity in this educational work.

Among the special causes of failure, a wrong division of ministerial labor is included. The correct division as propounded is, "1. Preaching one sermon each Sabbath morning. 2. Holding a Congregational Bible class. 3. A social religious meeting in the evening as the concluding Sabbath exercise. 4. Studying his one weekly sermon and Bible-class lesson, and visiting his people." As special revival efforts are ordinarily rendered necessary by the declension of the Church from a proper religious state, Mr. Savage would obviate that necessity by a diligent use of these formative agencies, when the conversion of sinners will become an ever-present object. Is he not pretty nearly correct?

The second part, on Corrective Discipline, is particularly adapted, we suppose, to the author's own Church. W.

Seed-Thought: a Hand-book of Doctrine and Devotion. Designed for Class-Leaders, Bible-Class and Sabbath-School Teachers, for Young Preachers, and for Private Devotion. By Rev. GEORGE C. ROBINSON. 12mo., pp. 172. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1863.

Though the constituent elements of this little work are all borrowed, there is no little originality in the plan. The author, an able young minister of our Church, had well understood that to preach a sermon required intense thought in preparation; but when he came to officiate as class-leader he found he had to preach a dozen little sermons *impromptu*. The question was, then, how to prepare completely and systematically; and this he has endeavored to answer in this little manual.

The various positions of Christian experience are classified, and for each a series of texts, and an added series of aphorisms and applicable sayings, extracted mostly from standard Christian writers, are provided. An appendix of tunes, suitable for the exercise, closes the book. It is thus an armory for every case, both for pastor and sub-pastor. We may add that extracts from one writer were inserted without the privity of the editor.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

Modern War: its Theory and Practice. Illustrated from celebrated Campaigns and Battles, with Maps and Diagrams. By EMERIC SZABAD, Captain U. S. A. New York: Harper & Brothers.

This volume is a popular exposition of the theory and practice of modern war. The non-military reader will find it full of information concerning the technicalities of war, the composition and movements of armies, and the methods of conducting campaigns. In his illustrations of the principles of war, as practiced by the greatest generals of modern times, our author is not so happy as he is in their exposition. Many of his criticisms are superficial and prejudiced, his sketches of great battles are obscure and unsatisfactory, for the reason that he has attempted too much. His canvas is too much crowded. But notwithstanding these faults, the book is worth reading, and contains much that is valuable and entertaining. D.

Unfangsgrunde der Logik. Sinfach dargestellt und mit Beispielen erläutert von Professor Dr. th. W. F. WARREN.

With a stride more gigantic than that of the angel of the Apocalypse, Professor Warren places one foot in Bremen and the other in Cincinnati and hands us forth a "little book,"—a Teutonic "Logik." To the student it at first may be bitter in the mouth, but it will prove nutritious in the inner man if properly digested. It is a remarkably clear exposition of the first principles of Logic, illustrated with a copious amount of examples for practice, with applications to Mathematics. Appended are a chapter on Method, and Hedge's very valuable Rules of Controversy and of Interpretation. We acknowledge no little obligation in our own mental history to an early study of these "Rules."

History, Biography, and Topography.

Memoir of the Life and Character of the late Hon. Theodore Frelinghuysen, LL.D. By TALBOT W. CHAMBERS, a Minister of the Collegiate Church, New York. New York: Harper & Bros. 1863.

Mr. Frelinghuysen was a worthy inheritor of the honors of a line of ancestors ennobled by piety, learning, and talent. He was a Jerseyman, born in 1787, practiced law with brilliant success in Newark, became Chancellor of the University of New York, was candidate for the Vice-presidency of the United States, and finally president of Rutgers College. In all these positions his greatness and talents were rendered lustrous by the purity of his personal character and the depth of his Christian experience. Such a man's memory is blessed and is a blessing to the world. Yet its record is on high, and it could afford to dispense with all human honor and all earthly history.

Why is it that our country so fails of placing such men in her posts of office and responsibility? Why is it that we are not good enough to be ruled by such rulers? We have our answer. It is our degraded foreign population, the ignorant and drunken dregs of European despotisms, that sink us below our civil and moral level and threaten our existence as a nation. It is they who entail upon us mobs and mobocrats, demagogues and traitors. It is they who bring us intemperance, popery, slavery, and treason. It is especially our Irish population who can be reached by no enlightenment, whose votes control our most important elections and degrade our entire political character. There seems to be no help for it. Time and providence may work our rescue, but our salvation is as by fire.

The Invasion of the Crimea: its Origin and an account of its Progress down to the Death of Lord Raglan. By ALEXANDER WILLIAM KINGLAKE. Vol. I. Harper & Brothers.

We do not wonder that this book has been the cause of a great sensation in England and France. Its revelations are humiliating to both empires. To the former, because it shows how completely the great English nation, with its proud and accomplished ministers, were befooled and led into a needless war with Russia by the cunning of the man who, through plottings and massacre, had made himself master of the liberties of France; to the latter, because in its discussion of the "transactions which brought on the war," it lays bare the character and history of Napoleon, showing up, with unsparing severity, that astute villainy by which he, and a clique of

men stained with crime, managed to get his foot on her imperial neck. In his graphic description of the battle of Alma, Mr. Kinglake puts the laurel on the brow of the English army, apparently with good reason; for if the English troops had not fulfilled their more arduous part in that conflict better than the French did the less difficult work assigned to them, assuredly both armies would have been driven back into the Euxine. This volume closes with the battle of Alma. It is written in a style which combines ease and transparency with strength. The book is a live one, and will find a permanent place among the many excellent historical works of the times. D.

Journal of a Residence on a Georgia Plantation in 1838–9. By FRANCES ANNE KEMBLE. 12mo., pp. 337. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1863.

Married to a slaveholder, Mrs. Kemble departed to take her residence upon a sea-girt plantation in Georgia, and to be installed in what, to many a northern female fancy, would appear the dignity of an island queen. But so miserable a set of subjects had she under her sway, and so sensitive were her feelings to their condition, that she soon became not the least miserable among them. The pictures she gives of the vice, wretchedness, shiftlessness, meanness, and nastiness, not only of slavery, but of planter accommodations and style of living, are perfectly disenchanting, and very unedifying to the twaddlers who talk of slavery being "the means of attaining a higher civilization." To our northern lady snobs, of whom we have some within the range of our acquaintance, who think it a very genteel, lady-like, aristocratic thing to defend slavery, and to whom an "abolitionist" is a very vulgar person, we recommend the perusal of Mrs. Kemble's descriptions of the southern style of existence.

Politics, Law, and General Morals.

The Results of Slavery. By AUGUSTIN COCHIN, Ex-maire and Municipal Councillor of Paris. Work crowned by the Institute of France. Translated by MARY L. BOOTH. 12mo., pp. 413. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1863.

We should rejoice to share the confidence of the great body of antislavery men in our Church that, for us at least, the battle is won, and that all we have to do is to stack our arms and sun our laurels. We hear it said, even by leading and earnest antislavery men, that the Church is tired and will not listen to a treatment of the subject, and will resent any further action as demagogism.

The Discipline is now right, and agitation of further change is fanaticism. We are constrained to doubt the correctness of those views. We would be neither alarmist, nor croaker, nor partisan. But to our eye the leading omens suggest that slavery may survive this war *victorious*. If slavery be not put out of existence before the next presidential election, and the Southern States share in the presidential vote, we shall, very probably, have a retrograde administration. Menacing southrons may take their place in the seats of national legislation and cabinet authority, and the conquered in the war will be the rulers in the armistice called peace. As for the Church, the conversions to antislaveryism produced by political events can by political events be reversed. The last we heard from our "conservative" friends in regard to the disciplinary change was, the bold maintenance that Bishop Scott's monosyllabic responses to certain questions (which swept the Discipline clear of everything on the subject except the present General Rule) had the authority of legal decisions and of law. It is indeed said that those decisions would be reversed by the General Conference. But who, in case our arms are stacked, and a political reaction arises, can insure us against a reactionary General Conference? This reaction would be aided by ambition for Church extension southward at the price of silence and compromise. We are inclined to believe that much of the distrust extensively felt in the Church toward these late metropolitan lay "movements" would disappear if it could calmly and unanimously be agreed that the next General Conference shall once for all change the General Rule, and shut slavery forever from the Church. Either there would be opposition to such a measure or not. If there would, that opposition shows that the battle is supposed to be ended, falsely. If there would not, then why should it not be done quietly and unanimously? Future events may justify our hopes rather than our fears. But we place it here on record, that if we had our own way in the matter we should refuse to trust the contingency, but would make sure work for the only right result—the immediate change of the General Rule.

These remarks have a real though slight connection with this able work by one of our noble French friends upon Slavery and our national contest. M. Cochin is a Catholic, and we wish that every Methodist showed as high a moral and Christian bearing on this subject as he. Our readers will find his work a full armory of facts and arguments.

Belles-Lettres and Classical.

Essays on the Greek Christian Poets and the English Poets. By ELIZABETH BARRETT BROWNING. 24mo., (blue and gold.) New York: James Miller, (successor to C. S. Francis & Co.) 1863.

Of these Christian poets, what a fine variety of ways has Mrs. Browning of saying of each one—*not worth a drachma!* She curvets and dallies and analyzes and translates, but at last it comes, not with a chip of Pentelican marble. And yet she makes a book of fascinating interest out of her rambles among them. Done up in Mr. Miller's elegant style of typography, you will read her through before you are aware.

Miscellaneous.

Paris in America. By Dr. RENE LEFEBVRE. (Edouard Laboulaye.) Translated by MARY L. BOOTH, Translator of Madame de Gasparin and Cochin's Works on America, etc. 12mo., pp. 373. New York: Charles Scribner. 1863.

That a Frenchman who has never visited this country should have so full an acquaintance with American peculiarities as is displayed in this volume is truly surprising. In France the people are made for the government; in America the government is made for the people; and the wide difference is here admirably and pleasantly set forth by the eloquent and learned author. By the magnetic skill of "Mr. Jonathan Dream, spiritual and transcendental medium of Salem, Mass.," Dr. Lefebvre, a Parisian, awakes one fine morning to find himself Dr. Smith, a Yankee, and Paris in Massachusetts. He is "unknown, alone, in a country without government, without armies, without police, in the midst of a savage, violent, and cupiditious people." He execrates "these horrible American houses" which furnish the comforts and luxuries of life to his hand. His wife has ceased to live, dress, and think for other people, and sees nothing beyond her husband, children, and home; and she actually blushes for the loving kiss he prints upon her forehead. He is astonished that his son should presume to choose his own profession, and that his beautiful Susan should study anatomy, go in the street alone, fall in love of her own accord, and be wooed without a dowry. Instead of the state selecting, protecting, and supporting religion for the people, he finds the people thinking, worshiping, building, and supporting churches, with no "Ministry of Public Worship" supervising and permitting, at an annual voluntary outlay of twenty-four millions of dollars. He beholds the people naming and electing their own

rulers, caring nothing for candidates of government; voting their own taxes; supporting their own schools; erecting and controlling hospitals and asylums without reference to a central administration; organizing courses of public lectures, and holding all sorts of meetings of working men without authorization; and managing their own affairs with no repressive police or privileged tribunals executing the edicts of authority. He becomes ambitious, and is elected to office. To his humiliation, he is not the irresponsible representative of the administration, but both he and the people in his person are subject to the decision of a justice of the peace. "The laws all powerful, the citizen master of and responsible for his actions, the functionary reduced to the common law, the administration amenable to the courts—this is the whole system." And therein it is not French.

We regret to add that on awaking at home his new ideas were regarded as positive proof of confirmed lunacy, and he was shut up in a madhouse. W.

Minutes of the Fortieth Annual Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada, in the City of Quebec, June 1863. 24mo., pp. 134. Toronto: Anson Green. 1863.

This conference includes five hundred ministers, supervising two thousand congregations. It has one high literary institution, the University of Victoria College, with a literary faculty of eight officers, and a medical faculty of ten; and a Wesleyan Female College, Hamilton, with a faculty of ten instructors. The representatives of our own General Conference, Revs. Drs. Freeborn G. Hibbard and Francis Hodgson, were welcomed in the most fraternal style. The address to our General Conference contains, we are gratified to say, the following noble utterance:

> We deeply sympathize with you in the calamity of civil war which your country is now enduring, and in which you as a Church are no doubt largely sufferers. We pray that the interests of true religion may be preserved throughout the whole, and that the Ruler of all events may crown the struggle with a peace which shall be favorable to *national unity*, the supremacy of law and order, and the freedom of those who are now enslaved.

Grape Culture, Wines and Wine Making. With Notes upon Agriculture and Horticulture. By A. HARASZTHY, Commissioner to report on the Improvement and Culture of the Vine in California. With numerous Illustrations. 8vo., pp. 420. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1862.

Mr. Haraszthy was commissioned by the legislature of California to visit Europe, and in an extensive tour through its principal grape sections to make his report for the benefit of that rising state. He ranged through France, Germany, Italy, and Spain. The product of his investigations, done up in this noble volume, seems likely to

produce important results in the direction of the agricultural industry of that part of our Pacific coast. The following passage illustrates the capabilities of its soil and climate:

> California can produce as noble and generous a wine as any in Europe; more in quantity to the acre, and without repeated failures through frosts, summer rains, hailstorms, or other causes.
>
> The quantity of raisins, currants, figs, almonds, olives, and prunes which we could raise would surprise the most sanguine of our people. The mulberry and the silk-worm would occupy and give support to many industrious females, who have now no remunerative employment, in the rural districts; would aid the small farmer in his efforts to raise and educate a growing family, and would add largely to the wealth and revenue of the state.
>
> In my opinion, no country can surpass this in raising the sugar-beet, Sorgho, and Imphee. There is no part of the world, except perhaps Africa, which can produce the same quantity of these commodities to the acre. The present mode of making sugar from these products is so simple that every farmer, at an expense of $30 for machinery, can manufacture enough for his own use and have a considerable overplus each year for the market. The capitalist, too, may safely invest his money in this lucrative business, and enrich himself as well as the state.

The Bivouac and the Battle-field; or, Campaign Sketches in Virginia and Maryland. By GEORGE F. NOYES, Captain U. S. Volunteers. 12mo., pp. 339. New York: 1863.

Pamphlets.

Our Sins and Sufferings; a Sermon preached on Fast Day, April 30, 1863. By Rev. SAMUEL A. SEAMAN, pastor of the M. E. Church in Twenty-seventh-street, N. Y. Pp. 163. New York: Howe & Ferry. 1863.

The War in the Light of Divine Providence; a Fast-Day Sermon. By B. H. NADAL, D.D., Pastor of the First Methodist Church, New Haven, Conn. Pp. 20. New Haven: Tullidge, Morehouse, & Taylor. 1863.

With great clearness, having shown first that Providence ordains not but permits and overrules for the best the sins of man, Dr. Nadal, seeking for the cause of this war, places his finger upon SLAVERY. He shows forcibly the difference between the crimes in the North perpetrated against law, and the one great inclusive crime in the South, created, maintained, and intensified by law. He then points to the results of good which God will work out for man's benefit and God's glory. So does Christianity furnish her lessons of warning and hope over the most terrible scenes of human history.

CARLTON & PORTER have in press the Life of Dr. NATHAN BANGS, by Rev. Dr. STEVENS. This will be a very valuable contribution to Methodist Biography. The name of Bangs will in our history be associated with that of Asbury, Bunting, and Fisk. Avoiding the questions upon which good men in our Church are divided in opinion, and the work will, we doubt not, be acceptable to all parties.

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